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[1834—1854]

WORKS BY G. MCCALL THEAL.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT
TO OUR OWN TIMES

[1834—1854]

BY

GEORGE M^CCALL THEAL

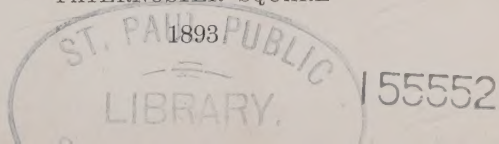
OF THE COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE LITERARY ASSOCIATION AT LEIDEN, OF THE COMMISSION FOR
PREPARING A HISTORY OF THE WALLOON CHURCHES, AND OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF UTRECHT
FORMERLY KEEPER OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE CAPE COLONY

WITH SIX MAPS



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NOTE.

It was my intention originally to keep the history of the Cape Colony and of the States founded by the emigrant farmers in separate volumes, such as those published during the last few years. But I have been compelled to change that plan. In February 1892 the whole of my completed manuscript and all my notes and memoranda, except those for the period 1834 to 1848, were destroyed by fire. Before that occurrence the history of the Cape Colony had been brought down to 1834 in three published volumes, and the history of the emigrant farmers was before the public in two others. Even under favourable circumstances several years would be required to prepare another volume, and I am so situated as to be barely on the right side of the line that separates the possible from the impossible, so far as writing history is concerned. My publishers had previously informed me that the edition of my first volume upon the emigrant farmers was nearly out of print. I therefore resolved to alter it somewhat in form, and to add to it the history of the Cape Colony from 1834 to 1848. As it now is, the five completed volumes are continuous in chronological order, the history of the Cape Colony is brought down in them to 1848, the history of Natal to 1846, and that of the Republics and Native States to 1872.

G. M. T.



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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

1834-1848.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE SIXTH KAFFIR WAR, DECEMBER 1834 TO SEPTEMBER
1835.

Incessant depredations by the Kaffirs—Strength and distribution of the military force in South Africa—Account of a patrol under Ensign Sparks—Attack upon a patrol under Lieutenant Sutton—Attempt by Makoma and Tyali to entrap Colonel Somerset—Invasion of the colony by a great horde of Kaffir warriors—Devastation of the frontier districts and murder of many colonists—Instance of marked humanity of a Kaffir—Pillage of the trading stations in Kaffirland and murder of some of the traders—Abandonment of the three frontier forts by the military—State of the Hottentots at the Kat river—Distress of the frontier colonists—Arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith at Grahamstown—Despatch of troops from Capetown—Insidious proposals for peace by Tyali and Makoma—Enrolment of burgher and Hottentot forces—Expedition against the chief Eno—Arrival of Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the frontier—Measures for relief of the destitute—Rescue of the missionaries and surviving traders in Kaffirland—Military operations against the Kaffirs—Arrangements with the Tembu and Pondo chiefs—Condition of their tribes—Raid by the Basuto chief Moshesh into Kaffirland—Invasion of Kaffirland by a strong force under Sir Benjamin D'Urban—Condition of the emigrant Tembus—Military operations along the Anatola mountains—Entrance of the colonial force into Hintsa's territory—Condition of the Fingos—Plan adopted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban for the settlement of border difficulties—Military operations against the Galekas—Terms of peace with Hintsa—Removal of the Fingos to the territory between the Keiskama and Fish rivers—Rejection of terms of peace by the Rarabes—Annexation of the territory between the border of 1819 and the Kei river to the British dominions—Death of Hintsa—Treaty of peace with Kreli—Continuation of the war with the Rarabes—Attitude of various missionaries—Conclusion of peace with the Rarabes—Condition of the Kosas at the close of the war.

DURING the winter of 1834 the eastern border of the colony was in the condition often described as worse than open war, actual war during nominal peace. Cattlelifting from

the farmers of Albany and Somerset was carried on by the Kaffirs to an extent seldom equalled in previous years, and a very small proportion of what was stolen could be recovered. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, however, was still of opinion that the people who were giving so much trouble could be induced by conciliation and kindness to live as good neighbours. This opinion was strengthened when in September and October the robberies almost ceased, owing to messages which he sent to the chiefs that he was disposed to enter into arrangements which would be of great advantage to them, and that he trusted they would keep their people in order until he could visit the frontier.

The details of the arrangements could only be settled after he had become acquainted with the condition of affairs by personal inspection and inquiry, but the chiefs were led to believe by an agent of Dr. Philip—if not by Dr. Philip himself—that a large portion of the unoccupied land west of the Tyumie and the Keiskama would be given to them. It was with this reward in view that for a short time they put restraint upon their people.

Two months waiting for the appearance of the governor, however, exhausted the patience of the Kaffirs, and in November thefts were renewed as before. 'Tyali's people were particularly active in this respect, and also frequently caused a great deal of annoyance by entering the ceded territory and making kraals there. The troops were worn out in driving them back, for as soon as a patrol retired, the Kaffirs who had been expelled returned over the boundary. The soldiers were not allowed to fire upon them, and no blood was shed in these wearisome operations.

The military force in South Africa consisted of three battalions of infantry, a few artillerymen and engineers, and the Cape mounted rifles. Of these, two battalions of infantry and a company of artillerymen were in garrison in Capetown and Simonstown. Distributed among six

different posts on the frontier were the Cape mounted rifles, two hundred and forty-seven officers and men, the 75th regiment of the line, five hundred and thirty-three officers and men, and fifty-five artillerymen and engineers. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Somerset was commandant of the frontier and agent of the government for dealing with the Kosas. His headquarters were at Grahamstown, but a great portion of his time was spent in active duty in the saddle. Lieutenant-Colonel Richard England, of the 75th regiment, was stationed in Grahamstown, and commanded the garrison there.

About the middle of November four horses were stolen from a farm on the Koonap, and the spoor was clearly traced by the owner to one of Eno's kraals within the ceded territory. So clear was the spoor that Eno himself was obliged to admit it, and upon being requested to do justice, he promised either to restore the stolen property or to make good the loss with horned cattle. The owner of the horses waited five days at the kraal, and then, finding that the chief had no intention of doing anything in the matter, he reported the circumstance at Fort Willshire.

At this time in cases where theft was clearly traced to a kraal and was undisputed, compensation could be demanded, but ample opportunity was to be given to the chief to make good the losses before force should be used. Accordingly the officer in command at Fort Willshire sent a message to Eno, requiring him to restore the horses or to pay cattle to the amount of their value within eight days, failing which a patrol would be sent to take compensation.

The notice was disregarded, so on the 2nd of December Ensign Robert Manners Sparks, with four farmers and eleven men of the Cape mounted rifles, left the fort to enforce the demand. It was not usual to entrust such duties to officers under the rank of lieutenants, but in this instance there was no one except an ensign available. Sparks, whose whole thoughts were expended in the study of mathematics, was one of the youngest officers in the

corps, a good-natured, but simple and awkward lad, quite incapable of commanding the respect of Kaffirs.

On arriving at the kraal, an altercation with the headman took place, which ended by the ensign seizing forty head of inferior cattle, of about the market value of the stolen horses. There were very few men at home at the time, but when the patrol was about eight miles on the return journey a large body of warriors under Casa, one of Eno's captains, rushed suddenly out from a place of concealment. The ensign caused a volley to be fired over the heads of the Kaffirs, which checked them for an instant, though no one was hurt by it. But until their firearms could be reloaded, the farmers and soldiers were now almost helpless, and there can be little doubt that they would have been massacred, if Stokwe, Eno's son, had not ridden up at the critical moment and ordered the assailants back. The patrol then proceeded with the cattle, but about a mile from Fort Willshire as Sparks was riding in the rear he was attacked by a Kaffir, who sprang upon him from a small thicket, and gave him a severe wound with an assagai. Fortunately he was rescued by his men in time to save his life.

Colonel Somerset with a strong escort of Cape mounted riflemen then proceeded to the Gwanga, and sent a message to Eno desiring a conference. In the evening of the 4th the chief arrived with a large armed following, having previously removed the women and cattle of his clan to the left bank of the Keiskama. The least accident would have produced a collision, but Colonel Somerset managed matters so skilfully that Eno admitted he was in fault, and expressed regret that an English officer had been wounded. Colonel Somerset then demanded that Casa and the people under him should leave the ceded territory, and that Eno should restore all the horses and one hundred and fifty head of the horned cattle recently stolen, or should forfeit the permission given to him to reside west of the Keiskama. The chief agreed to these terms, and on the following day

gave up one hundred and thirty-seven head of horned cattle and thirteen horses.

The explanation of this affair was not known until nearly a year later, when it was ascertained that Eno's people were at this time ready for war, but that the old chief himself, though not very strongly opposed to it, objected to being the means of forcing it on.

On the morning of the 10th of December Lieutenant William Sutton, of the 75th regiment, was sent from Fort Beaufort with a sergeant and twelve men of the Cape mounted rifles to expel a party of Tyali's followers from a kraal recently built on the ridge between the Mankazana and Gaga rivers, and to endeavour to obtain compensation for some horses belonging to officers at the fort that had been stolen by those people and clearly traced to them. The lieutenant found the intruders defiant and unwilling to remove. He managed, however, to burn their huts and to seize some oxen, which he informed them would be detained until the stolen horses were given up. The oxen were the personal property of Tyali, and according to Kaffir custom taking possession of the cattle of a chief is equivalent to a declaration of hostilities. But this circumstance was entirely unknown to any individual in the patrol.

As soon as the soldiers set out to return, the Kaffirs attempted to surround them, which was only prevented by the lieutenant ordering a shot or two to be fired. From this moment a kind of running skirmish was kept up to within a short distance of Fort Beaufort, when the sound of the musketry brought out a relieving party, and the Kaffirs withdrew. Night had already set in. One soldier and two horses were wounded, and the cattle had been retaken. On the other side two men were killed and two were wounded, one of the latter—Koko (correct Kaffir spelling Xoxo) by name—being a brother of Tyali. His wound was a mere scratch, so slight that two days afterwards it could hardly be seen; but by the Kosa chiefs the drawing of the blood of a descendant of Tshawe was put forth as a very serious matter.

During the night between the 11th and the 12th signal fires blazing on every prominent hill between the Keiskama and the Bashee announced to all the warriors of the tribe that the time for gathering had arrived. Still the missionaries and traders in the country had no thought that an invasion of the colony was about to take place. Several traders were ordered by the chiefs to leave Kaffirland, and they reported the circumstance to Colonel Somerset, but regarded it merely as a new form of the indignity to which for some time they had been subject. On the 18th of December Colonel Somerset wrote to the governor that he had not interfered with the orders of the chiefs, but had notified to them that if personal injury were inflicted on unprotected traders, he should immediately punish such conduct with severity. 'Indulgence and forbearance,' he said, 'had been tried to their extreme limits with the Kaffirs; the result had been a more continuous system of depredations, and at length open defiance.'

On the 20th of December, while the Kosas were massing along the border, an attempt was made by Makoma and Tyali to entrap Colonel Somerset, who was then at the Kat river post. The reverend William Chalmers, missionary at the Tyumie, was desired by Tyali to write to the colonel, requesting him with two attendants to come over to the station, where the chief would meet him with the same number of councillors, and they could then discuss matters concerning the condition of the country. After the letter was sent away the mission-house was surrounded by some hundreds of armed men, who lay in ambush until a reply was received, declining Tyali's invitation.

On the evening of Sunday the 21st of December 1834 a body of warriors, variously estimated from twelve to fifteen thousand in number, began to cross the border along its whole length from the Winterberg to the sea. Makoma's men, who were in advance, passed the Kat river just below Fort Beaufort. Tyali's followers were next, and kept farther inland. Nearer the sea warriors of the clans under Umhala,

Siyolo, Botumane, and Eno, with many Galekas and Gunukwebes, crossed the Fish river at various fords. In ten or twelve days the whole of the open country was laid waste nearly as far west as the village of Uitenhage, and from the sea inland to the village of Somerset East. The women and children were permitted to escape with their lives, but every defenceless man encountered was murdered.

The number of white men who thus perished was twenty-two, by name Stephanus Buys, John Shaw, Robert Cramer, Thomas Mahony, H. W. Henderson, Alexander Forbes, Albert Kirkman, Jan Theodore Ferreira, Pieter de Jager, Nicholas van der Meulen, Frederik Silverhoorn, S. Turner, — Newman, James Blakeway, — Liebergeld, Carel Matthys, Willem Matthys, Cornelis Engelbrecht, John Brown, Philip Whittaker, Samuel Webber, and F. Dougal. Some of these were surprised and put to death without an opportunity of resistance, others were treacherously struck down when confiding in promises of safety, others again fell after a desperate struggle for life.

In this great raid and in other less destructive inroads during the next few months the invaders burned four hundred and fifty-six houses, and drove off five thousand seven hundred and fifteen horses, one hundred and fourteen thousand nine hundred and thirty head of horned cattle, and one hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and thirty sheep and goats. Altogether, property officially valued at 300,401*l.* 10*s.* was destroyed or swept away.

An instance of marked humanity must be recorded in contrast with this dark scene. There was a Kosa named Sitamba in the service of Mr. Thomas Mahony, at the place known as the clay pits, near the Fish river. Mahony's son-in-law Henderson, who was a resident of Grahamstown, was there with two of his children on a visit. When the men were murdered by a party of Kaffir raiders, Mrs. Mahony escaped with one of the children. Sitamba took the other, a boy of about three years of age, carried him all

the way to Grahamstown, and delivered him safely to his relatives there.

Fortunately, intelligence of the invasion spread very rapidly, and most of the farmers had time for flight with their families to the towns and villages. In some places it would have been possible to save much property if there had been any one on the spot with sufficient authority to collect a few men and form a lager. But the disallowance of the ordinance number ninety-nine left the people without organisation in this time of need. The fieldcornets were powerless, for no one but the civil commissioner had a right to call together an armed force, and thus each individual was obliged to rely on his own resources alone.

To Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Theopolis, Salem, Bathurst, Grahamstown, and Somerset East, whichever place was nearest, the fugitives made their way as best they could. Grahamstown, being the centre of a thickly populated district, was soon crowded with destitute people. Bathurst was in a bad position for defence, and the Kaffirs threatened to besiege it. On the 29th, therefore, the village was abandoned, and its inhabitants with the refugees who had taken shelter there removed to Grahamstown under protection of an escort.

Meantime all the trading stations in Kaffirland were pillaged. In some places the traders, after being robbed of everything, were allowed to live; but at others they were murdered. Ten of them—by name Edwards, Kent, Budding, Cane, Robert Rogers, George Iles, James Warren, William Hogg, John Stamford, and Robert Hodges—thus perished.

Colonel Somerset with the small force under his command was unable to do anything towards checking the invasion, and fearing that communication between the different posts might be cut off and some of them be overpowered, he abandoned the three farthest in advance. The garrison of Fort Willshire fell back to Fort Beaufort, the garrison of the Gwalana post was sent to hold a hill commanding the lower ford of the Fish river, and the garrison of the Kat river post

was removed to a very strong position which received the name Fort Adelaide.

Grahamstown at this time presented a piteous spectacle. St. George's church was turned into a watch-house and an asylum for destitute women and children who had escaped from farms. Some of the adjacent houses were also occupied by fugitives, and the streets leading to them were barricaded, so that in the event of the town being attacked, all who were not combatants could take shelter there. Every man who had a gun was performing military service, and those who had horses were constantly scouring the surrounding country in small bodies, aiding fugitives, endeavouring to recapture cattle, and falling upon parties of the invaders whenever they could do so. Ammunition was very scarce, and great care had to be taken not to waste it.

To this scene of misery, on the 2nd of January the post from Capetown brought a few copies of the *Commercial Advertiser* of the 27th of December, containing ill-judged comments upon Colonel Somerset's recent transactions with Eno, and displaying strong partisanship with the Kaffirs. The poor people were looking and praying for sympathy and aid, and they felt that if the views of the reverend Dr. Philip and the newspaper which supported him were generally held, they might look and pray in vain. An advertisement was therefore drawn up, and was inserted in the *Grahamstown Journal* of that afternoon, 'imploing all who would not wilfully be made instrumental in stifling the cries of the widow and the fatherless for protection to use their best endeavours to suppress the circulation of the *Commercial Advertiser* during the continuance of the present awful crisis.' The advertisement was signed by three hundred and thirty-five individuals, among whom were the leading men of the frontier, those who had taken the most active part in promoting Christian missions, and the clergymen of every denomination in the town.

A report that swarms of Kaffirs were crossing the boundary reached Capetown by express in the afternoon

of the 28th of December, but particulars of the invasion were not received until two days later.

The military officer in the colony next in rank to the governor was Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith, a man of talent and experience, having served in the expedition to Monte Video, in the peninsular war, in the last war with the United States, and at Waterloo. He had been deputy quartermaster general at the Cape since the 24th of March 1829. It was arranged that he should proceed with all haste to the frontier, and assume command there until the arrival of the governor. He left Capetown at daylight on the 1st of January 1835, and at the hottest time of the year rode on horseback to Grahamstown, a distance by the road of nearly six hundred miles, in less than six days. He had full authority over all the inhabitants—military and civil—in Albany, Somerset, Uitenhage, George, Graaff-Reinet, and Beaufort, as those districts were placed under martial law by a proclamation of Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the 3rd of January.

The garrison of the Cape peninsula consisted of a few engineers and artillerymen, the 98th regiment of infantry commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John M'Caskill, and the 72nd highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Peddie, a veteran who had lost an arm at Salamanca.

The highlanders—four hundred and fifty-eight effective officers and men—and thirteen artillerymen were sent to the frontier as quickly as possible. Two brigs, named the *Kerswill* and the *Mary Jane*, were chartered by the government, and sailed for Algoa Bay on the 2nd of January with as many soldiers as could be taken on board. Admiral Sir Thomas Bladen Capel, recently appointed to the East Indian command, happened to be here on his way out, and placed the ship-of-war *Wolf* at the governor's disposal to convey stores to Algoa Bay and if necessary to assist in the defence of Port Elizabeth. The *Wolf* sailed from Simon's Bay on the 5th of January, and reached her destination on the

9th. The ship-of-war *Winchester*, belonging to the African command, was employed as a transport, and a coasting schooner was chartered to aid in the conveyance of supplies. A few of the troops were sent overland in waggons.

On the 31st of December the chief Tyali required the reverend Mr. Chalmers to write a letter to Colonel Somerset, proposing a cessation of hostilities on condition that matters should remain as they were. Mr. James Weir was sent to Captain Armstrong's post with it. At that time fifty or sixty thousand head of horned cattle and as many sheep had been driven over the Keiskama, and as one band of warriors was returning with spoil, another was entering the colony in search of more. It was evident that Tyali's object was merely to secure his plunder. A reply was therefore sent rejecting his proposal, and a similar answer was returned to a communication of like nature from Makoma.

Colonel Smith arrived at Grahamstown on the 6th of January 1835. He at once took measures for placing the town in a condition for defence, and began organising forces to act against the enemy. The burghers of the districts beyond the ravaged territory were beginning to come in, and all over the colony there were many Hottentots without occupation, whose services were available. These men, though not inclined to labour steadily, were well adapted to form an auxiliary corps for field operations. Colonel Smith required them to take part in the struggle, and empowered Mr. George Wood, an energetic colonist, to clothe and equip them.

In a store in Grahamstown there was a quantity of thick baize which had been imported for the Kaffir trade, but which was found to be unsaleable to those people. It was bought up and rapidly turned into uniforms for the Hottentots. Upon this transaction and a few others of the same kind, in which three or four colonists derived large profits, rested the charge subsequently made by the advocates of the Kaffirs, that the white people had caused the war for the sake of military expenditure. Altogether nearly thirteen

hundred Hottentots were levied, about eight hundred of whom acted as auxiliaries to the regiments of the line, and two hundred and seventy-five were attached provisionally to the Cape mounted rifles.

On the 10th of January a well-equipped cavalry corps, consisting of seventy-six British settlers, ninety burghers of Uitenhage, and forty Cape mounted riflemen, under command of Major William Cox, of the 75th regiment, left Grahamstown and made a dash across the Fish river. The patrol surprised Eno's kraal, and in a skirmish killed several men, among them a son and two brothers of the chief. One burgher was severely wounded. The huts were destroyed, but very few cattle were recovered. Major Cox then proceeded to Fort Willshire, which he found much damaged by fire. He next visited Tyali's kraal in the Tyumie valley. Upon his approach the kraal was abandoned, so he burned the huts, and returned to Grahams-town by way of the Kat river.

The object of this movement was twofold: first to draw the Kaffirs out of the colony, and secondly to prevent the Hottentots at the Kat river from joining the enemy.

These Hottentots had not been molested by the Kaffirs, and the impression was general both among the Kosas and the Europeans that they would take part against the white people. There was good ground for this belief, as it had been instilled into the Hottentots by injudicious teachers that they were oppressed by the government and the colonists, and had no friends except the missionaries. An attempt on a recent occasion to collect a small tax from them was represented as an act of the grossest tyranny, and the people were worked into a state narrowly bordering on sedition. Such instruction, which bred discontent, and led them to look to a protective power between them and the government, could only result in evil. At a later date it became known to a certainty that most of the Hottentots at the Kat river had actually been wavering.

Subsequently it also came to light that some of the

soldiers who were connected with these people were ready to rebel. In the garrison of Fort Willshire before its abandonment there were twenty-five Hottentots of the Cape mounted rifles, and a party of them arranged with Makoma to betray the post. A strong body of Kaffirs lay in ambush in the vicinity for some hours, expecting a signal to enter and take possession; but either no opportunity occurred or the hearts of the conspirators failed them.

The half-breeds who formed the reverend Mr. Thomson's congregation, however, were thoroughly loyal, and under their fieldcornet—Christiaan Groepe by name—at once took up arms on the colonial side. This and Major Cox's demonstration enabled Captain Armstrong to induce nearly the whole of the Hottentots to repair to Fort Adelaide with their women and children, and when once they had committed themselves their adherence was made tolerably certain. The reverend Mr. Read was not permitted to visit them during the continuance of the war. By these means the Kat river Hottentots, with very few exceptions, were prevented from acting in concert with the Kaffirs, and the loyalty of the Cape mounted riflemen was preserved.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bell was empowered by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to carry on the administration with the advice of the executive council and under the title of the provisional government. On the 8th of January Sir Benjamin embarked at Simon's Bay in the ship-of-war *Trinculo*, and on the 14th reached Algoa Bay. At Port Elizabeth and at Uitenhage he inspected and approved of the arrangements for defence, and having done what he could to obtain more men for the front, he hastened to Grahamstown, where he arrived on the 20th. He had passed through a devastated country, with nothing but ruins to mark where comfortable homesteads had recently stood. To the secretary of state he wrote that he could not adequately point out the horrors by which a beautiful and fertile province had been almost converted into a desert.

In Grahamstown there were nearly two thousand

refugees, many of whom had saved no property whatever, and were therefore absolutely destitute. One of the first measures of the governor was to appoint a board of relief, consisting of the clergymen of different denominations and a few other leading men, for the purpose of alleviating the misery of these poor people. To the board, through its chairman, power was given to draw upon the assistant commissary general for such provisions, clothing, and medicines as were urgently needed. But there were destitute refugees in many places besides Grahamstown, and other aid than that afforded through the assistant commissary general was required. The board of relief therefore appealed to the charitably disposed throughout the colony and abroad, and in course of time 3,737*l.* in money was raised. The governor headed the subscription list with a donation of 150*l.* Including the Hottentots at the Kat river, nearly twelve thousand individuals at one time or other during the war received assistance through the agency of this board.

It was known that the lives of the missionaries and of some of the traders in Kaffirland had been spared, but that these people were in great discomfort and anxiety. The three Gunukwebe captains, Pato, Kama, and Kobe, had not joined their countrymen against the colony, though many of their followers had taken part in the invasion and shared in the spoil. The captains remembered their ancient feud with the Gaikas, and they hoped by siding with the Europeans to recover the territory between the Beka and Fish rivers, which was theirs before 1819. At the same time they could shut their eyes if some of their people went out and returned with a good drove of cattle. They offered protection not only to the missionary and trader at Wesleyville, but to any other white men who could get to their country. The Tinde captain Tshatshu, who lived where King-Williamstown now stands, professed to be neutral in the war. But during the preceding half century the Tinde clan had been constantly getting weaker, and Tshatshu's

following was so small that he was unable to protect himself or any one else. The reverend John Brownlee was stationed with this clan, and when his cattle were driven off and a trader who took refuge in his house was threatened with death, he thought it best to get away. Under cover of night Mr. Brownlee, his family, and the trader made their escape, and managed to reach Wesleyville in safety. The reverend Mr. Dugmore, missionary at Mount Coke, also took shelter at Wesleyville, as did the families of several traders in the neighbourhood.

A strong body of volunteers from Port Elizabeth, under guidance of Messrs. Henry Fynn and Theophilus Shepstone, both of whom spoke the Kaffir language fluently, then proceeded to the station and brought out the white people, nearly a hundred in number. The captain Kobe also accompanied the party to Grahamstown, where he placed himself at the disposal of the governor as a hostage for the good conduct of his brothers Pato and Kama.

On the 20th of January the families of the reverend William Chalmers and Mr. James Weir were conducted from the Tyumie mission station to Fort Adelaide by a military patrol sent to rescue them.

At Burnshill on the upper Keiskama—a station of the Glasgow society founded in June 1830—there were several families protected by Sutu, great widow of Gaika, who had always been friendly to white people, and at this time was anxious to keep in favour with the colonial government on account of the boy Sandile. It was impossible for her not to be jealous of Makoma, or apprehensive that he might try to supplant her son. Her rank gave her influence, and several of the old councillors of the clan, who were with her, were men whom all Kaffirs respected. She promised protection to any Europeans who could get to Burnshill, which was close to her residence; and accordingly the mission families from the Pirie—a station of the Glasgow society founded in May 1830—and from the London society's station Knappshope made their way to that

place as best they could. The trader at Knappshope was murdered, but four others nearer the mountains escaped to Burnshill. There the only danger was that they might be killed in a sudden tumult.

On the 26th of January Major Cox with a strong escort reached Burnshill, and brought out the four traders and the families of the missionaries Laing, M'Diarmid, Ross, and Kayser. In returning, the patrol passed by old Lovedale, on the Ncera—a station of the Glasgow society founded in November 1824,—and was joined there by Mr. John Bennie and his family. In all, thirty-five individuals were rescued on this occasion. Matwa and Tente, two inferior sons of Gaika, who were attached to the reverend James Laing, accompanied the missionary to Grahamstown, and remained with him until the conclusion of peace.

The clans of Makoma, Tyali, and Umhala retired to the thickets along the Amatola mountains, but the warriors of Eno, Botumane, and Siyolo were still in the broken country between the Sunday and Bushman's rivers, and little bands were wandering from one thicket in Albany to another, gleaning whatever remained of value. Most of the cattle taken from the colonists had been driven into the Galeka country beyond the Kei.

Fort Willshire was now reoccupied, and various posts were established in commanding positions. Strong patrols were constantly pursuing the marauders within the colonial boundary, and managed to shoot a good many and recover a few cattle. Success, however, was not always on the European side. At Fort Willshire one day four soldiers of the 72nd and two Hottentots were cut off and killed within sight of the garrison.

Early in February Colonel Somerset succeeded in clearing the Zuurberg and Olifants' Hoek fastnesses, when the clans of Eno, Botumane, and Siyolo retired to the thickets along the Fish river. There they were joined by the warriors of the other hostile clans, and resolved to make a determined stand.

To attack them a strong force was organised, consisting of several companies of the 72nd and 75th regiments, a troop of the Cape mounted rifles with all the men provisionally attached to that corps, a few artillerymen and engineers, the burghers of Uitenhage, George, and Graaff-Reinet, the Albany sharpshooters, the Port Elizabeth yeomanry, and the Hottentot levies. This force was formed into three divisions. On the 11th of February the central division under Colonel Smith, who was in chief command, crossed the Fish river at Trompetter's drift, the left division under Colonel England crossed at Committee's drift, and the right division under Colonel Somerset at Kaffir drift, a few miles from the sea.

At daybreak on the 12th the work of scouring the ravines commenced, and was continued until the morning of the 15th, when the Kaffirs almost as by one movement abandoned the thickets of the Fish river and fled across the Keiskama. They were believed to have lost seventy-three men, and they left behind about four thousand head of horned cattle and a considerable number of horses, sheep, and goats. The loss on the European side was heavy. Seven burghers—W. Western, John Goodwin, Richard Bland, Frederick van der Schyff, Pieter and Hillegard van Rooyen, and Caspar Loetz—were killed, also four soldiers of the 72nd regiment, one of the 75th, and one of the Cape mounted rifles. Other twelve men were severely wounded.

The Kaffirs, who were far from being disconcerted by these reverses, at once resolved to act on the aggressive again, so on the 19th of February Tyali's warriors made a raid into the Kat river settlement, and attacked the military post there. They were beaten back, however, with heavy loss. Fieldcornet Groepe, who had command of the half-breeds at the settlement, and on several previous occasions had displayed marked ability and bravery, was of great service in assisting to repel this attack.

It is not necessary to trace the movements of either the

colonial forces or the Kaffirs for some weeks after this event, further than to indicate that the object of the governor was to collect men and supplies for an invasion of Kaffirland, and the object of the chiefs was to recover the fastnesses of the Fish river valley, which were guarded by military encampments.

On the 6th of March a party of Kaffirs surprised the post at Trompetter's drift, where a raft was being constructed for the purpose of conveying commissariat supplies across the river. Captain Harries, the officer in command, seeing that he could not maintain the post, abandoned it, when four colonists—Thomas Titterton, Francis Clark, Thomas Bilston, and Robert Shaw—were killed in trying to escape. Four Hottentots also fell on this occasion.

The burghers of George and Uitenhage, under Commandant Jacobus Ignatius Rademeyer, were at once sent to recover the position. They succeeded in doing so, but the commandant and forty men were surrounded in a wooded ravine which they had entered to examine, and in fighting their way out five colonists—Adam Boshof, Jan Bernard, Jan Meyer, Andries van Zyl, and Hermanus Wessels—were killed, and eight were wounded. It was necessary to scour the Fish river fastnesses again, and before the Kaffirs were driven from them, four more white men were killed and five were wounded. The Kosas retired to the ravines along the Amatola mountains.

On the 19th of March the plans for an invasion of Kaffirland were completed. The force ready for this service consisted of twenty-five artillerymen with six field guns, three hundred and seventy-one officers and men of the 72nd regiment, three hundred and fifty-eight Cape mounted riflemen, the mounted burghers of Swellendam, George, Graaff-Reinet, and Somerset, one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven men, the Beaufort volunteers, sixty-two men, the corps of guides, forty men, and the Hottentot levies, seven hundred and sixty-one men, altogether one thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven cavalry and

one thousand one hundred and fifty-seven infantry. This force was under the direct orders of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, with Lieutenant-Colonel Smith as second in command. It was formed into four columns, respectively under Lieutenant-Colonel Peddie, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, Major Cox, and Commandant Stephanus van Wyk.

The line of defence, which was to cover the Fish river fastnesses and occupy all the posts on the frontier, was placed under Lieutenant-Colonel England's direction. It consisted of twenty-four artillerymen and engineers, four hundred and sixty-one officers and men of the 75th regiment, thirty-one men of the Cape mounted rifles, nine hundred and eighty-three burghers, and Groepe's half-breeds and Hottentots, five hundred and two men, in all six hundred and eighty-eight cavalry and one thousand three hundred and thirteen infantry.

In February, and again in March, Commandant Van Wyk, by order of the governor, opened communications with Hintsä, the paramount chief of the Kosa tribe, in which he was called upon to restore the cattle that had been driven over the Kei and to cease assisting the Rarabes, under pain of being declared an enemy of the colony. As head of the tribe he might have been held responsible for the conduct of the subordinate clans, even had he done nothing to aid them; but a difficulty in dealing with him existed through the action of the colonial government in former times, first in treating Gaika as a sovereign chief, and then in treating Gaika, Ndälambe, and Dushane as all alike sovereign and independent. After that it would have come with very bad grace for an English governor to hold Hintsä responsible for acts of his sub-chiefs. It was therefore not as their head that he was called to account by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, but as their ally and active assistant. He, however, took no steps to comply with the governor's demands.

Communications were also opened with the chiefs of the Tembu and Pondo tribes, in the rear of the Kosas, with a

view of securing their neutrality. Mr. Henry Fynn was sent by sea from Algoa Bay to Port Natal, and then made his way overland to the Umzimvubu. The Pondo tribe at that time occupied the broken country between the Umzimvubu and Umgazi rivers, a tract of land formed by nature to be one great fortress. Cooped up in this stronghold, which was almost impenetrable by a foe, the tribe was secure against attack by the Zulus; but whenever sections of it ventured out of their sheltering place, they were fallen upon and dispersed by the Bacas under Ncapayi, who bore them an inveterate hatred. The Pondos were thus in a condition of extreme poverty.

Under these circumstances Mr. Fynn found the chief Faku not only willing to declare himself a friend of the colonists, but eager to attack the Kosas on one side while Sir Benjamin D'Urban was doing so on the other. The opportunity to become possessed of a good stock of cattle presented itself very forcibly to his imagination, and he lost sight of the fact that he had no means of preserving a drove of oxen if he should acquire them. After a time, however, his ardour cooled, and he began to see a difficulty in the way of making a raid on the Kosas. Between him and them were the Tembus, who would certainly not permit spoil to pass through their territory without sharing it. Then there was Ncapayi, whose warriors might intercept his march. These considerations caused the plan of attacking the Kosas to be abandoned; but Faku engaged to prevent them from taking shelter in his country, and it was certain that if anything in their possession should come within his reach they would at once be deprived of it.

The Tembu tribe at this time was governed by a man named Vadana, who was acting as regent during the minority of Umtirara, son and heir of the late chief Vusani. It was not by any means as strong as the number of its warriors would indicate. Vusani had taken as his great wife a woman named Nonesi, daughter of the Pondo chief Faku; but by her he had no children. Umtirara was therefore adopted

by the great house from a minor branch of the establishment, and a regent governing in the name of a child in this situation could not have much power over factious clans. The people had not recovered the losses sustained in the Zulu wars. Among them were many refugees driven down from the north, and though these nominally recognised the Tembu supremacy, in reality they acted as they chose. Then there was the large and rapidly growing clan under Mapasa, son of Bawana, on the border of the Cape Colony, at a distance from the rest of the tribe and virtually independent of it.

Vadana was sufficiently astute to see that friendship with the colony would be to his advantage. When the white people in the Kosa territory were being despoiled, he offered protection to all who could reach his country, and several families took refuge at the Wesleyan mission station Clarkebury near his kraal. Nothing can illustrate the condition of Tembuland better than the fact that shortly afterwards Vadana applied to the white men at Clarkebury for assistance against the Bacas under Ncapayi, who were about to attack him. The traders joined his army, and one of them—Robert Rawlins by name—was killed in action. The assailants were beaten back, but a large tract of country was laid waste, and a great many Tembus lost their lives.

To Sir Benjamin D'Urban's communication Vadana replied that he was ready to give all the assistance in his power, and would place his warriors at the disposal of a British officer if the governor chose to send one.

Beyond the mountains on the north also the newly-formed Basuto tribe was ready to seize plunder wherever it could be obtained. When intelligence reached Thaba Bosigo that the Kosas had invaded the colony and swept off immense herds of cattle, Moshesh decided without delay to turn the event to account. At the head of seven or eight hundred men he crossed the Drakensberg, ravaged several Kosa kraals, and seized three or four thousand head of cattle. He was then attacked by a superior force under

Hintsä, and lost most of his plunder. In this expedition his brother Makhabane was killed.

On the 31st of March the advance guard of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's army crossed the Keiskama near Fort Willshire, and entered Kaffirland. The Rarabe clans had taken shelter in the country along the base of the Amatola mountains, between the sources of the Tyumie and the easternmost tributary of the Buffalo. More beautiful scenery than this belt of land presents to the eye is nowhere to be found in South Africa, but it is a very difficult country for warfare by Europeans. It is a succession of vales and ridges, deep gorges, patches of dense forest, grassy glades studded with mimosas, and rivulets which after heavy rains rush downward in foaming torrents. As a background the mountain rises above the line of forest, its peaks of varied form and tint standing out clear and sharp against the sky. Like all the great ranges parallel to the coast, this, which on the side towards the sea appears as a mountain chain, is really the edge of an extensive tableland. Viewed from the interior plain, the peaks and domes seen from below dwindle into hummocks standing on the margin. In the winter season snow often lies for days together on the highest parts, such as Gaika's Kop and the Hogsback, but never descends to the valleys below.

Three divisions of the army and part of the fourth were employed in scouring the country at the base of the mountains. The remainder of Commandant Van Wyk's division was sent by way of the Kat river to the plain above, which is called the Bontebok flats. The objects of this movement were to prevent cattle being driven out in that direction, to intercept any parties that Hintsä might send to the assistance of the Rarabes, and to cut off communication with the emigrant Tembus, who had been making petty raids into the Tarka, though the chief Mapasa professed to be friendly.

Mapasa was a man of less than average ability among his fellows, and was exceedingly surly ; but the missionaries

at Shiloh were of opinion that he was in earnest in wishing not to embroil himself with the colonial government, and that the plundering expeditions against the colonists were chiefly undertaken by recent refugees from the Tembu country or by members of little bands that had once been subject to Mtshalela. A small Tembu clan under a captain named Kwesha, who was not on good terms with Vadana, and who was independent of Mapasa, had also recently settled in the country east of the Zwart Kei. The condition of matters in that territory was thus unfavourable to order, and some months before the war commenced Colonel Somerset expressed regret that the force at his disposal was so small that he could not establish a military post on the Zwart Kei. Sir Benjamin D'Urban now decided not to treat the emigrant Tembus as enemies, but to prevent communication between them and the Rarabes. This was one of the reasons for sending a strong body of mounted burghers to patrol the Bontebok flats.

From the 2nd to the 10th of April operations were continued along the Amatola mountains, with such success that about fifteen thousand head of cattle were recovered, and the Kaffirs were driven from every point where they attempted to make a stand. One of the most active of the burgher officers was the veteran commandant Jacobus Linde, who led the Swellendam contingent. He was seventy-five years of age, and had served with marked ability in four other Kaffir wars. The loss of the Europeans was one colonist—Lloyd by name—and three soldiers killed, and five soldiers, four burghers, and two Hottentots wounded. By the 10th the Kosas had given up all attempts to resist, and merely sought safety in concealment. Most of the Hottentots who had joined them, and who were formidable on account of being armed with guns, now surrendered.

On the 11th of April the first division moved towards the Kei. The second division, which was composed entirely of cavalry, proceeded towards the coast, with instructions to scour the country in that direction, and then join the

commander-in-chief in Hintsä's territory. The third division, under Major Cox, was directed to continue harassing the Kaffirs along the Amatola mountains, and to prevent them rallying in force. The division of burgher cavalry under Commandant Van Wyk was required to form a line extending from the Tyumie valley to the Moravian station on the Klipplaats river. It was thus in a position to guard the upper country and at the same time to strengthen the line of defence under Colonel England.

On the 15th Sir Benjamin D'Urban with the first division crossed the Kei. On the left bank of the river two Galekas were seen, one of whom—a councillor of Buku—called to the white people and asked if they knew what stream it was. He was informed that they knew it was the Kei. He then asked why they crossed it, as the country to the eastward belonged to Hintsä, who had taken no part in the war. He was told that it was not the governor's intention to act in a hostile manner if Hintsä would comply with the demands already made, and with that message he was sent to the chief. Five days were allowed for a definite answer.

The assertion that Hintsä had taken no part in the war was only true with regard to him as an individual, and not as chief of the tribe. Many Galekas, his immediate subjects, assisted the Rarabes to lay waste the districts of Albany and Somerset. Tens of thousands of cattle brought out of the colony were at that moment in his territory, having been driven there for protection, and not only so, but the greater number of the cattle belonging to the Rarabes had been placed in the safe keeping of his retainers. The trading stations in his country had been pillaged, and though the lives of the traders had been spared, two of them—by name Thomas Eccles and Robert Horton—had received very cruel treatment during a detention of thirty-six days before they were permitted to retire to Clarkebury. The missionary families at Butterworth had been threatened in such a manner that they thought it necessary to leave. With all

this to his charge, Hintsu wished to make the Europeans believe that he was acting as a neutral in the war.

He was a poor specimen of a Kosa, this paramount chief of the tribe, in intellect and in demeanour infinitely beneath Kreli, his son, who has so often been in arms against the European power in South Africa. His mother was a daughter of the Tembu captain Tshatshu, and a sister of Bawana. From her he inherited, or was commonly believed to have inherited, several odious vices. He was without affection for any one, sensual in a very high degree, and cruel to ferocity, but withal wily and plausible. His great redeeming feature was personal bravery. To the colonial government he ought to have acted in good faith, for in 1828 he had received assistance against the Amangwane which saved him from ruin, and he had no grievance of any kind against a white man. In acting as he did, he could therefore have had no motive except love of plunder.

When the troops crossed the Kei a general order was issued that the country about to be entered was not to be treated as an enemy's, and that on no account was any act of violence to be committed against the people or their property. Following the line of the present high road, the army then moved forward, and on the 17th of April reached Butterworth. The mission buildings were found in ruins, having been destroyed as soon as the reverend Mr. Ayliff retired to Clarkebury. Here, on the 20th, the second division, under Colonel Somerset, rejoined the commander-in-chief. It had scoured the country along the Gonubie river to the sea without meeting any resistance, and had destroyed some kraals and secured a couple of thousand cattle.

Shortly after the arrival of the governor at Butterworth, a number of Fingo captains made their appearance at the camp, and solicited protection. Among them were six men named Umhlambiso, Jokweni, Mabandla, Matomela, Umsutu, and Jama, who were respectively chiefs of remnants

of the Amahlubi, Amazizi, Amabele, Amareledwane, Abasekunene, and Amakuze tribes.

The Fingos, whom these headmen represented, differ slightly in appearance and much in disposition from the Kosas. The taint of Hottentot blood gives the Kosas a lighter skin, and may be the cause of their greater instability of character. The Fingos are comparatively industrious, as they came from a country where the cultivation of the soil was largely depended upon for means of subsistence. The Kosa is careless, thriftless, quick-tempered, proud, and impulsive; the Fingo is plodding, calculating, acquisitive, and cold-blooded. At first despised by the Kosas on account of their miserable condition, the Fingos soon became detested owing to their talents in overreaching.

The two peoples were thus not on friendly terms, and there were many instances in which individual Fingos were subjected to oppressive and cruel treatment. They were liable to be reviled, robbed, and assaulted almost at will, for they could get no satisfaction against a Kosa in the court of a chief. Still they were not slaves in the sense that they could be transferred from one owner to another. They were in possession of tracts of land of considerable extent, they were under the government of their own captains, and they were not prevented from carrying arms.

The application of the Fingo headmen caused the governor to adopt a large plan for the settlement of border difficulties. It involved the removal of the hostile Rarabe chiefs and their most turbulent adherents to the territory east of the Kei, the settlement of the Fingos between the Fish river and the Keiskama, and the location of the so-termed friendly Rarabes between the Keiskama and the Kei. These latter were Sutu and her son Sandile; Nonibe, great widow of Dushane, with her son Siwani; Umkayi, son of Ndlambe; Matwa and Tente, inferior sons of Gaika; and Tshatshu, captain of the Tinde clan; each with a small body of followers. Those adherents of the hostile chiefs who had not personally taken part in the great raid into the colony

or in the murder of the traders were to be allowed to attach themselves to any of these clans. The Gunukwebe captains Pato, Kama, and Kobe were also to have a large tract of land assigned to them east of the Keiskama.

The five days allowed to Hintsä to reply to the governor's demand expired without his attending to it. The Fingos were then taken under British protection, and preparations for their removal were commenced. In the meantime Captain Henry Douglas Warden with a troop of the Cape mounted rifles was sent to Clarkebury to relieve the white people there, and returned with sixty-five Europeans, missionaries, artisans, and traders, with their families. The missionaries were the reverend Messrs. W. Satchell, T. Palmer, J. Ayliff, and W. J. Davis, respectively of the stations Buntingville, Morley, Butterworth, and Clarkebury. Twenty-four Hottentots and five hundred and twenty-four Fingos, who had attached themselves to the Europeans, also accompanied the relief party on its return. When Clarkebury was abandoned, the only station occupied by missionaries in any part of Kaffirland was Shiloh, on the Klipplaats river.

On the 21st of April a British settler named Armstrong, then serving as an ensign in the colonial force, was sent to the colony with despatches, and was provided with an escort of thirty men. On the road he very imprudently loitered behind the escort, and was murdered by some Galekas. Information of this event was conveyed to the camp, when a patrol was sent out and found the body with five assagai wounds.

On the 24th, nine days after the passage of the Kei by the colonial army, one of Hintsä's councillors, who had come to the camp and was believed to be a spy, was sent by the governor to the chief with a declaration of war. On the following day the first division moved to the Zolo river, a tributary of the Tsomo, leaving the second at the camp close to Butterworth.

Colonel Smith with a strong patrol of burghers and

Cape mounted riflemen now began to scour the country, and between the 24th and 28th of April succeeded in capturing about fifteen thousand head of cattle. Captain Warden also with a troop of the Cape mounted riflemen joined the Tembu regent Vadana, and on the 27th attacked one of Hintsa's kraals on the Bashee and took four thousand head of cattle.

By these movements the chief was convinced of the power of the European force in his country, and on the 29th of April, under the governor's pledge of personal safety, he came to the camp with fifty followers. There on the following day terms of peace were concluded. Hintsa undertook to deliver twenty-five thousand head of horned cattle and five hundred horses immediately, and the same number of each at the expiration of a year; to cause Makoma, Tyali, Eno, Botumane, Umhala, and Siyolo to cease hostilities and to surrender their firearms; to punish with death one of his people who murdered a trader named William Purcell in his territory on the 13th of July 1834 for no other offence than refusing to sell goods on a Sunday; and to pay three hundred head of good cattle to each of the widows Purcell and Armstrong. For the due fulfilment of these terms Hintsa agreed to give two hostages, and voluntarily offered himself as one. His brother Buku came to the camp shortly afterwards, and remained as the other.

Thereupon hostilities ceased, and on the 2nd of May the first division began to move towards the colony. Before it reached the Kei, information was received from Colonel Somerset, who had been left near Butterworth with the second division, that by order of Hintsa and Buku the Kosas had commenced to attack parties of Fingos, had murdered several, and that a general massacre was imminent. The governor thereupon threatened Hintsa that if the Fingos were further molested, he and all the Kosas with him would be held responsible, and would be hanged, as by this act the assurance of personal safety which had been given to him was forfeited. The chief seemed to

consider the murder of the Fingos a matter of no great importance, but finding his own life endangered thereby, he issued an order to his people to cease molesting them, which was at once obeyed.

The attack upon the Fingos, however, was not an act of wantonness, for the Kosas had been sorely provoked. As soon as the Fingos were assured of British protection and of removal to a new country, they commenced to seize cattle to take with them, and what followed was the natural result of such conduct.

On the 6th of May Colonel Somerset moved from Butterworth with these people, and on the 14th reached the district in which it was intended the greater number of them should be located. This was the block of land between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, and the roads running eastward through Trompetter's and Committee's drifts. The reverend John Ayliff was stationed at a suitable place with this party of Fingos. Another, but much smaller, party was located on the banks of the Gaga streamlet. A census taken as they crossed the Keiskama showed that they were in round numbers two thousand men, five thousand six hundred women, and nine thousand two hundred children. They had twenty-two thousand two hundred head of cattle.

While the first and second divisions of the invading force were engaged beyond the Kei, the third and fourth divisions continued to follow up the Barabes, without, however, being able to do them much injury. It was believed by the Europeans that they had lost all heart, and would be glad to accept reasonable terms of peace. Accordingly, on the 4th of May Colonel Smith issued a notice and sent it among them, offering that if they would surrender their arms they could keep all the cattle then in their possession, except such as belonged to colonists, and promising that none would be detained as prisoners except chiefs, who would be well treated while awaiting the king's pleasure. It was intended to remove them to the territory

beyond the Kei. But to the surprise of the British officers no one accepted the conditions, for in reality the Rarabes regarded themselves as very far from subdued.

On the 10th of May Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation—repeated in Grahamstown on the 16th of June—by which the country from the border of 1819 eastward to the right bank of the Kei from its source in the Stormberg to the sea was annexed to the British dominions. To this territory the name Province of Queen Adelaide was given.

After the issue of the proclamation the first division of the army crossed the Kei, leaving only five hundred men on the eastern side. Hintsä had not yet delivered the cattle according to the agreement of the 30th of April, and from the point of view of himself and his people it was excusable that he had not done so. The reception of the Fingos as British subjects, and the protection which enabled those refugees to rob the Galekas of their choicest herds, in their opinion cancelled all previous arrangements.

But instead of openly assigning this as the cause of his not fulfilling his agreement, and claiming a deduction of his debt to the extent of the number of cattle driven off by the Fingos—a claim which Sir Benjamin D'Urban could not have refused to admit,—Hintsä gave as an excuse that his followers would not obey his orders to bring in the oxen and cows which the Rarabes had placed in their charge. He was naturally reluctant to leave his people and his territory, and when he saw that he was about to be taken as a hostage across the Kei, he proposed to the governor that a patrol should be sent with him to collect the cattle, while his son Kreli (correct Kosa Sarili) and his brother Buku should remain in the British camp. His object—though unsuspected at the time—was to make his escape, and for the fate of his son and his brother he was without concern. Sir Benjamin D'Urban consented to the proposal, and Colonel Smith with five hundred men marched towards the Bashee to carry it out.

On the second day of the march, while following the spoor of an immense drove of cattle, the patrol came to a very steep hill, and all except Colonel Smith dismounted to spare their horses. The colonel was riding in advance. Next came the chief and his attendants, carrying bundles of assagais as was their usual custom, and leading their horses, the one which Hintsä had in hand being a remarkably strong animal. The top was a long and nearly level ridge, and having gained it, Hintsä mounted and suddenly dashed forward at full speed. The troops were still toiling up the path.

The chief was pursued by Colonel Smith and Messrs. William Shaw and George and William Southey, of the corps of guides. The colonel overtook the fugitive, and galloping at headlong speed by his side called to him to stop, but he would not. The colonel drew a pistol and tried to fire, but as the cock snapped twice he threw it away, and grasping the chief's kaross pulled him over. Hintsä quickly sprang from the ground, and hurled an assagai at his opponent, which fell short, as the horse would not be reined in. In another instant he was running down the side of the hill. Mr. George Southey called to him in Kaffir to stop, and as he took no heed, fired and slightly wounded him. A second shot inflicted a wound which must in time have proved mortal, though the chief lost none of his agility after receiving it. Southey and another followed down the hill, but Hintsä reached a thicket at the bottom before them. Here, while Southey was searching about, he heard behind him a sound caused by the rattle of an assagai against a rock. Turning round, he saw Hintsä almost within arm's length, in the very act of quivering an assagai, and on the impulse of the moment he fired. The chief fell with his skull blown away. Some wretch, whose name is unknown, had the barbarity afterwards to cut off the ears, and in that mutilated state the corpse was carried by a party of soldiers to the nearest Kaffir kraal and left there. He was buried by his own people at the foot of the Bongo hill, in the present district of Willowvale.

Continuing his march, the same evening Colonel Smith crossed the Bashee, and on its right bank captured three thousand head of cattle, some of which were recognised as the property of colonists. Next morning very early with a party of picked men he pushed on farther, leaving a strong guard with the captured cattle. During his absence Lieutenant White, who was mentioned in a preceding chapter as one of the successful breeders of merino sheep, was killed by Kaffirs. This gentleman held the position of major in a volunteer corps, and being an experienced surveyor and draughtsman was employed in making a chart of the country. He left the cattle-guard, and with an escort of only four Hottentot soldiers went to the top of a hill to get the bearings of prominent points in the surrounding country. While thus engaged, a party of Kaffirs crept stealthily up and killed him and one of the Hottentots. His body was recovered, and was buried by his comrades on the bank of the Bashee.

Colonel Smith did not succeed in obtaining any more cattle, and on the 17th of May with his patrol he recrossed the Kei. About a thousand Fingos joined him during the march, and accompanied him to the province of Queen Adelaide.

When information of the death of Hintsä reached Sir Benjamin D'Urban he immediately had an interview with Kreli, with the result that on the 19th of May an agreement was concluded with the young chief. The terms were that there should be peace between the contracting parties; that Kreli should recognise and respect the Kei as the colonial boundary; that he should deliver the cattle which his father had undertaken to surrender; that he should receive into his territory east of the Kei the clans of Makoma, Tyali, Eno, Botumane, Umhala, and Siyolo, and not permit them to recross the river without permission from the governor; and that he should not in any way molest the Tembus under the regent Vadana. Kreli was then permitted to return to the people whose chief he had become. Buku remained a

hostage for the fulfilment of the agreement made by Hintsä, and was detained two months in Grahamstown; but was then set at liberty.

In the meantime efforts to induce the Rarabe chiefs to submit to the governor's conditions were made in vain. Sutu indeed represented that they were in great distress, and through her agency Major Cox had an interview with them at the foot of Intaba-ka-Ndoda on the 13th of May; but they declined even to discuss the question of the removal of their clans across the Kei. They showed clearly that they were still able to resist, not only by their defiant attitude, but by sending raiding parties to a great distance into the colony. Many farms in Albany, Somerset, and Uitenhage had been reoccupied, and their owners were now again subjected to a course of pillage and destruction of property.

At this time seven Europeans—Jan Greyling, James Jenkins, Mrs. Jacob Trollip, John Bentley, James Jubber, — Chipperfield, and — Faber—were murdered in cold blood in the colony by raiding parties. The first of these, Jan Greyling, had distinguished himself by bravery in the actions along the Amatola mountains. He was returning home on leave when he met his death. His father was one of those who were murdered with Landdrost Stockenström in 1812, and his mother some time after that event became the wife of Commandant Pieter Retief, who was destined to meet a similar fate on a more conspicuous field. A little earlier a farmer named Andries de Lange was murdered on the Koonap, and some weeks later a colonist named Tobias Tharratt met his death by the hand of roving Kaffirs at Botha's hill.

The Rarabes were encouraged to continue the war by the language and conduct of the party in the colony that even under these terrible circumstances tried to make it appear that they were right and the white people to blame. The first shot that was fired against a black man made the reverend Dr. Philip an enemy of the governor, and thence-

forth all his energy was devoted to supporting the cause of the Kosas. Those who took part with him were few in number, but they spoke and wrote with the knowledge that in England they would have strong sympathy. Public meetings were held in the principal villages of the colony, at which the action of Dr. Philip and his partisans was indignantly condemned, and the governor in various public notices censured their unnatural attitude, but all to no purpose.

The Wesleyan and the Scotch missionaries, the men who had been living among the Kaffirs and who took the deepest interest in their welfare, with one solitary exception—the reverend Stephen Kay, then resident in Europe—supported the government and the colonists, and not only found themselves abused in English newspapers for doing so, but—the Wesleyans particularly—learned that they were regarded as backsliders by the societies that sent them out. They were taught a lesson indeed that only the most courageous and godfearing among them afterwards dared to disregard: never to run counter to the prejudices of their supporters. The motives of Dr. Philip's party could not be comprehended by the Kaffirs, but they knew that certain white men—who they were told were persons with great interest in England—were advocating their cause, and it led them to believe that by holding out they might at length secure peace on their own terms.

The governor caused a number of forts of very simple construction to be built and occupied in the province of Queen Adelaide. Along the Buffalo river there were three: Fort Beresford—named after one of his aides-de-camp—near the source; one at the site selected for a camp and for the residence of the military officer in command of the province, which on the 24th of May was named King-Williamstown; and one on the right bank of the river about eight miles farther down, which was named Fort Murray after the colonel of the 42nd highlanders. Between the Buffalo and the Kei there were three: Fort Wellington,

named after the great duke, on the Gonubie hill near the source of the Gonubie river; Fort Warden, called after Captain Warden of the Cape mounted rifles, on the Impotshana, five or six miles from the Kei; and Fort Waterloo, half-way between these and the sea. On the upper Keiskama was Fort Cox, named after Major Cox, and on the line of communication between Fort Willshire and King-Williamstown was Fort White, named after the worthy colonist who was killed on the Bashee.

In the old ceded territory three new forts were built: Montgomery Williams, on the right bank of the Keiskama, half-way between Fort Willshire and the sea; Fort Thomson, called after the commanding officer of the royal engineers, near the junction of the Gaga and the Tyumie; and Fort Peddie, called after the lieutenant-colonel of the 73rd, in the centre of the Fingo locations.

The planting season was now well advanced, so on the 23rd of May the farmers were permitted to return to their homes for the purpose of getting in crops of grain. An arrangement was made by which a little assistance was given to those who were utterly ruined. Of the money lent by Lord Charles Somerset to the sufferers by the flood of July 1822, a portion had been repaid, and was then lying in the government bank. Sir Benjamin D'Urban appointed Mr. Hougham Hudson a commissioner to lend this fund again in small sums to the most distressed of the frontier farmers. It amounted to 6,792*l.*, and there was also a sum of 9,019*l.* received for captured cattle sold by auction, which was distributed in proportion to losses sustained.

To this date the whole of the forces in the field were supplied by the government with provisions, but neither the burghers nor the Hottentot levies had received any pay. When the farmers were permitted to return home for a time, the Hottentots were retained in service, and the governor therefore thought it only just that they should have some compensating privilege. From the 1st of June they were paid on the same scale as British infantry.

This arrangement of releasing the burghers and detaining the Hottentots was carried out on the principle that it was for the public good to get crops in the ground, while at the same time it was necessary to keep a force in the field. But the philanthropists in England regarded it as an act of injustice towards the coloured people, and it was one of the most serious complaints afterwards made and repeated again and again concerning the governor.

Undoubtedly the opinions of Sir Benjamin D'Urban had undergone a great change since the outbreak of the war. He had come to know the Kaffirs as they were, and no longer believed them to possess the virtues of civilised Europeans. He had learned much about the Hottentots also, and had discovered that Dr. Philip's views were greatly distorted. He had ceased to be a philanthropist in the sense in which that word was appropriated by the English societies, but had not lost an atom of his former desire to benefit the coloured races of South Africa. Only he would deal with them as they really were, and not as the docile and inoffensive beings they were pictured to be by those who claimed the title of their only friends.

The soldiers, the colonial volunteers, and the Hottentot levies were now kept constantly employed following the Kaffirs from one stronghold to another. The object being to compel them to retire across the Kei, as much damage as possible was done to their cornpits, so as to reduce their means of subsistence in the province of Queen Adelaide. This also was one of the charges afterwards made against Sir Benjamin D'Urban, as if it proceeded from inhumanity, and was not a necessity of war.

On the 11th of June the governor proceeded to Grahamstown to attend to matters connected with the civil administration of the colony, leaving Colonel Smith in command at King-Williamstown.

On the 25th of June Lieutenant Charles Bailie, a young colonist of great promise, left King-Williamstown with twenty-eight Hottentots to assist in scouring a kloof near

Intaba-ka-Ndoda. The party was surrounded by a large number of Kaffirs, and on the 27th was brought to a stand not far from the abandoned mission station Pirie. There, when their ammunition was expended, the whole were killed. Some days afterwards the dead bodies were found by a patrol, and were buried on the spot, which is still called Bailie's grave. The comfortable home which this colonist had created by his industry was burned to the ground, and his young widow, who had been obliged to flee from it for her life, was left so destitute that the only property she had in the world beyond her personal attire was a bible found in her dead husband's belt and forwarded to her.¹

On the 20th of July a boat from a little coasting schooner named the *James* put ashore at the mouth of the Tshalumna river to procure wood and water. About fifty Kaffirs approached, who at first seemed friendly, but presently seized some firearms which the seamen had with them. Two of the sailors ran into the sea, and managed to swim off to their vessel; the other two were stabbed to death with assagais.

¹ An unusual interest is attached to the fate of this young man, owing to his father, Mr. John Bailie, having been the head of the first party of British settlers of 1820, and to the effect which his death had upon his family. The old man was utterly ruined in purse by the war, but grieved little about that. The loss of this son, however, caused him to become careless and reckless. When the great emigration which will be treated of in a future chapter took place, he with another son and their families went beyond the Orange river, and there several years later in a quarrel caused the death of a farmer named Duplooy. For this offence John and Thomas Bailie were tried by the circuit court at Uitenhage in April 1846, were found guilty of murder, and were sentenced to be hanged. This sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, but some months later additional evidence was given by Duplooy's widow which showed the act to have been committed in defence, as the prisoners had all along maintained. In December 1847, therefore, they received a free pardon, that being the legal manner of release from confinement. At this time a brother of the elder Bailie was in command of a regiment in India. The misfortunes of this family, once among the most thriving on the eastern frontier, naturally called forth strong expressions of sympathy in Lower Albany.

As soon as the seed grain was in the ground a notice was issued to the burghers that they must prepare to take the field again. But by this time the governor was convinced that even if he could drive the Rarabes across the Kei the means at his disposal were insufficient to keep them there, and he was inclined to make peace on terms that would admit of their remaining in the province of Queen Adelaide under military supervision. The reverend William Boyce, one of the ablest and most devoted of the Wesleyan missionaries, suggested a plan by which communications could be opened with the chiefs without compromising the government, and Sir Benjamin gladly availed himself of it.

Early in August the reverend Messrs. William Boyce, William Shepstone, and Samuel Palmer, Wesleyan missionaries well known by the Kaffirs, proceeded to Pato's residence on the Beka. Although the Gaika and Gunukwebe clans bore no love to each other, there were close matrimonial connections between the families of the chiefs, and several women were found willing to convey messages to their relatives who were in the Amatola fastnesses. The missionaries sent assurances of sorrow for the condition of the chiefs, and advised them to apply to the governor for merciful terms, stating as a matter of private opinion that in such case less onerous conditions than their expulsion from the country west of the Kei would perhaps be imposed, recommending them to ask for land to live on under English protection, and promising to intercede with his Excellency on their behalf. The chiefs were also informed that it was the governor's intention to collect a very strong burgher force again, and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, so that no time was to be lost if they accepted the advice given.

The women easily ascertained where Makoma and Tyali were to be found, and they delivered the message correctly. The chiefs, who were anxious for peace provided it did not imply the loss of their land, at once determined to follow the counsel of the missionaries. Accordingly, on the 15th

of August they sent an envoy to the officer commanding a patrol in their neighbourhood to ask for a conference. Major Cox and Captain Warden consented, and met Makoma and Tyali, who were attended by six or eight hundred men, fully three hundred of whom were armed with muskets. A suspension of hostilities was agreed to until the governor could be communicated with, and Captain Warden immediately set out for Grahamstown with the intelligence.

The governor directed the captain to return and inform the chiefs that if they would agree to become British subjects and to submit to restraint in a few small particulars which were named, he would grant them peace. In pursuance of these instructions, Colonel Smith, Major Cox, and Captain Warden held another conference with Makoma and Tyali, who were attended on this occasion by about four thousand well-armed men. They elected to accept the conditions, and it was arranged that they should meet the governor at Fort Willshire on the 11th of September, and settle the details of the agreement.

All this time nothing was heard from England concerning relief. Under very favourable circumstances a reply from the imperial government to a letter from Capetown could be received in from four and a half to five months, but usually a much longer time was taken. In this instance the English ministry believed that military aid was not needed, and consequently none was sent out.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban had left instructions that in case reinforcements from England should reach Capetown or Simonstown while he was on the frontier, they were to be sent forward with all possible haste. On the 18th of August the transport *Rodney* arrived in Simon's Bay from Cork with the 27th regiment, five hundred and forty officers and men, but she brought no other information concerning these troops than that their destination was the Cape Colony. As soon as refreshments could be taken on board, she sailed again for Algoa Bay, and on the 8th of September the 27th regiment marched into

Grahamstown. Ten days later Sir Benjamin D'Urban received a letter from Lord Fitzroy Somerset, dated the 8th of April, in which he was informed that the 27th was sent out to relieve the 98th, and not to strengthen the force under his command. The governor, however, took the responsibility of keeping both regiments in the colony.

The arrival of these soldiers and the assembling of the farmers again, which took place at the same time, greatly strengthened the hands of Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the negotiations which followed, though neither the troops nor the burghers were called upon to take an active part in the field.

On the 8th of September the governor arrived at Fort Willshire, and on the 11th Makoma, Tyali, Eno, and some others proceeded there to meet him. But now a difficulty arose in the fact that the Kaffirs during the truce had continued their depredations in the colony just as in time of war. The governor therefore gave the chiefs a few days to prove their earnestness by recalling their followers. When this was done, on the 17th of September Makoma, Tyali, Eno, Kusha for Sutu and her son Sandile, and Fadana for Botumane, attached their marks to a document, in which they agreed to become British subjects and to live in submission to the general laws of the Cape Colony, though retaining their own laws and customs for the domestic government of their people; to surrender all the muskets in their possession; and each to pay a fat ox yearly in token of fealty. On the other part, the governor agreed to protect them in person and property, and to assign for their use the land between the Tyumie and Kei rivers from the ridge of the Amatola mountains to a line passing along the Keiskama river from the junction of the Tyumie, the Debe river, the Debe neck, the Pirie mission station, the Isidenge hill, and the Kabousie river, with reservation of the right to take ground for roads, outspan places, churches, schools, magistracies, military posts, and other public purposes. Anta,

having joined Makoma at the commencement of the war, was regarded by the governor as one of that chief's captains, and was therefore not included by name in this agreement, though he was one of the consenting parties.

At the same time and place a precisely similar arrangement was concluded with Umhala, Siyolo, and a captain named Gasela, in which they had land assigned to them between the Kei and Nahoon rivers from the sea up to a line running a mile south of the high road from King-Williamstown to the principal ford of the Kei. Gasela here named was a grandson of Karabe by a minor wife, and had emerged from obscurity during the war.

On the same day, at the Beka, the Gunukwebe captains Pato, Kama, and Kobe, who had been regarded as allies of the colony, affixed their marks to a document of like import, in which the land assigned for their use was the territory between the Fish and Buffalo rivers, from the sea up to a line running from Kaffir drift on the Fish river to Ford's drift on the Buffalo. Thus they were rewarded for the part they had taken by the restoration of their ancient possessions east of the Fish river and by the addition of a large tract of land west of the Buffalo.

In these arrangements land adjoining Burnshill was apportioned to Sutu and Sandile, adjoining the Tyumie mission station to Matwa and Tente, on the right bank of the Buffalo above the Gunukwebe line to Nonibe and her son Siwani, who during the war had been living on the Beka with the reverend Mr. Dugmore under colonial protection, and in the same neighbourhood to Umkayi. It was further stipulated that no Kaffir should cross the western boundary of the locations without a pass from a government commissioner, or armed, under penalty of being shot.

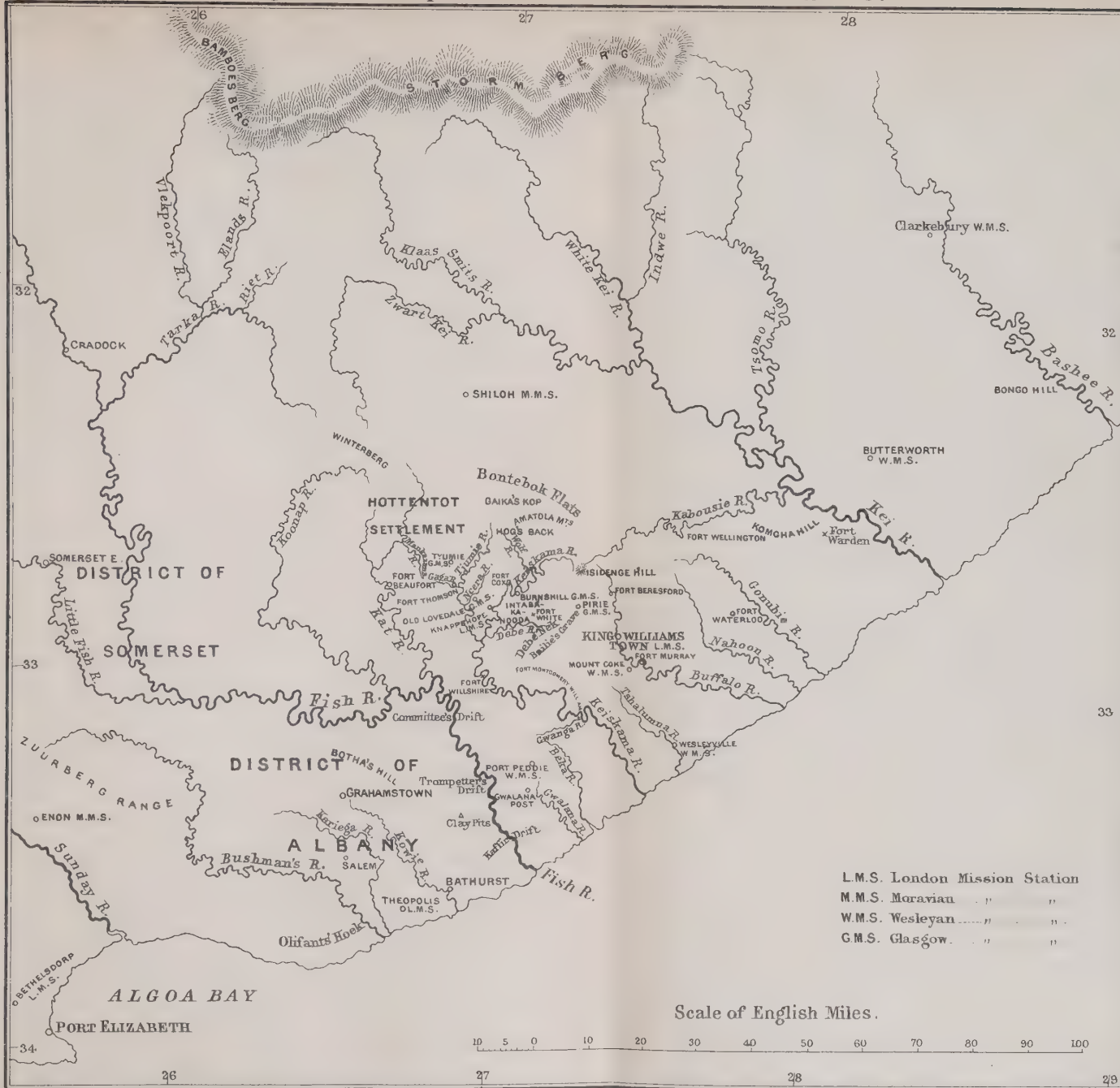
The only land in the province of Queen Adelaide left ungranted after the clans were finally located was the narrow tract between the Buffalo and Nahoon rivers, which the governor reserved for occupation by white people. But

he intended to strengthen the European element on the border by allotting to colonists all the ground in the territory ceded by Gaika in 1819 that was not in possession of the Gunukwebes and the Fingos.

The leading events of the war have been related, but the misery which it caused to the colonists has only been partly pointed out. Those who were murdered or fell in action were not by any means all whose lives were lost. Care, anxiety, and distress brought many men and women to their graves, and the number would have been enormously increased if rations had not been furnished by the military commissariat to those who must otherwise have perished of want. About sixty thousand head of cattle had been retaken from the Kaffirs, but four-fifths of these were either lost again, died from fatigue and poverty, or were slaughtered for the use of the forces in the field. It was one of the hardships of the war that a farmer often assisted to recapture his own cattle, and afterwards saw them used by the army. Another hardship was that supplies of grain, waggons, &c., were requisitioned from those who had them, and promises of payment could not be met for want of funds. When the accounts were adjusted, it was ascertained that the cost of the war to the imperial government, or the excess of the military expenditure above that of the previous year, was 154,000*l*. The ordinary military expenditure was 96,000*l*.

The loss of men by the Kaffirs was considerable, though it cannot be accurately stated. According to the reports of the commissioners who were employed to locate the clans, about four thousand had fallen, but shortly after the conclusion of peace the Kaffirs began to deny that the number was anything like as large as that. Without a roll-call there could be no absolute certainty, for in bush warfare much was founded on conjecture. Their kraals were burned, but the erection of new huts was easy, and this was not regarded by them as of much importance. It was of greater consequence that large quantities of maize and millet had been destroyed, and that cattle—the chief wealth of the

Map XIII. This map shows the scene of Hostilities in 1834-5.



Kaffirs—had almost disappeared from the province of Queen Adelaide. The Rarabes had taken nearly twice as many from the colonists as had been retaken from them, but the waste during the war was enormous. Cows were driven about from place to place while their calves were perishing, oxen were slaughtered recklessly to furnish a single meal. When hostilities ended, the Galekas declined to give up the cattle that had been placed under their care, so that the Rarabes found themselves in a condition of great poverty. Fortunately for them, it was the planting season for maize and millet, and there was sufficient seed left.

The only people who gained by the war were the Fingos. From being outcasts, they had become possessed of land and cattle, and were now an organised community in a fair way towards prosperity.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, GOVERNOR, DISMISSED 20TH
JANUARY 1838.

Arrangements for the administration of the province of Queen Adelaide—Census of the province—Resumption of their work by the missionaries—Dealings with the emigrant Tembus—Annexation to the colony of the land between the Stormberg spruit and the Kraai river—Cession of territory by the chief Kreli—First landing of goods at the mouth of the Buffalo river—Popularity of Sir Benjamin D'Urban—Opposition to the governor's measures by the reverend Dr. Philip's party—Proceedings of Dr. Philip in England—Alliance of Captain Andries Stockenstrom with Dr. Philip's party—Attitude of Earl Glenelg, secretary of state for the colonies—Subversion of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's settlement of border difficulties—Consternation throughout South Africa—Appointment of Captain Stockenstrom as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts with very extensive special power—Commencement of a great emigration of farmers from the colony—Approval of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's proceedings by the whole of the members of the legislative council—Attitude of the British settlers towards the lieutenant-governor—Renunciation by the lieutenant-governor of British authority in the province of Queen Adelaide—Conclusion of treaties on equal terms with the Rarabe, Fingo, and emigrant Tembu chiefs—Deplorable condition of the eastern districts after these events—Attack by Kaffirs upon the Fingos—Abortive scheme of the lieutenant-governor to form a line of Hottentot locations along the Fish river—Series of noteworthy prosecutions for libel—Creation of the districts of Port Elizabeth, Colesberg, and Cradock—Introduction of municipal government in the towns and villages—Establishment of the Cape of Good Hope bank—Different views held by Earl Glenelg and Sir Benjamin D'Urban—Dismissal of the governor—Arrival of Major-General George Thomas Napier as his successor—Subsequent career of Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

THERE was again peace in the land. The settlement was not indeed as satisfactory as if the restless Rarabe chiefs and the most turbulent of their followers had been removed beyond the Kei, but the colonists recognised that the governor had made the best arrangements possible with the limited means at his disposal.

Colonel Smith was left at King-Williamstown with military control over the province of Queen Adelaide. Sir

Benjamin D'Urban's plans were to encourage the settlement of Christian missionaries—not political agitators—among the Kaffirs, to prevent the clans from fighting with each other, to suppress the cruel practices connected with accusations of having dealt in witchcraft, to guide and control the chiefs in the government of their people by stationing respectable European agents with them, to prohibit the sale of munitions of war and intoxicating liquors while promoting commerce in useful articles, and generally to embrace every opportunity to foster a love of industry, order, and civilisation by the new subjects of the British crown.

To carry out these plans several officers of ability and merit were selected. Mr. Hougham Hudson was appointed agent-general, in which capacity he was to be the medium through whom the subordinate agents were to receive instructions and correspond with the government. He was stationed at Grahamstown, where he was also to perform the duty of resident magistrate. Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, who had served as an interpreter during the war, was placed in his office as a clerk.

As agent with the Gaika, Imidange, and Amambala clans, Captain Charles Lennox Stretch, previously an officer in the Cape regiment, was selected. Captain Stretch was fond of maintaining that coloured people could easily be raised to the intellectual level of Europeans, and he held some fanciful theories with regard to miscegenation; but he was an energetic and kindhearted man, and was possessed with an ardent desire to be of use in improving the condition of the Kosas. He was stationed at Fort Cox.

Mr. Richard Southey, one of the most active and intelligent officers of volunteers who had come under the governor's notice during the war, was placed with the clans of Tshatshu, Umkayi, and Siwani, the last of whom was under the guardianship of his mother Nonibe. These clans occupied the country between the Buffalo and Keiskama rivers from the Gaika line on the north to the Gunukwebe

line on the south. Mr. Southey was stationed at Fort Murray.

With the clans under Umhala and Siyolo between the Nahoon and Kei rivers, Mr. Fleetwood Rawstorne was appointed agent, and was stationed at Fort Waterloo.

With the Gunukwebes Mr. John Mitford Bowker was appointed agent, and was stationed at Fort Peddie, as he was also to be superintendent of the Fingos.

The agents were to act practically as controllers of the chiefs, though they were to avoid giving offence, and were to appear as friendly advisers in social and general matters. They were to take preliminary examinations in cases of murder, rape, arson, assault, and theft; and if the evidence was sufficient, were to send persons charged with such crimes to the military commandant to be tried by court martial until a simple code of laws could be framed and sanctioned by the imperial government. A small body of Kaffir police was enrolled to assist them. To the chiefs was left power to try petty criminal cases and all civil cases whatever.

A census was taken, and it was ascertained that the Kosas west of the Kei numbered in all seventy-two thousand seven hundred souls. Of these, seven thousand five hundred were Gunukwebes, nearly a thousand were Tindes, and nine thousand two hundred were under descendants of Ndlambe. With the Fingos, the total number of Bantu between the Fish river and the Kei south of the Amatola range was thus ninety thousand five hundred.

As soon as order was restored, the missionaries returned and resumed their work. The Tyumie, Burnshill, and Pirie stations were reoccupied by the reverend William Chalmers, James Laing, and John Ross, with Messrs. James Weir and Alexander M'Diarmid as assistants at the first two places. Mr. John Bennie re-established the Lovedale station, but as the buildings at the Ncera had been destroyed, he chose a new and much better site, near the junction of the Gaga and Tyumie rivers. These four stations were in the district

assigned to the Gaika clans, and were maintained by the Glasgow society, Lovedale, Burnshill, and Pirie being named in honour of Dr. Love, the reverend John Burns, and the reverend Alexander Pirie, who were among the founders of that association. The reverend Frederick Kayser, of the London society, also returned to Knappshope, on the Keiskama, and within the Gaika district.

The reverend John Brownlee, of the London society, the first missionary in the country, resumed his work with Tshatshu's clan. The reverend William Shepstone reoccupied Wesleyville, the reverend William Boyce reoccupied Mount Coke, and the reverend John Ayliff continued at Fort Peddie. The last three were agents of the Wesleyan society.

The governor was desirous that missionaries should return to the stations beyond the Kei as soon as possible, and with a view of trying to effect a reconciliation of the tribes there, who were quarrelling with each other, Captain P. Delancey, of the 75th regiment, was directed to visit the different chiefs. On the 23rd of January 1836 with an escort of a hundred and ten men he left Fort Warden, of which post he was in command, and proceeded on the journey. He visited in succession Kreli, Vadana, and Faku, and obtained their promises to keep peace with each other and with the colony. Three of Ncapayi's councillors also met him, and in the name of their chief made a similar promise. The reverend Samuel Palmer accompanied the party, and Messrs. William Fynn and Aaron Aldum went with it as interpreters. On the 17th of February Captain Delancey reported himself at headquarters in King-Williamstown, without the least accident having occurred during the journey. Immediately after this the stations of Butterworth, Morley, Clarkebury, and Buntingville were reoccupied by the Wesleyan missionaries.

By the extension of the British dominions to the Kei from its source in the Stormberg to the sea the country occupied by the emigrant Tembus was taken in, though

those people had never been declared enemies. The constant strife that prevailed among them and the losses which the inhabitants of the Tarka sustained from their predatory habits, however, made it advisable to bring them under control. To obtain the consent of their principal chief to the act of annexation, Colonel Smith proceeded to the Moravian station Shiloh on the Klipplaats river, and there on the 23rd of October 1835 had an interview with Mapasa. The chief offered no objection to the arrangements that had been made. He engaged to obey the orders of government officers, to assist in preventing his people from plundering the colonists, to restore stolen cattle found in his kraals, and to have nothing to do with the late enemies of the colony. He was then formally taken under British protection.

Beyond the north-eastern border of the colony there was a tract of land partly occupied by farmers, but of which the larger portion was uninhabited except when cattle were driven from Somerset to graze there, or Bushmen from the neighbouring mountains roamed into it in pursuit of game, or the followers of a roving Basuto chief named Moyakisani—who was called by the Europeans Kaptyn or Captain April—made a temporary abode in it for the same purpose. To bring the wanderers there under the colonial laws, on the 14th of October 1835 Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation from Grahamstown, declaring the north-eastern boundary of the colony to be a line from the source of the Kei in the Stormberg to the source of the Kraai on the northern side of the same range, thence along the left bank of the Kraai to the Orange, and thence the Orange to the junction of the Stormberg spruit.

Mr. James O'Reilly, special justice of the peace at Cradock, was sent to obtain Moyakisani's consent, and found him hunting on the banks of the Kraai. On the 26th of December 1835 an agreement was made, by which he and his people were taken under British protection. But he did not comprehend what he was doing. He subsequently became a subject of Moshesh, though as he was a son

of Motlomi he was of much higher hereditary rank than his new head. He then went to live at the Koesberg, and in the course of a few years the circumstance of his having once consented to become a British subject was forgotten by all parties to the arrangement.

In the Galeka country shortly after the war disease broke out among the horned cattle, and many thousands died. The chief Kreli was really desirous of effecting a settlement with the colonial authorities, but was reluctant to part with as many oxen as were due according to the terms of peace. He sent in rather more than three thousand head, which for one in his position and with his views must be regarded as exceedingly creditable. An intimation was then made to him that the governor might accept land in payment of the balance, and accordingly he and Buku sent five of their councillors to King-Williamstown, where on the 11th of December an arrangement was concluded with Colonel Smith. The councillors on behalf of the chiefs ceded to the British government the land five miles on each side of the high road from the Kei drift past Butterworth to the Gona river, with a radius of fifteen miles round the Butterworth station, and thence the right of way to the lower ford of the Bashee in one direction and to Clarkebury in the other. In return the balance of the debt was remitted. This agreement was confirmed by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and thus a matter that might have led to much irritation was removed.

The Gaikas meantime petitioned for an extension of their land, and all that was not vacant west of Tshatshu's location between the Buffalo and the Keiskama was assigned to them.

The whole of the Rarabe country east of the line of 1819 was thus given to the Kaffirs, with the exception of small reserves around the military stations and the narrow belt between the Buffalo and Nahoon rivers. On the reserves the governor intended to allow traders to establish themselves, and to locate parties of Fingos. Along the eastern

bank of the Buffalo, as far as the Nahoon, he thought of placing a compact body of white settlers. They would not be more exposed in that position than on the right bank of the Fish river, and they would be protected by a line of forts extending from the sea to King-Williamstown. In this manner the Rarabe country would be divided into two sections. No steps were taken to carry this plan into effect, however, until the approval of the secretary of state should be obtained.

It was regarded as certain that the mouth of the Buffalo river could be used by shipping, though as yet no proper survey had been made. A little later the commissariat department chartered the brig *Knysna*, and on the 19th of November 1836 she arrived there with a cargo of grain. Her master, the same Captain John Findlay who has been mentioned in connection with Lord Charles Somerset's matters, did not think it prudent to attempt to cross the bar, so the grain was sent in with boats. The brig lay at anchor off the mouth of the river until the 31st of January 1837. She was built by Mr. George Rex on the bank of the Knysna river a short distance below the ford.¹ The owner's son, Mr. John Rex, brought in her a quantity of merchandise, which he disposed of to traders, taking hides in exchange. The whole cargo was landed and the hides were taken on board without the slightest mishap. Colonel Smith by this time was replaced by Captain Stockenstrom, who was so pleased with the success of the experiment that he named the mouth of the river Port Rex, in honour of the owner of the vessel. The name, however, did not come into general use, and as no ships touched there during the next ten years it dropped out of remembrance.

As soon as the arrangements for the province of Queen Adelaide were in a fair way towards completion, the governor left the frontier, and reached Capetown on the 30th of

¹ She was built of stinkwood, which proved exceedingly durable though somewhat heavy. For many years after this date the *Knysna* was employed as a collier on the English coast.

December 1835, after an absence of nearly a twelvemonth. Never since the days of Father Tulbagh had a South African ruler been as popular as Sir Benjamin D'Urban at this time. His ability, straightforwardness, and warm sympathy with the distressed caused him to be esteemed and beloved. Respectful addresses poured in from all parts of the colony, and at every stage on his return journey to Capetown the people did their utmost to testify their affection and loyalty. Nor was this confined to the farmers and the townspeople. The Moravian, Wesleyan, and Scotch missionaries were equally forward in commending his conduct, and the two missionaries of the London society who were living with the Kaffirs fully approved of the settlement he had made.

Yet neither the colonists nor the missionaries anticipated that cattle stealing would be entirely prevented by that settlement. Every frontiersman knew that no system which could be devised would have such an effect, because theft was not regarded by a Kaffir as a moral offence, and when cleverly performed brought a man credit—not disgrace—in the eyes of his companions. But the opinion was general in the eastern districts that cattle lifting would be greatly checked by the constant watch that could now be kept upon the principal kraals, and by the certainty that detected thieves would be punished.

Nor did any one suppose that the Kaffirs would willingly submit to be ruled by European officials. That the chiefs would chafe under restraint was regarded as certain, and that the whole body of the people would object to witchcraft being ignored was fully realised by all who were acquainted with Kaffir thought. They could not in reason be supposed to appreciate a system which in their inmost hearts they believed was giving them over to death and destruction by powers of evil. But under a strong European government it might be expected that the chiefs would gradually lose influence, that the people under kind and judicious treatment would come to see the advantage of the colonial laws,

and that the missionaries would have vastly increased opportunities for weakening the force of superstition.

There was, however, a party in Capetown that entirely disapproved of the governor's policy. It was composed of only a few individuals, but it had powerful support from abroad, and its leaders were men of such ability and energy as the reverend Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London society's missions, and Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*. The members of this party desired the formation of states ruled by Bantu chiefs under the guidance of missionaries of their own views, and from which Europeans not favoured by missionaries should be excluded. They maintained the theory that the Kaffirs were an eminently docile and peaceably disposed people, who must therefore have been provoked to take up arms by great wrongs and cruelties. In the opinion of this party, the war had been unnecessarily protracted, and had been conducted by the Europeans in a barbarous manner. By its leaders the sufferings of the colonists were either ignored or represented as very trivial, while the utmost fear was expressed that the Bantu tribes would perish if exposed to free intercourse with white people.

Time has shown how groundless were such fears, but in 1835 that could not be seen as clearly as it can be to-day. Men were then as it were groping in the dark towards a solution of the difficult question how to protect the colonists without disturbing the rights of the Kaffirs, and the views set forth in the *Commercial Advertiser* could be legitimately held without any one having just cause of complaint. It was the manner in which those views were forwarded by some members of the party, and the distorted charges against the colonists made in support of them, that excited anger from one end of the country to the other.

As the readiest means of opposing the governor, Dr. Philip visited England, taking with him two men named Jan Tshatshu and Andries Stoffels. The first—a son of the captain of the Tinde clan—had been educated at

Bethelsdorp and was a professed Christian, the last was a Kat river resident of mixed Kosa and Hottentot blood, a clever individual, who had been strongly suspected of treasonable intentions during the war. A committee of the house of commons was at the time taking evidence upon the condition of the aborigines of British settlements. Of this committee Mr. Fowell Buxton was chairman, and it is not doing him injustice to say that he was trying less to discover the simple truth than to prove the correctness of statements which he had advanced. This is apparent from the wording of his questions to the witnesses. As he was in full accord with Dr. Philip, the evidence of the latter was received at great length, and was allowed to outweigh that of officers of experience in South African affairs, though it consisted chiefly of opinion and copies of documents, of which—to use the words of a committee of colonists who subsequently caused the original papers to be carefully examined—‘only the sentences consonant to his own views were given, while all that was calculated to qualify those sentences was omitted, without the customary marks of excision.’

Jan Tshatshu, whose father's clan was composed of less than a thousand individuals of both sexes and all ages, was represented as a powerful chief, who could bring two thousand warriors into the field. He and Andries Stoffels were examined by the committee, and spoke in accordance with their training. Dr. Philip then went on a tour through England with these men, everywhere attracting crowds of people to see and hear the converts from heathenism, and enlisting supporters for his cause. In stirring addresses, in which the most sublime truths were mixed with fantastic theories, he appealed to those feelings of English men and women which are most easily worked upon. His eloquence was amply rewarded. His tour was described by his admirers as a triumphal procession, in which such incidents were not omitted as Tshatshu and Stoffels taking ladies of rank to the dinner tables of houses where they were guests,

and the enthusiastic cheers with which they were greeted on appearing before public assemblies. The cost to the two Africans seems never to have been thought of. Stoffels speedily contracted consumption, and died at Capetown on his way back to his home. Tshatshu became so conceited and so fond of wine that he was utterly ruined, and we shall meet him hereafter expelled from church membership and fighting against the white man.

Before the committee of the house of commons appeared another witness, whose evidence shocked as much as it surprised the colonists. This was Captain Andries Stockenstrom, lately commissioner-general of the eastern province, then a pensioner living in Europe. Though so self-willed and crotchety that his fellow officials of equal rank found it very difficult to work in harmony with him, he was unquestionably an able man. He could form large conceptions of useful projects, he was unremitting in industry, and undaunted in presence of danger. If it were possible to cut out of his life that portion commencing with the day on which he first appeared before the committee of the commons and ending with the day on which he became a baronet, his claim to be regarded as one of the worthiest of South African colonists would be disputed by no one. Both before and after that period he served his country well and faithfully. But during that time a shadow rests upon him, which neither he himself nor any of those who have attempted to give a favourable colour to his conduct has ever been able to remove.

The evidence that he gave was at variance not only with his own previous acts, but with his official reports and correspondence. This is incontrovertible, as has been shown by the publication of both in parallel columns. A man may change his opinions without any one having a right to blame him, but the case is different when he opposes his own statements of occurrences that came under his personal observation. This is the position in which Captain Stockenstrom placed himself.

Various causes have been assigned for his acting as he did, but perhaps none of them was correct. There was first ambition. The temptation before him was great, so great that he would hardly have been human if it had not presented itself forcibly to his mind. He had only to say what would please the party in power in England, and there was no position lower than that of governor in the colony to which he might not aspire. That Stockenstrom knew this there cannot be a doubt.

Secondly there was revenge. His mind was warped by intense jealousy of Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, commandant of the eastern frontier. Full of confidence in his own opinions, impatient of control or suggestion, and resentful of interference with his authority, as commissioner-general he had found himself on many occasions ignored by the governor and at all times practically destitute of power. He had seen Colonel Somerset acting under orders from Capetown without even consulting him. Meekness was no part of his character, and he brooded over such slights and his own disadvantages when opposed to a man with powerful family influence, until—as he himself said with regard to a fancied wrong done him by another member of the Beaufort family—‘his blood was distilled into bile.’ For many years Colonel Somerset had been the chief executive officer on the eastern frontier, and now there was an opportunity of denouncing as unjust and oppressive all that he had done.

Thirdly there was self-delusion. It was as certain as anything human could be that great changes were about to be made in the relationship between the Europeans and Bantu in South Africa, and as some one would be found to carry them out, why should not he endeavour to be that one, he who would deal more tenderly with his countrymen than a stranger would?

These influences cannot be ignored, but it would not be right—without other ground than the accusations of his opponents—to state that one or all of them caused Captain Stockenstrom to turn round upon his past career.

Before the committee of the commons he gave an account of the death of Seko in 1830, in which the colonial force was represented as a band of robbers and murderers. This statement created intense indignation in South Africa, because it was regarded as certain that Stockenstrom knew it to be untrue. Owing to his jealousy of Colonel Somerset, shortly after the occurrence he had reported to the proper authorities certain idle tales of some Hottentots regarding it, when the matter was inquired into, and so flimsy were the stories found to be that it was a matter of general wonder how a man who had long acted as landdrost of Graaff-Reinet with the strictest justice and impartiality could have been deceived by them. As soon as possible complete rebutting testimony was forwarded to England, and was delivered to the committee of the commons by Colonel Wade on the 25th of March 1836, but it was then too late to be of use except for historical purposes. Captain Stockenstrom declared in his evidence—19th of August 1835—that he believed there were civilised nations in which the proportion of thieves was greater than among the Kaffirs. He spoke repeatedly of Kaffirs who owned no allegiance to any chief, which could only have been a supposition, for there were then no such people in existence. He was of opinion that arrangements could be made with the chiefs by which robbery could be suppressed, and declared himself in favour of entering into treaties with them.

Some of his evidence is capable of being construed to mean that only a small minority of the colonists acted towards the Kaffirs in defiance of justice and humanity, while the great majority were honest and upright. His apologists have always endeavoured to show that this was its true import. But this was certainly not the impression which in its entirety it made upon the people and the press of England, for there it was regarded as condemning the colonists in general as guilty of most atrocious deeds.

No evidence could have been more gratifying to Mr. Buxton or to the earl Glenelg, who had then the fortunes of

South Africa in his keeping. Of late there had been frequent ministerial changes in England. In July 1834 Viscount Melbourne succeeded Earl Grey as premier, and in his cabinet Mr. J. Spring Rice had charge of the colonial department. Five months later, in December of the same year, Sir Robert Peel became premier, and the earl of Aberdeen succeeded Mr. Rice. This ministry held office only four months. In April 1835 it was overthrown, when Viscount Melville returned to power, and Mr. Charles Grant—shortly afterwards raised to the peerage with the title of Earl Glenelg—became secretary of state for the colonies.

The new secretary was a distinguished member of the so-called philanthropic party, a man of the best intentions, but sadly ignorant of the habits and character of barbarians. He was born in Bengal in 1778, but left India at an early age, and by his talents created for himself a name in England. He first held cabinet rank in 1827, when he entered Mr. Canning's ministry as president of the board of trade and treasurer of the navy. Still his abilities were not of the highest order. With regard to South Africa he made greater blunders than any of his predecessors or successors in office, but his position was not affected by them. When, however, a few years later he committed errors with other and more highly valued colonies, his colleagues in the ministry, Lord John Russell and Lord Howick, urged upon the premier that his incompetency made his dismissal necessary, and threatened to resign if he remained in office. Under this pressure Lord Melbourne gave way, but to save appearances, on the 8th of February 1839 Glenelg retired.

This was the minister with whom rested the decision whether Sir Benjamin D'Urban's plans should be carried out or not. He professed to study the question, but as he did not enter upon research with an unbiased mind, and as his sympathies were all on one side, he accepted only the evidence which accorded with his own views. Taking for granted that the Kosas would not have made war without sufficient reason, he complained that the governor had not

furnished him with a 'clear and comprehensive explanation of the causes which provoked the irruption of the Kaffirs into the colony.' He found fault also with the language in which the governor described the Kaffirs, particularly with the expression 'irreclaimable savages,' which he observed he had read with pain that it would be difficult to describe.

The conclusions which he arrived at were contained in a bulky despatch, dated 26th of December 1835, of which the following extracts are the pith: 'In the conduct which was pursued towards the Kaffir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony through a long series of years, the Kaffirs had an ample justification of the war into which they rushed with such fatal imprudence at the close of the last year.' . . . 'Urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims, I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusion that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain.' . . . 'The claim of sovereignty over the new province bounded by the Keiskama and the Kei must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party.'

The same despatch announced that a lieutenant-governor would be immediately appointed for the eastern districts, and that to him would be confided the administration of affairs within the boundaries of his command. An outline of the policy to be adopted towards the Kaffirs by the lieutenant-governor was given. Treaties were to be made with the chiefs, who alone were to be looked to for restitution in cases of theft, as communal responsibility was not to be enforced. No Europeans except Christian teachers were to be allowed to settle east of the Fish river. Fairs for the interchange of commodities were to be established at convenient places on the frontier. And to prevent injury to the person or property of a Kaffir, the secretary of state intended

to submit to the imperial parliament the draft of an act to enable courts of justice to take cognisance of offences committed by British subjects beyond the border of the colony.

The secretary indeed concluded by an intimation to the governor that final instructions concerning the policy to be pursued towards the Kaffirs would be withheld until his reply should be received, but as the tenor of the despatch was known to members of Dr. Philip's party in South Africa even before the document itself reached the country, and as it was published in England shortly after it was written, a continuation of the system of border management introduced by Sir Benjamin D'Urban became nearly impossible. It could not be successfully carried on when every one knew it was about to be reversed. Practically, from the day the chiefs became acquainted with the fact that the king's adviser in colonial matters was taking part with them, order could not be maintained. The governor's opponents now pointed to the condition of the frontier, especially to the renewal of cattle thefts, which they attributed as unjustly as ungenerously to the inherent weakness of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's settlement.

Lord Glenelg's despatch spread consternation widely over South Africa. Outside of Dr. Philip's little party in Capetown there was but one opinion: that it destroyed all hope of the enforcement of order, and placed life and whatever property was left in the eastern districts at the mercy of the Kaffirs. A little later tidings were brought that Captain Andries Stockenstrom had been appointed lieutenant-governor, and might shortly be expected. The Dutch colonists along the frontier who still possessed the means of moving then made up their minds to abandon the colony, to flee from British rule as from the worst of tyrannies, and to seek a new home somewhere in the vast wilderness unpeopled by the wars of Tshaka.

On the 4th of July 1836 Captain Stockenstrom reached Table Bay in the ship *Lord William Bentinck*. On the passage from England small-pox had broken out, and

though there were then no cases of sickness on board, it was necessary for the passengers to be placed in quarantine. From this they were released after a detention of three weeks, and on the 25th of July Captain Stockenstrom took the oaths of office as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, which under his commission comprised Uitenhage, Albany, Graaff-Reinet, and Somerset. He had been directed to make Grahamstown his headquarters, and he was to receive a salary of 1000*l.* a year with a free residence.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban received the lieutenant-governor with every mark of honour, though he felt very keenly the position to which he was reduced. In a confidential communication to the earl of Aberdeen, he had recommended that the seat of government should be removed from Cape-town to Uitenhage, in order to bring it near the Kaffir border, and had expressed an opinion that the appointment of a lieutenant-governor would not only be attended with considerable expense, but might cause collision with the chief authority, or that the co-operation between them might not always be efficient, in either of which cases the public interests would suffer. Not satisfied with rejecting this advice, Lord Glenelg published the governor's despatch to his predecessor, with the express object of showing that it had been considered and overruled.

To this time Sir Benjamin D'Urban had faintly hoped that upon further reflection the secretary of state might change his views. He had forwarded to England a great number of documents showing how his system was working, but had found it impossible to get all the papers copied which had reference to intercourse between colonists and Kaffirs before the war. Lieutenant Donald Moodie, who held an office as protector of slaves to the 30th of November 1834, and who was fond of research, was instructed to collect and arrange the records of the country districts regarding the treatment of tribes beyond the boundaries of the colony by the government, the local officials, and the colonists, as well as the treatment of the latter by those tribes. As

soon as he entered upon the task it was found that the quantity of papers was enormous, and that the extracts made by Dr. Philip from some of them conveyed altogether erroneous impressions. The governor, therefore, instructed him to proceed as rapidly as he could, allowed him to continue drawing a salary of 400*l.* as protector of slaves, and directed a clerk to assist him. This was the state of the matter when Captain Stockenstrom arrived. Sir Benjamin D'Urban had written a despatch intended to cover the documents called for by the secretary of state, and was waiting for copies of the papers required.

Captain Stockenstrom informed the governor that to the date of his leaving England the opinions of Lord Glenelg were the same as when the despatch of December 1835 was written. Still as the final instructions for the abandonment had not been received, it was arranged that matters should continue as they were for a time. One change, however, was regarded as necessary by the governor. Captain Stockenstrom's title was a military one, though he had only served a short time as an ensign in the Cape corps. It was permissible for officers to be promoted when engaged in civil duties and in receipt of half pay, and in this manner he became a titular captain. Among the Kaffirs justice was administered by Colonel Smith under martial law, but as he was to be superseded by Captain Stockenstrom, who would not be regarded as their military superior by officers in the army, on the 18th of August—the day after the lieutenant-governor left Capetown on his way to the eastern districts—Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation abolishing martial law in the province of Queen Adelaide.

This proceeding irritated Captain Stockenstrom exceedingly. He professed to regard it as the subversion of the existing system by Sir Benjamin D'Urban himself, because, as he said, the colonial laws were not adapted to the requirements of the Kaffirs, and he would be amenable to the supreme court if he inflicted punishment under any other. But the same difficulty has been overcome in more recent

times, and could have been then, if there had been the will to do it.

The proceedings of a legislative council constituted as that of the Cape Colony in 1836 cannot always be regarded as indicating the real views of the members, but when opinions are expressed in direct opposition to those of the secretary of state it is pretty certain that they are genuine. On the 24th of August the members present, official and unofficial,—Pieter Gerhard Brink, John Bell, Jan Godlieb Brink, Anthony Oliphant, Henry Cloete, John Bardwell Ebdon, Charles Stuart Pillans, and Hamilton Ross,—unanimously passed a series of resolutions, and signed them for entry in the minutes of proceedings.

These resolutions were that they deemed it due to the governor to record their unqualified approval of all those measures which were adopted and carried into effect in repelling the late Kaffir invasion; that the arrangements entered into between the governor and the Kaffir chiefs on the 6th and 17th of September 1835 appeared to be best calculated to ensure the tranquillity of the eastern frontier of the colony, to raise the Kaffir tribes in the scale of civilisation, and to fit them for the blessings and advantages of Christianity; that the measures subsequently adopted by his Excellency in carrying the humane principles of those arrangements into effect had eminently conduced to the unprecedented tranquillity which then existed throughout the eastern districts of the colony; and that those measures had only to be followed up consistently to ensure both to the eastern colonists and the Kaffir tribes a degree of prosperity and happiness which otherwise would be unattainable by either.

On the 3rd of September the lieutenant-governor reached Grahamstown. An address was ready to be presented to him, signed by four hundred and twelve British settlers, expressing their loyalty to the crown, their attachment to law and order, and their confidence that the establishment of an officer on the frontier with extensive executive power

would be of great advantage to the colony; but calling in question the evidence he had given before the committee of the house of commons. This address he refused to receive. On the 6th a mass meeting was held in the commercial hall, at which men from all parts of the district were present, when four resolutions were passed unanimously, challenging proof of his assertions before the commons committee that atrocities had been perpetrated upon the Kaffirs by the colonists. So inauspiciously commenced Captain Stockenström's term of office as lieutenant-governor.

The colonists were in no humour to let the statements against them remain uncontradicted. Numerous largely-signed petitions were sent to England, praying that an impartial commission of inquiry might be sent out to investigate the charges made by Dr. Philip and Captain Stockenström, but Lord Glenelg refused to grant the request. Indeed, so closely did the secretary of state ally himself with the accusers of the white people that at this very time he introduced into the imperial parliament the act commonly known as the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, the preamble of which reads that 'the inhabitants of the territories adjacent to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to the southward of the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude, being in an uncivilised state, offences against the persons and property of such inhabitants and others are frequently committed by his Majesty's subjects within such territories with impunity.'

A people thus slandered and insulted, in whose veins flowed the free and proud blood of England and of Holland, could not submit patiently. The Dutch farmers were abandoning the land of their birth, and in great caravans were moving away in search of a new home. The English settlers were still attempting to prove to their countrymen in Britain that when they crossed the sea they had not left their honour and humanity behind. They solicited the governor to publish the official records arranged by Lieutenant Moodie, and offered a guarantee that the expense

would be made good in case the secretary of state should decline to sanction it. This could not be done, but Moodie was directed to continue his researches, and a couple of years later a good many of the documents were published by subscription. In their unmutilated state they expose in a very forcible manner the calumnies against the colonists.

On the 13th of September 1836 the lieutenant-governor attended a meeting of the Kaffir chiefs and their principal men at King-Williamstown. The chiefs had been called together to be officially introduced to him and to hear Colonel Smith's farewell remarks. There was a large gathering of people, and all expressed regret at parting with the able officer who had governed them kindly and justly for nearly a year. The expression, however, was a mere matter of form, for Makoma complained that the power of the chiefs was being taken away, and it was evident that the sympathy of every black man present was with him. On being desired to make their wishes known, Makoma asked for the country he had once occupied west of the Tyumie, and Tyali requested that punishment for dealing in witchcraft should be restored. At the time nothing else seemed to occur to them, but a day or two later the chiefs urged that the military posts in the province should be withdrawn.

The lieutenant-governor then resolved to abandon the forts Warden, Wellington, Beresford, and Murray at once, and Waterloo after a short delay. Orders to this effect were issued by him, and were promptly carried out. Some of the Hottentot levies that had assisted to garrison these posts were disbanded, the others with the European soldiers and the Cape mounted rifles were sent to strengthen the forts along the Fish and Kat rivers, which in October were made the principal line of defence. Whether the province was retained or abandoned, the lieutenant-governor stated it as his opinion that in case of a disturbance of the peace such a line would be better than scattered posts among the Kaffirs.

Captain Stockenstrom next proceeded to Shiloh, and ascertained the wishes of the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa. His wants were few and simple : to be left to govern his people as he chose and to be protected by the Europeans against his enemies.

On the 1st of December there was another large meeting of the chiefs and their principal followers at King-Williamstown. It had been convened by the lieutenant-governor for the purpose of arranging for the withdrawal of the British flag from the province. The greatest apparent difficulty in the way was the position of the so-called British allies, by which term was meant the individuals who professed either to have been neutral or to have taken part with the Europeans in the recent war. Every one knew that it was not from attachment to white people that they had so acted, but from clannish feuds and jealousies ; and it was certain that the followers of some of them had taken part in plundering the colony. Still they professed to be attached to the English government, and it was necessary therefore to do something to prevent them from being despoiled as soon as the troops retired. They were Sutu with her son Sandile, Nonibe with her son Siwani, and Umkayi, Pato, Kama, Kobe, Tshatshu, Matwa, and Tente.

The lieutenant-governor advised them to become reconciled with their rivals and opponents, and by informing Makoma and Tyali that he could not withdraw the troops until there was general concord, he brought those chiefs to profess friendship towards all. During three successive days they discussed their differences, and then they appeared before Captain Stockenstrom and informed him that they were on the best of terms with each other. This declaration enabled him to act. On the 5th he issued a proclamation, renouncing British dominion over the territory, releasing the people from their allegiance, and repealing Sir Benjamin D'Urban's proclamations of the 10th of May, 16th of June, and 14th of October 1835. A little later, by direction of the secretary of state the land ceded by Kreli beyond the Kei

was restored to that chief, and he was released from the obligations contracted by his father and himself.

On the 5th of December 1836 treaties were concluded between the lieutenant-governor on behalf of the king on the one part, and on the other (1) Makoma, Tyali, Botumane, Eno, and Sutu for herself and her son Sandile, (2) Umhala, Umkayi, Gasela, Siyolo, and Nonibe for herself and her son Siwani, and (3) Pato, Kama, and Kobe. The boundary between the colony and the Kaffir territory was therein declared to be that agreed upon by Lord Charles Somerset and Gaika in 1819, that is the Keiskama from the sea up to its junction with the Tyumie, thence the Tyumie up to where it touches a ridge of high land connected with the Katberg, and thence this ridge and the Katberg to the Winterberg, so as to include within the colony all the branches of the Kat river, and to include within Kaffirland all the branches of the Tyumie. The ground in dispute during the administration of Lieutenant-Colonel Wade was thus transferred to the Kaffirs. It was partly occupied by Fingos, and in the treaty with the Gaika chiefs it was stipulated that these Fingos were not to be molested till their crops were reaped and until that time a garrison should be kept in Fort Thomson for their protection. They were then to be removed. With this exception, no rights whatever were reserved in the territory beyond the boundary as now defined, and the chiefs and people there were made absolutely independent of Great Britain.

Between the Fish and Kat rivers on one side and the Keiskama and Tyumie on the other the land from the Fingo location around Fort Peddie as far up as Fort Beaufort was still unoccupied. It had been Sir Benjamin D'Urban's intention to place a European population upon it, and Captain Stockenström was of opinion that it should be filled as densely as possible with Hottentots. But Lord Glenelg decided differently. He issued orders that this land was to be given to the Kaffirs, and accordingly in the treaties it was surrendered to them. It was indeed still to

be called British territory, but it was stipulated that the Kaffirs could not be deprived of it unless they violated the treaties or made war upon the colony, that they were to have the free and full exercise of their own laws administered by their own chiefs, that they could exclude white people from it, and that the dominion of the king over it should in no way be exercised, with the exception that the right was reserved of stationing troops and building forts with lines of communication within it. No patrolling, however, was to be allowed, and the troops were not to deviate from the lines of communication, or in any way to molest, disturb, or interfere with the inhabitants. The Kosas undertook not to molest the Fingos around Fort Peddie, but to consider them under British protection.

The treaties placed the Kaffir chiefs on a perfect political equality with the heads of the colonial government. Taking the dividing line between the two races as the Fish river from the sea up to the junction of the Kat, thence the Kat river up to a ridge just below Fort Beaufort, and thence a row of beacons to the watershed between the Kat and Tyumie rivers, so as to keep the Hottentot settlement within the colony, the treaties provided that the chiefs should station men of position along its eastern side, just as the English government should occupy military posts along its western. Colonists were to have no more right to cross the boundary eastward without the consent of the Kaffir chiefs than Kaffirs to cross it westward without the consent of the colonial government. White people when in Kaffirland were to be as fully subject to Kaffir law as Kaffirs when in the colony were to be subject to colonial law. The European agents were to be no longer magistrates, but ministers or consuls. Through them satisfaction for wrongs on either side was to be obtained. They were to collect proofs of losses caused by Kaffir thieves, and were to demand compensation from the chiefs, as well as to watch over the interests of British subjects permitted by the Kaffirs to enter their country, and to secure redress for Kaffirs injured by colonists.

Five days later the lieutenant-governor entered into a treaty with Umhlambiso and Jokweni, the two most important Fingo captains, similar to those entered into with Makoma and the others; and they became independent chiefs. Fort Peddie, however, was maintained, and a garrison was kept there for the protection of the Fingos. Fort Montgomery Williams was abandoned, as was also Fort Willshire in March 1837. The weaker Fingo captains, as well as Tshatshu, Matwa, and Tente, were regarded as of too little importance to enter into treaties, and it was understood that they would follow the fate of their stronger countrymen.

The interpreter who acted for the lieutenant-governor when concluding these treaties was Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, and the agent-general, Mr. Hougham Hudson, was present and signed as a witness. This gentleman had ceased to be resident magistrate of Albany, and had become secretary to the lieutenant-governor.

On the 18th of January 1837 a treaty of the same import as those with the Rarabes and Fingos was entered into at Shiloh by the lieutenant-governor and the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa, wherein the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers again became the colonial boundary.

Looking back upon these arrangements, they are seen to be worthless. They attempted to create an equality between civilisation and barbarism, between a British magistrate and a Kaffir captain. As well might such agreements be made between grown men and little children.

Captain Stockenstrom was instructed to submit the treaties to the governor and council for provisional ratification, and then to send them to England for final approval. These instructions he carried out, though he put the treaties in force at once, and with the least possible delay withdrew the troops from what had been the province of Queen Adelaide. As a matter of form on the 2nd of February 1837 Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation from Capetown repealing and annulling his proclamations of the

10th of May, 16th of June, and 14th of October 1835; and on the 1st of June he signed the treaties as provisionally ratified in council. By the secretary of state the proceedings of the lieutenant-governor were fully approved, as they were in accordance with his own directions.

As soon as the treaties were concluded, Messrs. C. L. Stretch and J. M. Bowker were directed to act as consular agents with the Gaikas and the Fingos, and Mr. Stretch was required to move from Fort Cox to Blockdrift on the Tyumie. On the 29th of December 1836 Mr. William Macdowell Fynn was appointed agent with Kreli, and Mr. Henry Francis Fynn agent with Mapasa.

The condition of the eastern districts from the day that Lord Glenelg's intentions became known was deplorable. The lieutenant-governor, though he ignored the true cause and attributed the anarchy that prevailed to ignorance on the part of the farmers and prejudice against himself, in one of his despatches described the state of things correctly. The farmers complain, he wrote, that 'strong armed parties of blacks are wandering over the country, squatting themselves on any property they please, plundering with impunity, and defying all threats, because the aggrieved are afraid of prosecution in case they resort to violence in defence of their lives and property.' Admitting the truth of this complaint, he was of opinion that the farmers should be allowed to expel the intruders by force, and to shoot marauders who would not retire or surrender.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban attributed the condition of things to the 'new and reckless policy which had sufficed to dispel the salutary fear of our power with which we had impressed our enemies, to shake—if not altogether to alienate—the respect and confidence with which we had been regarded by our friends, to banish the flower of the frontier farmers, and to leave those who yet remained in a state of the most fearful insecurity.'

As the only remedy that could be devised under the circumstances, an ordinance was enacted by the legislative

council 'for the more effectual prevention of crimes against life and property within the colony,' and was published on the 21st of June 1837. It provided that persons committing serious offences or suspected on reasonable grounds of having done so, and refusing to surrender or offering resistance, could be killed; that no person should go across the boundary to recover stolen property, except in accordance with the terms of the treaties, under penalty of a fine of 50*l.* or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months; that no Kaffir, Hottentot, or Bushman—unless a native of the colony—should be allowed to come within the border armed; that all justices of the peace, commandants, field-cornets, and military officers should disarm such persons, unless they were in service with colonists, and in case of resistance could kill or disable them; that any such foreigners found wandering over the country without passes might be apprehended by any landholder and taken before a field-cornet or magistrate, when if they declined to enter into service they could be removed beyond the boundary under penalty of twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour in case of their return; that if such foreigners refused to be arrested they could be killed or disabled; that three or more such armed foreigners entering the colony in a party should be regarded as enemies, and could be expelled by force of arms; and that all persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty could be called upon by any officer of the law to assist in carrying out these provisions, and should be obliged to obey under penalty of a fine not exceeding 20*l.* or imprisonment not exceeding three months.

This ordinance had some effect in reducing the evil, though it left vagrants who were natives of the colony undisturbed unless they could be proved guilty of crime. But it was soon nullified by the lieutenant-governor, who gave permission to such numbers of Kaffirs to cross the border and reside within the colony that all distinctions were lost. Then he began to ignore the evil, and to write that the border districts were in a condition of unparalleled tran-

quillity. His organ—the *Commercial Advertiser*—repeated this assertion, and week after week statements appeared in it to the effect that such order had never been known before.

During the year 1837, when these assertions were most pronounced, twenty-four murders were committed, and the cases of theft reported to the authorities amounted to three hundred and eighty-four horses and two thousand four hundred and three head of horned cattle. The number of unreported thefts cannot be ascertained, but it was certainly in excess of these figures. The farmers declared that it was useless to give in accounts of their losses, because under the treaties redress was not to be had. The lieutenant-governor also employed a body of Kaffirs under the name of police, and every sane man knew that detection of robbers was impossible while they were about. They had been engaged by Colonel Smith, and were of some service in the province of Queen Adelaide, where the question was between Kaffir and Kaffir; but in the colony, where the question was between white men and Kaffirs, no greater obstruction to the course of justice could have been devised.

The Fingos were nominally under British protection, and they were now made to experience what that implied under the Glenelg-Stockenstrom administration. Those of them living along the Gaga were attacked by Matwa, and driven away. The lieutenant-governor then gave them a location at Zitzikama, two hundred miles within the colony. There they became greatly impoverished, so that ultimately most of those who did not take service with farmers joined their friends in the neighbourhood of Fort Peddie.

On the 2nd of August 1837 a large party of armed Kaffirs of the clans of Eno and Siyolo, under Siyolo in person, attacked the Fingo location around Fort Peddie, killed ten Fingos, wounded eleven others, and drove off five hundred head of cattle. The matter was aggravated by the fact that as soon as the entrance of the Kaffirs into the location was known, Mr. J. M. Bowker, his interpreter George Cyrus, and

Corporal John Porter, with a small military escort, hastened to the spot. In defiance of Mr. Bowker's remonstrances, the attack was continued. Corporal Porter was killed. The Fingo captain Umhlambiso was badly wounded at the agent's side, and would have lost his life if George Cyrus had not helped him upon a horse, which enabled him to escape. The whole of the Fingos were obliged to take shelter under the walls of the fort.

The lieutenant-governor investigated the matter, and at first tried to blame the Fingos for having provoked the attack. But the Wesleyan missionaries challenged the slightest proof of the Fingos having been at fault, and Captain Stockenstrom found it impossible to maintain his charges against them. He then acquitted Eno, chiefly on the evidence of that captain's son Stockwe, 'a prince of savages,' as he said, 'who had been for three days on the most intimate terms in his house;' and demanded from the Kaffir chiefs redress for Siyolo's conduct. After some delay seventy-four head of the most wretched cattle in the country were sent to Fort Peddie, with which compensation he declared himself satisfied. Throughout Kaffirland there was nothing but merriment over this result of the fray, and even from the distant station of Buntingville in Pondoland the missionary wrote that the lieutenant-governor's conduct was the subject of ridicule.

The emigrant Tembus were not behind the Rarabes in setting so weak an administration at defiance. They plundered the district of Somerset almost with impunity, and on the 29th of July 1837 a large armed body of them pursued some Hottentots far into the colony. On this occasion, however, Colonel England by judicious management induced them to return across the Zwart Kei without doing further injury.

A regiment of infantry had been withdrawn from the frontier, but the Cape mounted rifles were raised to four hundred and sixty-two rank and file, and three hundred Hottentot footmen were attached to the corps. Military

patrols were constantly marching up and down, but were unable to suppress or even to check the incessant depredations of the Kaffirs.

Much additional alarm was created by an abortive attempt of the lieutenant-governor to locate parties of Hottentots of the vagrant class along the Fish river. He announced that the settlements were intended for protective as well as philanthropic purposes, and to the secretary of state he wrote that when they were formed the troops on the frontier could be greatly reduced. His plan was to supply the Hottentots with rations for the men and women, arms for the men, and tracts of ground where they might congregate. To each family thirty goats were given at the expense of benevolent people in England, to enable them to commence stock-breeding.

On no other subject did Captain Stockenstrom's despatches contain so many cutting remarks concerning Sir Benjamin D'Urban, though his correspondence at this time was very largely composed of taunts of the governor, bitter invective against his opponents, assertions that the frontier was enjoying perfect peace as far as the Kaffirs were concerned, charges against the emigrant farmers of making slaves of coloured children by acts of violence, and unbounded confidence in the justice and wisdom of Lord Glenelg's policy. In the matter of the Hottentot settlements, his charge against Sir Benjamin D'Urban was that ground which might have been applied to that purpose had been granted by the governor to Captain Armstrong, Captain Campbell, Lieutenant Moultrie, and others.

In the opinion of the colonists the great danger of these settlements was that war with the Kaffirs might break out before the Hottentots should disperse, in which case the probabilities were that they would join the enemy. The condition of the Kat river people at the close of the year 1834 could not be forgotten. No one acquainted with the habits of the Hottentots supposed that they would remain many months on the ground assigned to them, and in point

of fact even the inducement of rations for the adults could not keep them together. The danger for a short time was considerable, but it soon passed away.

So greatly disliked was the lieutenant-governor by nearly the whole of the colonists that if the system he was trying to carry out had really been a good one he could not have succeeded in making it popular. He was in altogether a false position. Normally an intelligent and honest man, he had made a tremendous mistake, and being too stubborn to own it, he was trying to cover it with extravagant words and acts. Just so a man who has under great temptation committed a crime, but who has always previously enjoyed the public esteem and who will not admit his guilt, when brought to trial before a magistrate often surpasses the most hardened criminal in frantic and desperate efforts to clear himself.

Never before by an officer of his rank in South Africa was such abusive language made use of as that which Captain Stockenstrom applied to those who opposed him. Among them were the foremost men of the country, the members of the legislative council, the editors of every newspaper but one, the clergymen—almost without exception—of all denominations, the great majority of the missionaries, the farmers, and nearly every resident in the eastern towns; but the mildest language in which he described them to the secretary of state was ‘a desperate, disappointed, unprincipled faction, ready to sacrifice the tranquillity and happiness of the colony to their thirst for revenge and lucre.’ He seemed to disdain even the appearance of conciliation.

A series of prosecutions for libel, in which he was the most prominent figure, forms a remarkable episode in the history of these times.

When an account of his evidence before the committee of the commons reached the colony, the fieldcornet Erasmus—guilty according to that evidence of murder, robbery, and mendacity—was an official of the district of Somerset.

Captain Campbell, the civil commissioner of the district, naturally considered it his duty to make the strictest inquiry into the charge. When doing so, Erasmus brought forward a witness named Hendrik Klopper, who made a deposition that when the commando under Captain Fraser entered Kaffirland in December 1813 Stockenstrom himself had shot a Kaffir boy. Klopper named as persons who were present on that occasion two men living at Graaff-Reinet and one living at Cradock.

The result of the inquiry was the complete exculpation of Erasmus and his companions. Captain Campbell then wrote to Mr. O'Reilly, justice of the peace at Cradock, to take the deposition of the man named by Klopper there, and he also sent a request to Mr. Van Ryneveld, resident magistrate of Graaff-Reinet, to act in the same manner. A copy of Klopper's deposition he forwarded to Mr. John Centlivres Chase, a customhouse officer in Capetown, to be sent with other papers to be laid before the committee of the commons, as it was known that Mr. Chase was engaged in collecting information that could be used on behalf of the colonists. When Klopper's statement was thus sent away by Captain Campbell, no intimation had been received in South Africa of Stockenstrom's appointment as lieutenant-governor, and he was believed to be in business in Sweden. If the charge even amounted to murder, he was not amenable to a colonial court, for the occurrence took place beyond the boundary.

The deposition made before Mr. O'Reilly at Cradock seemed to substantiate that of Klopper. At Graaff-Reinet Mr. Van Ryneveld associated with himself two justices of the peace, one of whom was Lieutenant Donald Moodie, and before these officials further corroborative testimony was given. By this time, however, tidings of Stockenstrom's appointment had reached the colony, so beyond forwarding the latest depositions to the government nothing more was done.

While the lieutenant-governor was on the road from

Capetown to the frontier Captain Campbell sent him a copy of Klopper's affidavit, that he might know all about the matter and take any action he chose. He, however, ignored it completely. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that a tale was soon in everybody's mouth of the lieutenant-governor having once in cool blood shot an unarmed Kaffir boy out of pure revenge for the death of his father, and that he was afraid to proceed against the men who charged him with the horrible crime.

On the 6th of July 1836 an article in very violent language appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*. Mr. Fairbairn, the editor, whose writings on everything outside of the politics of Dr. Philip's party must always command admiration and respect, seemed to lose his temper and his regard for accuracy whenever this subject was before him. Lieutenant Moodie had incurred the enmity of the party by collecting the documents which proved Dr. Philip's extracts to be garbled, and his having sat as a justice of the peace to receive depositions against Captain Stockenstrom added to this feeling. In the article in the *Commercial Advertiser* he was alluded to as 'an unprincipled placehunter,' and was accused of 'attempting the life and honour of the lieutenant-governor in his absence by collecting evidence while drawing the emoluments of an office (protector of slaves) long after that office had expired.' Mr. Chase was referred to in terms somewhat less opprobrious.

Mr. Chase thereupon brought an action for libel against Mr. Fairbairn, and on the 24th of February 1837 obtained judgment for damages forty shillings and costs. Lieutenant Moodie followed the same course. His case came before the supreme court on the 26th of May 1837, when the various depositions against Captain Stockenstrom were produced, and the whole of the particulars concerning them were made public. On the 30th the court gave judgment in favour of Moodie for fifty pounds damages and costs.

This forced the lieutenant-governor to take action of some kind, or to admit that he who had charged others

with the gravest crimes, of which they had afterwards been proved innocent, was himself guilty of a worse offence than he had imputed to them. He accordingly brought an action against Captain Campbell for 'maliciously and unlawfully causing and procuring him to be falsely charged with having deliberately fired at and killed a Kaffir child, and for maliciously and unlawfully publishing a libel of and concerning him.' The publication was stated to be the forwarding of Klopper's deposition to Mr. Chase.

From the 11th of November 1837, when the case first came before the court, to the 1st of March 1838, when judgment was given, it was the topic of greatest interest in South Africa. Excepting the celebrated trials during the black circuit and the libel case Mackay *versus* Philip, no prosecution in this country was ever regarded as involving consequences of greater moment to the public.

Captain Campbell took the straightforward course of pleading justification, so that the question to be decided was whether Stockenstrom did, or did not, fire at and kill a Kaffir boy while engaged in the commando under Captain Fraser. A great deal of evidence both documentary and oral was taken, and the examination and cross-examination of the witnesses were as perfect as the cleverest advocates in South Africa could make them. The case for the plaintiff broke down so completely that the court considered it unnecessary for the defendant's advocate to conclude with an address. The three judges, forming the full bench, agreed in the decision, which was pronounced by the chief justice. Judgment was in favour of Captain Campbell with costs, on the ground that 'justification had been fully and satisfactorily made out.' The costs against the lieutenant-governor were between two and three thousand pounds.

Surely no other British colony has ever witnessed anything like what happened on this occasion. On the night after the tidings reached Grahamstown the streets were illuminated, in defiance of attempts by the authorities to suppress such manifestations of pleasure. The houses of

Port Elizabeth were lit up two nights in succession. From Graaff-Reinet to Uitenhage, and thence eastward to the border, blazing bonfires all over the country proclaimed the public joy. And the man whose defeat caused these rejoicings was the lieutenant-governor of the province, the most obedient and devoted servant of the secretary of state.

One more incident in connection with this trial remains to be noticed. At the office of the *Commercial Advertiser* a pamphlet was printed, which professed to be a full report, but two letters produced in evidence and of great consequence to Captain Campbell were omitted. The supreme court thereupon issued an interdict against the publication of the pamphlet, but in the meantime it had been widely circulated, and numerous copies had been sent to England.

It is pleasant to turn from these scenes of discord, and observe the introduction of measures of utility.

To facilitate reference to courts of justice, one of the earliest acts of the lieutenant-governor was to increase the number of magistrates. His power for such purposes had to be exerted in an indirect way. All laws were made by the legislative council, in which he had no seat; but every ordinance affecting the eastern districts had to be sent to him for comment before being passed, and he could submit draft ordinances for consideration. In the matter of appointments to office, he recommended individuals to the governor, who was instructed by the secretary of state to act upon his advice unless there were very cogent reasons for not doing so.

Upon Captain Stockenstrom's 'proposal, on the 6th of February 1837 an ordinance was issued creating three districts, named Port Elizabeth, Colesberg, and Cradock.

Port Elizabeth was growing rapidly. Every year saw an increase in the volume of trade passing through it, and by an order in council dated 13th of April 1836 it had become a free warehousing port. It had altogether outgrown that stage when its requirements could be met by a special justice

of the peace. The district, as now created, comprised only a small tract of land about the town, extending from a point on the coast about fifteen miles west of Cape Recife to the source of the Little Zwartkops river, thence this stream to its junction with the Zwartkops, and thence the Zwartkops to the sea. For fiscal purposes it remained connected with the division of Uitenhage. Mr. John George de Villiers was appointed resident magistrate.

The district of Colesberg was formed out of the wards or fieldcornetcies of Achter Zuurberg, New Hantam, Lower Seacow River, Middenveld, Winterveld with exception of three farms, Upper Seacow River with exception of three farms, and Rhenosterberg with exception of four farms, which had previously formed part of Graaff-Reinet, and the ward Groote River which had previously been included in Somerset. Mr. Fleetwood Rawstorne, recently agent with the Ndlambe clans, was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate, and was directed to establish his office in the village of Colesberg.

The district of Cradock was formed out of the wards Brak River, Tarka, Klaas Smit's River, and Achter Sneeuwberg, previously included in Somerset, and the country drained by streams flowing into the Great Fish river. Mr. William Gilfillan, who had served with distinction as an officer of the Hottentot levies, was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate, and was directed to establish his office in the village of Cradock.

On the 9th of October 1837 the lieutenant-governor proclaimed a new boundary between Albany and Somerset. Running parallel to the Koonap for some distance from the Winterberg is one of its tributaries named the Mankazana, which must not be confused with the branch of the Kat river so often mentioned in preceding chapters. From the junction of the streams the watershed between them was declared to be the boundary, the eastern side to be in Albany, the western in Somerset. Three months previously—14th of July 1837—the arrangement by which Somerset

and Albany were united under the same civil commissioner was annulled, and each was now independent of the other in fiscal as well as judicial matters.

In the western part of the colony the only changes made in the boundaries of districts for a long time past were that in January 1829 the ward Voor Piketberg was taken from Worcester and added to the Cape, and the ward Palmiet and Bot rivers was taken from Swellendam and added to Stellenbosch, so as to extend the last-named district to Langhoogte.

As the territory placed under the administration of the lieutenant-governor included Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage, but not Beaufort and George, it was necessary to raise these latter again from the rank of sub-districts, which was done by an ordinance issued on the 10th of August 1836, when their resident magistrates were appointed civil commissioners also.

On the 1st of January 1837 by a resolution of the legislative council the sub-district of Clanwilliam was separated from Worcester. Mr. Jan van Ryneveld, whose office was in the village of Clanwilliam, was then appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the new district.

On the 4th of July 1834 Mr. J. Spring Rice, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, gave directions for the promulgation of an ordinance to permit the establishment of elective municipal councils in the towns and villages. Owing to his absence from Capetown, Sir Benjamin D'Urban was for some time unable to carry out these instructions, but in September 1836 the ordinance was passed by the legislative council, and was at once put into operation.

It provided that upon a requisition signed by twenty-five persons living within a mile of any central point, occupying houses worth a yearly rental of not less than 10*l.*, and paying yearly taxes exceeding six shillings, the resident magistrate or justice of the peace should call a public meeting of householders, who should determine by a majority of votes

whether the place should be created a municipality. If the decision was in the affirmative, another meeting was to be called for the purpose of appointing a committee to draft regulations. The regulations, in which the number of commissioners and wardmasters was to be fixed, were then to be referred, each one separately, to a third public meeting for adoption, alteration, or rejection, and when these preliminaries were completed, they were to be submitted for approval, amendment, or disallowance by the governor acting with the advice of the executive council. Upon a proclamation by the governor notifying his approval, and the publication of the regulations in the *Gazette*, the municipality was established.

As many commissioners as had been decided upon were then elected by the householders, to hold office for three years, unless disqualified within that period. The repair and lighting of the streets, the supply of water, drainage, police protection, the care of the commonage, supervision of slaughterhouses, and numerous other matters were confided to them. Funds were raised by yearly rates levied by the householders in public assembly.

Beaufort West has the honour of being the first town in the colony to take advantage of the municipal act. In January 1837 its regulations were approved by the governor, and as soon as they were published in the *Gazette* a council was elected and began to act. In February Somerset East followed, and then in quick succession George, Grahamstown, and Cradock.

Capetown was excepted in this enactment, and until 1840 its affairs were controlled by the general government. On the 3rd of March in that year, however, it was created a municipality by a special ordinance, and in the following September the old burgher watch-house in Greenmarket-square, which since 1828 had been used as the magistrate's court and offices, was transferred to the elected commissioners, who then entered upon their duties. The first secretary of the municipality of Capetown was Advocate

Pieter Jan Denyssen, who in after years became a judge of the supreme court.

The ordinances of 1836 and 1840 have since been amended on several occasions, but in many particulars they still remain in force.

On the 1st of August 1837 the Cape of Good Hope bank was opened for business in Capetown. The promoters were desirous of establishing it under an ordinance, and one was passed for the purpose by the legislative council, but the secretary of state declined to advise its ratification by the king, on the ground that in the condition of the colonial revenue it would not be wise to assist an institution that would probably draw away custom from the government bank. It was then formed under a trust-deed, with a capital of 75,000*l.* in fifteen hundred shares of 50*l.* each, two-thirds of the capital paid up, and the shareholders remaining responsible not only for the balance, but to an unlimited extent for the liabilities of the institution. On the date of opening thirteen hundred shares had been taken, and the capital in hand was 43,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The remaining shares were sold shortly afterwards at a high premium. The first chairman was Mr. John Bardwell Ebdon, and the first board of directors consisted of Messrs. Hamilton Ross, Thomas Sutherland, Thomas Tennant, Roelof Abraham Zeederberg, Harrison Watson, Charles Stuart Pillans, William Dickson, and Antonio Chiappini.

Men holding such opposite opinions in an essential matter as Earl Glenelg and Sir Benjamin D'Urban could not long work together. One was a mere theorist, but in his hands was the power of control. The other, who had held the same opinions until experience and practical knowledge had forced him to renounce them, was the subordinate. Sir Benjamin D'Urban was too honest even to attempt to smooth down remarks that were offensive to the secretary of state. What he wrote he knew to be the truth, and he expressed it in the plainest and most forcible language. He was no courtier. He could not dissemble, nor mask his acts under

words that would bear more than one meaning. He did not even ask himself the question whether his office was worth such a price : to do so would be wrong, and the noble, god-fearing governor did not want to know more. His notes, his comments upon documents, his whole course of living and acting prove this.

Earl Glenelg's charge against the colonists in his despatch of December 1835 has been given. There could not be a flatter contradiction of it than Sir Benjamin D'Urban's language in a despatch dated the 8th of June 1836, in which he begged the secretary of state to endeavour to obtain compensation from the revenue of the mother country for 'faithful subjects who have been visited with calamities rarely paralleled, to them as overwhelming as those of hurricane or earthquake, as unexpected and unavoidable as they were undeserved by any act of the sufferers, and which neither prudence nor foresight on their part could have averted or controlled.'

Or take the subject of the emigration which was then threatening to leave portions of the colony without civilised inhabitants. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in a despatch to the secretary of state dated 29th of July 1837, attributed it to the 'insecurity of life and property occasioned by the recent measures, inadequate compensation for the loss of the slaves, and despair of obtaining recompense for the ruinous losses by the Kaffir invasion.' He described the Dutch farmers who were leaving the colony as 'a brave, patient, industrious, orderly, and religious people, the cultivators, the defenders, and the tax contributors of the country.'

Lord Glenelg's opinions about the cause of the emigration were well known in South Africa, though the despatch in which he placed them permanently on record was not written until the 28th of November 1837. In that despatch he declared that 'the motives of this emigration were the same as had in all ages impelled the strong to encroach on the weak, and the powerful and unprincipled to wrest by

force or fraud from the comparatively feeble and defenceless, wealth, or property, or dominion.' These reckless words, in the sense which they were intended to bear, might be mistaken for the utterance of an ignorant fanatic. They were embodied in a document revised by a man holding the high office of secretary of state for the colonies, but upon whom the responsibility of his position must have sat lightly indeed. He was one of the most prominent leaders of the so-called philanthropic societies. What wonder that the phrase English philanthropist came to imply in South African minds a man who attached no value to truth and justice, or that the English government was regarded with the utmost aversion by those who were trying to escape from it.

Earl Glenelg objected to the tone of the governor's despatches, especially to the language of one in which Sir Benjamin vindicated the colonists from the charge of provoking the Kaffirs to war, and pointed out that if blame for that event was to be attributed to any white people, it must be solely to English officials and English soldiers, for whose acts the burghers were in no way responsible. Some annexures to this despatch, especially certain letters written by Dr. Philip, gave great offence. They proved beyond the possibility of contradiction that in giving credence to Dr. Philip's assertions and throwing doubts upon the accuracy of the governor's reports, the secretary of state had made a blunder. His reply was dated the 1st of May 1837. It ended with the information that the king had thought proper to dispense with Sir Benjamin's services as governor of the Cape Colony, and that he was therefore to consider himself as holding office only until he should be relieved by a successor.

On the 8th of September of the same year the secretary wrote further that the governor might retire whenever it suited his convenience, after transferring the administration temporarily to the military officer next in rank. The same mail that brought this despatch brought also private

intelligence that Major-General George Thomas Napier had been appointed governor, though his commission was not dated until the 4th of November. Sir Benjamin D'Urban therefore resolved to await his successor's arrival.

He was at the time suffering from domestic affliction. Advocate William Musgrave was his son-in-law, and the governor was much attached to his eldest grandson. On the 18th of September 1837 the boy was returning from the races on Greenpoint common, when some one rode violently against his horse. By the concussion he was thrown to the ground, and received injuries from which he died in a few hours.

In military rank the governor was now higher than when he arrived in South Africa, as on the 15th of January 1837 he became a lieutenant-general. At the same time the lieutenant-colonels Wade, Smith, and Hare, all associated with our history, attained the full rank of colonel.

On the 20th of January 1838 Major-General Napier arrived in Table Bay in the Indiaman *Euphrates*, with two sons and two daughters. On the 22nd he took the oaths of office.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban remained in South Africa until it was admitted generally in England as well as in this country that he had acted wisely in his dealings with the Kaffirs. On the 20th of June 1840 the order of knight grand cross of the bath was conferred upon him, and shortly after Sir Robert Peel became premier he was offered a high military appointment in India, which he thought fit to decline.

On the 23rd of August 1843 Lady D'Urban died in Capetown. As a mark of the esteem in which she had been held, the colonists raised a sum of money to place a memorial tablet in St. George's cathedral and to erect a suitable building for a girls' school of industry at Wynberg, which she had founded in 1836.

On the 15th of April 1846, just after the commencement

of another Kaffir war, Sir Benjamin D'Urban left the Cape. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, and in that capacity he died at Montreal on the 25th of May 1849, at the age of seventy-two years. An obelisk erected to his memory by the officers who served under him bears the inscription that he died as he had lived, in the faithful discharge of his duty.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

COMMENCEMENT OF A GREAT EMIGRATION FROM THE CAPE COLONY, 1836 AND 1837.

Race and language of the old colonists of South Africa—Various theories concerning the causes of the abandonment of the Cape Colony by a large number of people—Connection between the emancipation of the slaves and the emigration of the farmers—Opinion of the emigrants concerning their ceasing to be British subjects—Account of the first parties of emigrants under Louis Tricard and Jan van Rensburg—Account of a party under Hendrik Potgieter—Purchase by Potgieter of the land between the Vet and Vaal rivers from the Bataung captain Makwana—Exploration by Englishmen of the country along the Limpopo river—Journey of Commandant Potgieter and a party of farmers to Zoutpansberg—Massacre of a number of white people by the Matabele—Resolute defence of a waggon camp by a few farmers—Repulse of a great Matabele army from a lager at Vechtkop—Account of a party of emigrants under Gerrit Maritz—Fate of a Kosa robber band in Moshesh's territory—Form of government decided upon by the emigrant farmers—Condition of the various clans along the Caledon—Account of an exploring party under Dr. Andrew Smith—Treaty between the governor of the Cape Colony and the Matabele chief Moselekatse—Destruction of Mosega by a commando under Potgieter and Maritz—Failure of American missionaries to exert any influence on the Matabele—Foundation of the village of Winburg—Account of Commandant Pieter Retief—Election of Retief to the post of governor and commandant-general of the emigrants—Abjuration by the emigrants of all connection with the London missionary society—Provision for the observance of public worship—Account of parties of emigrants under Pieter Jacobs and Jacobus Uys—Attack upon the Matabele by a Zulu army—Jealousy and divisions among the emigrant farmers—Rout of the Matabele army by a commando under Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys—Flight of Moselekatse to the territory north of the Limpopo—Proclamation of Commandant Potgieter taking possession of all the territory devastated by the Matabele.

THE abandonment of the Cape Colony by many thousands of substantial burghers, who were intent upon seeking a new home in the wilderness where they could be free from what they regarded as intolerable misrule, is an event unique in the modern history of European dependencies.

No people not of British descent ever offered such favourable material for conversion into loyal subjects as did these South Africans when forty years earlier they came by conquest under British rule. They were men of our own race, of that sturdy Nether-Teuton stock which peopled England and Scotland as well as the delta of the Rhine. With the main stream of their Batavian blood had indeed mingled many rivulets not of Batavian origin, but the stubborn current had flowed on unchanged, absorbing and assimilating them all. The most important of these was the Huguenot, which at one time made up about a sixth of the whole blood, but which was completely absorbed before the middle of the eighteenth century. Larger in volume, but even more easily assimilated, was a tributary from lands now included in the German empire. Upon close examination, however, it is seen that many of the Germans who made their homes in South Africa in the early days of the settlement were from states where High and Low Teutons were intermingled, so that much of this blood was probably akin to the Batavian. Denmark, Sweden, even Scotland, supplied rills, but so tiny that they were lost at once. The Ferreira family, now widely spread, traced its origin to Portugal.

These South Africans spoke a dialect¹ which our great

¹ The Dutch language as spoken to-day in South Africa differs somewhat from that spoken in the Netherlands. The changes are owing to natural causes, not to any considerable mixture of foreign words. First, in South Africa the voice has lost its gruffness, which is probably due to the climate. Secondly, phrases have been simplified, regardless of grammatical rules, because the early settlers were obliged to convey their ideas to imported slaves and to Hottentots, and necessarily did so in terms such as would be employed when addressing infants. The simple dialect then came into general use among themselves. In the Netherlands the language of the masses has changed, owing to universal education in schools and a widely diffused taste for reading. The literary language has also become more formal. The South African colonists never lost a knowledge of the pure language of the Dutch bible, and in their devotions almost invariably employ it. Any Dutch book whatever printed in the seventeenth century is also read with the greatest ease by the colonists, to whom the phraseology is familiar; though the same persons find the language of a modern work issued in

Alfred would have understood without much difficulty, which is nearer to the language of the men who fought under Harold at Senlac than is the English tongue of to-day. Their religion was that of the people of Scotland, of a considerable number of the people of England. That there was nothing of the nature of race antagonism between them and the people of Great Britain is shown by the readiness with which intermarriages have taken place ever since the colony came under our flag. Even the feeling of dislike which long commercial rivalry engendered between the English and Dutch in Europe was not shared to any appreciable extent by the colonists of South Africa. There was in truth hardly any difference in sentiment between them and a body of Englishmen or Scotchmen of equally limited education that can not be referred to what hereditary instinct would create between a purely agricultural and pastoral people living for nearly two centuries in seclusion from the rest of the world, and a people chiefly engaged in manufactures and commerce, with the working of modern ideas all around them.

No single event brought on the emigration, but causes of disaffection had been accumulating ever since 1811. A summary of the opinions of the secretary of state and of the governor upon this matter has been given in their own words. Here is the declaration of one of the ablest men among the emigrants, which he caused to be published before he left the colony:—

Holland stiff and heavy. Most of what in South Africa are erroneously supposed to be peculiarities of Cape Dutch are merely survivals of idioms in use in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, and which may still be occasionally detected in secluded localities there. Thus a gentleman in that country who has made the subject a special study writes to me that in canal boats in Zeeland he has frequently heard the double negative, that the pronoun *us* is commonly used in that province instead of *we*, and much more to the same effect. Not taking these isolated survivals into consideration, it is an open question whether the language in ordinary use by the generality of the people has not changed more in the Netherlands than in South Africa since the middle of the seventeenth century, the lines of variation moving in opposite directions.

GRAHAMSTOWN, 22nd January, 1837.

1. We despair of saving the colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants, who are allowed to infest the country in every part; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

2. We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the name of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but, whilst we will take care that no one is brought by us into a condition of slavery, we will establish such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We solemnly declare that we leave this country with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hitherto had. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7 and 8. (Of little importance.)

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavour to obey.

In the name of all who leave this colony with me,

P. RETIEF.

Two theories of the emigration remain to be noticed.

The first is that it was really nothing more than a continuation of what had been going on since the beginning of the eighteenth century. This is incorrect. An expansion of the colony had been constantly taking place by men who

were without farms, or who held farms of small value, moving to the nearest unoccupied land on the border, and then applying to the government for it. This expansion was gradual, and those who were engaged in it had at the time no thought of founding new and distinct states. The emigration after 1836 was that of masses of people, including some of the very best men in the country, who abandoned or sold for little or nothing some of the choicest lands in South Africa, and who left the colony avowedly to get rid of English rule and to form independent communities anywhere and at any distance in the interior.

The other theory is that of most people in England, that the movement was due to an objection by the Dutch colonists to the freedom of the slaves. This is equally incorrect. To what has been related in previous chapters may be added that in the records of the emigrants—including a vast number of private letters to friends and relatives—there is not a word in favour of slavery, though there is much concerning losses from the manner in which the slaves were emancipated. The best and readiest method of showing how little the slavery question in any of its aspects really had to do with the emigration, when compared with other matters, is to give the number of slaves in different parts of the colony and the number of people who removed from the same areas. The first can be ascertained with the greatest accuracy from the protector's returns, and for the last there are reports from the civil commissioners specially called for by the government, which, however, can only be regarded as approximately correct.

On the 30th of November 1834 there were in the Cape and Stellenbosch districts twenty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven slaves, or fifty-six per cent. of the whole number owned in the colony. From these districts there was no emigration worth noticing during the years 1836 to 1839. In the districts of Worcester, Swellendam, and George there were eleven thousand and twenty-one slaves, or twenty-eight per cent. of the whole number, and the emigrants

from these districts were a little less than two per cent. of the whole.

Finally, in the districts of Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet, Somerset, Albany, and Uitenhage—that is the part of the colony exposed to the marauding hordes,—on the 30th of November 1834 there were six thousand three hundred and thirty-three slaves, or sixteen per cent. of the entire number, and the people who left these districts were rather over ninety-eight per cent. of those who left the whole colony between the 1st of January 1836 and the 31st of December 1839. Nothing that can be said or written can be more conclusive than these figures.

Some years later when, owing to the internal weakness of the different governments established by the emigrants, coupled with security against violence by blacks, it became possible for runaway debtors and rogues of different descriptions to live and thrive upon the borders of their settlements, it was frequently asserted by their enemies that the farmers left the colony to free themselves from the restraints of law. This charge was untrue. The early emigrants constantly maintained that they left the colony to free themselves not of law but of lawlessness. A few men of indifferent character may have gone with the stream, but their boast as a body was that they left in open day and after their intentions had been publicly announced. That they should be followed by men whose motives were different was quite natural, but they cannot in justice be blamed for it.

On leaving the colony the emigrants maintained that they ceased to be British subjects. They asserted that the Cape having become an English dependency by conquest and subsequent cession by its former sovereign, they were English subjects while they remained within its bounds, but that no allegiance was due to the king by them when they left it, as they were not his subjects by descent. This claim, however, was not admitted by either the colonial or the imperial government, who denied their right to throw off allegiance in this way.

Most of the emigrants abandoned the colony in parties or bands, each under an elected leader termed a commandant. The first to leave was a little band from the district of Albany, consisting of Louis Triechard with wife and four children, Carel Triechard with wife and two children, Hendrik Botha with wife and five children, J. Pretorius with wife and four children, G. Scheepers with wife and nine children, H. Strydom with wife and five children, J. Albrecht with wife and five children, and a young man named Daniel Pfeffer. Louis Triechard, who was the leader of this party, was a man of violent temper, and had given vent to his animosity to the imperial government in such blustering language that he was regarded by the colonial authorities as capable even of joining the Kaffirs against the English. At the close of the war, Colonel Smith offered a reward of five hundred head of cattle for his apprehension, which led to his leaving at once.

This party was joined before it crossed the colonial border by another of equal size, consisting of Jan van Rensburg, as leader, with wife and four children, S. Bronkhorst with wife and six children, G. Bronkhorst the elder with wife and one child, G. Bronkhorst the younger with wife, Jacobus de Wet with wife, F. van Wyk with wife and two children, P. Viljoen with wife and six children, H. Aukamp with wife and three children, N. Prins with wife and eight children, and M. Prins.

Together they had thirty waggons. Travelling slowly northward, in May 1836 they reached the Zoutpansberg, where they halted for a while. After a short delay, Rensburg's party moved on again, and soon afterwards encountered a Bantu tribe, by whom, according to rumour, they were all murdered. Many years later, however, it was ascertained that two of the children had been spared, and had grown up among the blacks.

With a view of ascertaining the distance of Delagoa Bay and the nature of the intervening country, a few months later Triechard's party also left the Zoutpansberg, though

with an intention of returning and forming a permanent settlement there. This design, however, was frustrated, as fever attacked them and carried off several of their number, and the tsetse destroyed nearly the whole of their cattle. Feeble and impoverished, in April 1838 they reached the bay, where they met with unbounded hospitality from the Portuguese authorities. At Lourenço Marques they remained more than a year, their number constantly diminishing by fever. At length their friends, hearing where and in what condition they were, chartered the schooner *Mazeppa* to proceed to Delagoa Bay to their relief, and in July 1839 the remnant of the party, consisting of Mrs. H. Botha and five children, Mrs. G. Scheepers and five children, Mrs. J. Pretorius and two children, three young men, and seven orphan children, were landed in Natal. One young man, a son of Louis Trieckhard, had gone to Mozambique in a Portuguese vessel before the *Mazeppa* reached the bay, but in the following year he managed to travel overland to his friends in Natal. Thus of the ninety-eight individuals who formed the first body of emigrants all had perished except the twenty-six who reached Natal in a state of destitution and the two still more wretched who were living with the blacks.

During the winter of 1836 preparations for emigration were being made all over the eastern and northern districts. The government was perfectly helpless in the matter. The attorney-general, Mr. A. Oliphant, was consulted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and gave his opinion that 'it seemed next to an impossibility to prevent persons passing out of the colony by laws in force or by any which could be framed.' On the 19th of August Sir Benjamin wrote to the lieutenant-governor that 'he could see no means of stopping the emigration except by persuasion and attention to the wants and necessities of the farmers.' In that direction the governor had done all that was in his power, but he could not act in opposition to the instructions of the secretary of state. Captain Stockenstrom himself, in replying to an

address from the inhabitants of Uitenhage, stated that 'he was not aware of any law which prevented any of his Majesty's subjects from leaving his dominions and settling in another country, and such a law, if it did exist, would be tyrannical and oppressive.'

Before this time the second party of emigrants had left. It consisted of farmers from the Tarka, and was under Commandant Andries Hendrik Potgieter, a substantial burgher of kindly disposition and moderate views. Attached to this party, and acknowledging Potgieter as chief commandant, was a body of burghers from the neighbourhood of the village of Colesberg. The subsequent sufferings of this section of the party, and the events which those sufferings gave rise to, entitle it to particular notice. It consisted of Carel Cilliers with his wife and six children, Jan du Toit with his family, Jan Botha with his family, three families Kruger, eight families Liebenberg, four families Brookhuizen, four families Brits, and three families Van Rensburg. These did not all move out in one body, but about half of them joined Potgieter and went on in advance, and the others followed as fast as they could get away.

Commandant Potgieter directed his course northward past Thaba Ntshu until he came to the Vet river. On its banks, close to the site of the present village of Winburg, he found a remnant of the Bataung tribe under the chief Makwana. Makwana claimed the whole country between the Vet and Vaal rivers as having once been in possession of his tribe, but he was then in an abject condition, poor, powerless, and afraid to do anything that might draw upon him the notice of Moselekatse. Under these circumstances he was ready to enter into an arrangement with Potgieter, by which he ceded to the emigrants all the land between the Vet and Vaal rivers, except a tract which he reserved for the use of his own people, upon condition of being protected from the Matabele and provided with a small herd of cattle. This arrangement having been concluded, the emigrants in fancied security scattered themselves over

the vacant country, and some of them even crossed the Vaal and went down along its northern bank to the junction of a stream which they named the Mooi.

The territory stretching northward to the Limpopo was to them an unknown land, though English people were acquainted with its features from accounts of explorers and traders. As early as 1829 the reverend Robert Moffat, of the London missionary society, travelled from Kuruman to the kraal of Moselekatse, about a hundred miles east of the present town of Zeerust. In 1832 a trader named Whittle travelled from Grahamstown to the Limpopo where its course is to the northwest beyond the Magalisberg. In 1835 the territory in that direction was explored by the expedition under Dr. Andrew Smith, and also by Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain, who was then trying to trade, but whose property was seized by the Matabele owing to the misconduct of his Griqua servants. By these travellers reports were received of Lake Ngami, and Dr. Smith was only prevented from pushing on to that sheet of water by the overdrawn statements of the Betshuana concerning the perils of the intervening desert. In February 1836 the trader David Hume returned to Grahamstown from a journey along the Limpopo to where it passes through the eastern mountains in its way to the sea. He brought back an account of the regions he had visited, of the damages caused by the tsetse, and descriptions of the country as far as the lake received from numerous natives. During the early months of 1836 Captain Sutton and Lieutenant Moultrie, of the 75th regiment, and also Captain Cornwallis Harris, on furlough from India, hunted along the Limpopo. In every case, the individuals here named proceeded first to Moselekatse's kraal, propitiated that chief with presents, and obtained his permission to go farther.

On the 24th of May 1836 a party consisting of the commandant Hendrik Potgieter, his brother Hermanus Potgieter, Messrs. Carel Cilliers, J. G. S. Bronkhorst, R. Jansen, L. van Vuuren, A. Swanepoel, J. Roberts, A. de

Lange, D. Opperman, H. Nieuwenhuizen, and C. Liebenberg, left the Sand river for the purpose of inspecting the country as far as Delagoa Bay. For eighteen days they met no one, but after passing Rhenoster Poort they found a few scattered inhabitants. To the eastward the land appeared exceedingly rugged, and they observed no opening that promised an easy route to the sea, so they pushed on to the north until they reached Louis Triecharde's camp at the Zoutpansberg. Not far from this place—in their account they use the expression 'opposite to it'—they were shown what they termed a gold mine, and they saw rings of that metal made by native workmen.

Wherever they met blacks they observed quantities of manufactured iron, a certain proof of an abundance of the ore close at hand. Game in the greatest variety and in vast numbers was everywhere encountered.¹ The flora in the north differed in some respects from that they had been accustomed to. Strange trees in particular gave them cause for wonder, and they looked with something like awe upon the wide-spreading baobab. But they were simple farmers, and that which struck them most was the richness of the grasses, surpassing anything they knew of even in the best parts of the Cape Colony.

From Triecharde's camp they turned back, and after seven days' travelling towards the south-east came to a kraal of the Magwamba, a tribe that had for its distinguishing mark a peculiarly ugly puncturing of the face, on which account the travellers called them Knobnoses, a name by which they are still known. At this kraal they met two half-breed sons of that Coenraad du Buis who has often been mentioned in preceding chapters. Du Buis remained at Swellendam, where General Janssens required him to live, until early in

¹The prodigious quantity of game in the territory now comprised in the South African Republic and the Orange Free State can hardly be realised since it has nearly all been destroyed. Some idea may be formed from the fact that before September 1837 two hundred and forty-nine lions were killed by the emigrants in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu alone.

the year 1815, when he again fled from civilisation, and took up his abode near Klaarwater—now Griquatown—north of the Orange river. Here he was suspected by the nearest colonial authorities of causing disturbances among various wandering hordes, and there is strong reason to believe that he was acting as a freebooter. Suspecting that an expedition was on the way to arrest him, he fled farther northward, and spent the remainder of his life in the country along the Limpopo. His gigantic frame, his reckless courage, the iron strength of his constitution, and his perfect familiarity with Bantu customs enabled him to become a leader among the barbarians. Wherever he went he took to himself female companions. Of his many sons, two, whose European names were Doris and Carel Buys, were living at the Magwamba kraal when Commandant Potgieter visited it, and they formed a link of communication between the two races.

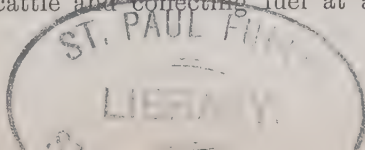
At this kraal the travellers saw both Indian and European calicoes, different kinds of cloth, shawls, and even straw hats, which had been obtained in exchange for ivory. Some blacks from Lourenço Marques, who could speak Portuguese, were there trading at the time. They stated that there were vessels then waiting in Delagoa Bay until they should return with the ivory which they were collecting. This intelligence was very satisfactory to the farmers. The open uninhabited country to the westward would be an admirable place for a settlement, and communication with the outer world could be had through the port from which these traders came.

They were now anxious to return to their families, so without inspecting the route to Delagoa Bay, they set out again towards the south. On the 2nd of September they arrived at the spot where they had left the last encampment on their outward journey, and found that a dreadful massacre had just taken place.

It had been committed in the following manner. Mr. Stephanus P. Erasmus, who lived near the Kraai river in the present district of Aliwal North, had got up a party to hunt

elephants, and had gone some distance north of the Vaal for that purpose. The hunting party consisted of Erasmus himself, his three sons, Pieter Bekker and his son, Jan Claasen, and Carel Kruger. They had with them a number of coloured servants, five waggons, eighty oxen, and about fifty horses. They had not been very successful, and were slowly returning homeward, still hunting by the way. One morning they left the waggons and cattle as usual in charge of the servants, and in three small parties rode away in different directions. In the evening Erasmus and one of his sons, who were together during the day, returned to the waggons and found them surrounded by five or six hundred Matabele soldiers, who had been sent out by Moselekatse to scour the country. It was ascertained long afterwards that the other two sons of Erasmus and Carel Kruger, who formed a separate hunting party, had been surprised by the Matabele and murdered. The Bekkers and Claasen were out in another direction, and when the Matabele came upon them they were some distance from each other. The first two escaped, the last was never heard of again.

Erasmus and the son who was with him rode for their lives towards the nearest party of emigrants, who they knew were not farther off than five hours on horseback. They obtained the assistance of eleven men, and were proceeding to ascertain the fate of the others, when they encountered a division of the Matabele army, and turned back to give notice to those behind. The families farthest in advance had hardly time to draw their waggons in a circle and collect within it, when the Matabele were upon them. From ten in the morning until four in the afternoon the assailants vainly endeavoured to force a way into the lager, and did not relinquish the attempt until fully a third of their number were stretched on the ground. Of thirty-five men within the lager, only one, Adolf Bronkhorst, was killed, but a youth named Christiaan Harmse and several coloured servants, who were herding cattle and collecting fuel at a distance, were murdered.



In the meantime another party of the Matabele had gone farther up the river, and had unexpectedly fallen upon the encampment of the Liebenbergs. They murdered there old Barend Liebenberg, the patriarch of the family, his sons Stephanus, Barend, and Hendrik, his son-in-law Jan du Toit, his daughter, Du Toit's wife, his son Hendrik's wife, a schoolmaster named Macdonald, four children, and twelve coloured servants; and they carried away three children to present to their chief. The two divisions of Matabele warriors then united, and returned to Mosega to procure reinforcements, taking with them large herds of the emigrants' cattle.

To an Englishman who visited him shortly afterwards Moselekatse tried to make it appear that the massacre was committed in mistake by his soldiers. He told Captain Sutton that his men were sent against the Koranas under Jan Bloem, who were in the habit of making sudden raids upon his cattle posts, and that they believed the farmers to be Bloem's people. But this was evidently an attempt to find an excuse for a deed that he had reason to fear would not remain unavenged. The soldiers were not so stupid as to confound white people with Koranas, nor will the place where the farmers were attacked admit of the supposition that Jan Bloem was being sought for.

Six days after the assault upon the lager, Erasmus, in his anxiety as to the fate of his sons, rode to the spot where his waggons had stood, and found there nothing but the bodies of five of his servants. His waggons were seen at Mosega by Captain Harris a few days later, and the same traveller learned that two of the captive children, being girls, had been taken to one of Moselekatse's residences farther north. He does not seem to have heard of the captive boy. At that time the emigrants themselves were ignorant that the children were still alive, as until Captain Harris's return they believed that all had been murdered.

As soon as the Matabele were out of sight, the farmers hastened across the Vaal, and formed a lager at the place

since known as Vechtkop, between the Rhenoster and Wilge rivers. The lager was constructed of fifty waggons drawn up in a circle, firmly lashed together, and every opening except a narrow entrance closed with thorn trees.

The month of October was well advanced when one morning a few frightened Bataung rushed into the camp and announced that a great Matabele army was approaching. Immediately the horses were saddled, and after a short religious service conducted by Mr. Carel Cilliers, the farmers rode out with Commandant Potgieter at their head, and encountered a division of Moselekatse's forces, about five thousand strong, under Kalipi, Moselekatse's favourite captain. Riding close up, they poured a volley into the mass of savages, and then retired to reload their clumsy guns. This manœuvre they repeated, constantly falling back, until the lager was reached.

The Matabele now thought they had the farmers in a trap, and encircling the camp, they sat down at some distance from it and feasted their eyes with a sight of their supposed victims. After a while they suddenly rose, and with a loud hiss, their ordinary signal of destruction, they rushed upon the lager and endeavoured to force an entrance. There were only forty men, all told, inside, but luckily they had spare guns, and the women knew how to load them. The assailants were received with a deadly fire, and fell back, but only to rush on again. The waggons were lashed together too firmly to be moved, and finding it impossible to get to close quarters, the foremost Matabele soldiers abandoned their usual method of fighting, and hurled their heavy assagais into the lager. One thousand one hundred and thirteen of these weapons were afterwards picked up in the camp. By this means they managed to kill two of the defenders, Nicholas Potgieter and Pieter Botha, and to wound twelve others more or less severely. Still the fire kept up by those who remained was so hot that Kalipi judged it expedient to withdraw, and in less than half-an-hour after the first rush the Matabele turned to retreat.

They collected the whole of the cattle belonging to the emigrants, however, and drove them off, leaving not a hoof except the horses which the farmers had been riding, and which were within the camp.

Potgieter with his little band followed them until sunset, and managed to shoot a good many, but could not recover the cattle. On their return to the camp, they counted a hundred and fifty-five corpses close to the waggons. Altogether, the Matabele had now killed twenty whites and twenty-six persons of colour, and had swept off a hundred horses, four thousand six hundred head of horned cattle, and more than fifty thousand sheep and goats.

Just at this time the first families of the third party of emigrants from the colony arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu. This party came from the district of Graaff-Reinet, and was under the leadership of Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who had previously been the proprietor of a large waggon-making establishment, and was a man of considerable wealth. They had not less than one hundred waggons with them, and as their flocks and herds were very numerous, they were obliged to travel slowly and to spread over a great extent of country. Almost the first information of the earlier emigrants which came to their ears after they crossed the Orange was brought by Hermanus Potgieter to Thaba Ntshu, to which place he was sent by his brother to seek assistance for the families at Vechtkop, who were left in a helpless condition by the loss of their cattle.

The reverend Mr. Archbell, Wesleyan missionary at Thaba Ntshu, spared no exertions to procure aid for his suffering fellow Christians. Through his influence, Moroko supplied some oxen, the missionary sent his own, the emigrants in the neighbourhood went with theirs, and by these combined means the whole of Potgieter's camp was brought back to Thaba Ntshu. Upon the arrival of the distressed people, Moroko treated them with great kindness. He gave them corn, and even lent them a few cows to supply their children with milk.

Another massacre, but from which a very different class of people suffered, took place at this time about a day's journey south-east of Thaba Ntshu. The Kosa chief Jalusa, who professed to be a dependent of Hintsä, after the conclusion of peace with the colony in September 1835 collected a band of turbulent characters in which there were many of the Imidange clan, and migrated with them to the country near Thaba Bosigo. There he commenced to plunder outlying Basuto kraals, and would not desist, though Moshesh made the most friendly overtures. For several months the Basuto submitted to this treatment, but their patience becoming exhausted, one night in the month of September 1836 they surrounded Jalusa's encampment, and when the sun rose next morning between a thousand and twelve hundred corpses of all ages were lying on the ground. Tshunongwa, who was believed to be the actual murderer of the elder Stockenstrom, was among the number. Only five men and three women escaped. They managed to break through the circle of death-dealing Basuto, and conveyed to Kaffirland tidings of the fate of their companions.

On the 2nd of December 1836 a general assembly of the emigrants was held for the purpose of deciding upon the form of their future government. They resolved to elect a body of seven members, which should have supreme legislative power. The choice of the electors fell upon Messrs. Gerrit Marthinus Maritz, Andries Hendrik Potgieter, Jan Gerrit Bronkhorst, Christiaan Jacobus Liebenberg, Pieter Greyling, Daniel Kruger, and Stephanus Janse van Vuuren, who constituted the first volksraad. It was decided also that the same persons should form a court of justice, in which Maritz should sit as landdrost and the others as heemraden.

The question where they were to settle was not discussed. The country to the north as far as Mosega was almost without inhabitants, but it was evident that Moselekatse was determined to keep it in that condition. While his power

lasted, it was therefore useless to think of trying to establish themselves anywhere in that direction in peace.

At Thaba Ntshu the emigrants were in the territory occupied by the Barolong, of whom Moroko was by far the most important chief, though there were others who claimed to be higher in rank. All of them were delighted to find the white people involved in difficulties with the Matabele, those destroyers of the Betshuana tribes, as a prospect of deliverance from the fear which rested upon them was thereby opened.

To the eastward the various little communities under Moshesh at Thaba Bosigo, Sikonyela at Imparani, Gert Taaibosch at Merumetsu, Carolus Baatje at Platberg, and Peter Davids at Lishuane, were in the state described at the close of the thirty-fourth chapter. Lepui and his Batlapin were at Bethulie, away to the south-west, on the right bank of the Orange.

About equidistant from Thaba Ntshu and Bethulie, in the preceding year a mission station had been founded close to the Caledon, at the place called Zevenfontein. The farmers who had been living there had gone to the assistance of the colony against the Kaffirs, and during their absence the ground they had occupied was taken possession of by the French missionary society. The reverend Mr. Rolland had left Motito to the sole care of Mr. Lemue, and moved to Zevenfontein with a horde of refugees, composed partly of Bahurutsi who had once lived at Mosega and partly of the remnant of a Barolong clan under a petty chief named Moi. For agricultural purposes Zevenfontein was vastly superior to any locality that could be selected in the Betshuana country, it was close to the other stations of the French society, and it was a long way from Moselekatse. For these reasons it was selected by Mr. Rolland. It was not within Moshesh's jurisdiction, but Mr. Rolland considered it convenient to acknowledge his authority as paramount, and the station became a kind of semi-independent fief of the Basuto chief. Subsequently also several little bands of

Basuto origin settled there. Mr. Rolland changed the name Zevenfontein to Beersheba.

A few months before the arrival of the emigrants at Thaba Ntshu, the various chiefs along the Caledon were visited by a scientific and exploring expedition under Dr. Andrew Smith, sent out under the patronage of the Cape government, but at the expense of a body of subscribers. Dr. Smith was provided with medals attached to chains, and presented one each to Moshesh, Sikonyela, Moroko, Lepui, Peter Davids, Carolus Baatje, and Gert Taaibosch. The chiefs regarded these medals as assurances that the colonial government recognised them as the rightful rulers of their respective communities. They all declared to Dr. Smith that they were desirous of friendly relations, and anxious that white people should visit them from time to time for the purpose of trading. No formal agreement was concluded, however. In order to make a distinction between the more and less powerful chiefs, Dr. Smith presented to Moshesh, Sikonyela, and Moroko each an ornamented cloak.

The expedition visited the Batlapin chief Mothibi, who was found living on the right bank of the Vaal below its junction with the Hart, and who, like the others, was pleased with being recognised by the Cape government.

Dr. Smith proceeded to Mosega, and was well received by Moselekatse. He took the precaution not only to send messengers in advance to announce his approach and to inform the chief that he was coming on a mission of friendship from the Cape government, but to wait for leave to do so. Thus the pride of the Matabele ruler was flattered, and his suspicions were dispelled. Probably if the expedition had entered his country as Erasmus's party did, it would have met with a similar fate.

Moselekatse was found as ready as any of the petty captains along the Caledon with expressions of good-will. He received with pleasure the presents offered—a medal with a chain, two large mirrors, and two ornamented cloaks—and when the expedition left, he sent with it to Capetown

one of his favourite indunas, named Nombate, with four attendants, to greet the white man's chief.

On the 3rd of March 1836 a treaty was signed in Capetown by Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the one part and by Nombate, on behalf of Moselekatse, on the other, by the terms of which the Matabele chief engaged to be a faithful friend and ally of the colony, to maintain peace, to protect white people visiting his country, to encourage missionaries, and generally to act as a promoter of civilisation. The governor made similar engagements, and further undertook to supply suitable presents periodically. Nombate returned to Mosega delighted with his reception, and laden with gifts, but without a thought that his chief had incurred any responsibility by his having put his hand upon a pen while a mark was made.

The party to which Earl Glenelg belonged, however, regarded such documents as having the same value and importance as those entered into between civilised powers, and thus at the time when the emigrant farmers came into collision with the Matabele, that tribe was spoken of as being in alliance with the colony.

As soon as possible the commandants Potgieter and Maritz assembled in force for the purpose of punishing Moselekatse. The Griqua captain Peter Davids eagerly tendered the services of his followers, in hope that the expedition might effect the release of his daughter and his nephew. Matlabe, the petty Barolong chief who had once been a soldier in the Matabele army, volunteered to be the guide, and a few Koranas and Barolong engaged their services with a view to sharing the spoil. As ultimately made up, the force consisted of one hundred and seven farmers on horseback, forty of Peter David's Griquas and five or six Koranas, also on horseback, and sixty Barolong¹

¹ This does not agree with statements made of late years on behalf of Montsiwa, in which his father Tawane is represented as having entered into alliance with Potgieter and as having furnished a powerful contingent on the express understanding that he should have the whole 'country of Tao'

on foot, belonging in about equal numbers to the clans of Gontse, Tawane, Moroko, and Matlabe.

Under Matlabe's guidance the commando pursued its

restored to him. The authority on which I give the total number of Barolong that accompanied the commando is the following:—

In an account of their proceedings drawn up by the leaders of the emigrants at the Sand river on the 3rd of December 1838, and addressed to Sir George Napier, it is stated that 'slight assistance' was received from Moroko, Peter Davids, and Sikonyela, but Tawane is not even mentioned.

Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who having quarrelled with Mr. Potgieter took the whole credit of the expedition to himself, in a letter which he wrote to a friend on the 17th of March 1837, and which was immediately published in several of the colonial newspapers, says: 'Ik ben uitgetrokken tegen Mas-selikatse met 107 man burgers, benevens 40 bastaards en 60 man van de Marolesen.'

Captain Harris, who had just returned from Moselekatse's country and who was well acquainted with all the circumstances, in his account in *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* states it as 'sixty armed savages on foot.'

Judge Cloete, in his *Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers*, gives the number of the entire commando as two hundred, without saying in what proportions the force was composed.

The reverend Mr. Grout, in his *Zululand*, follows Harris and says 'sixty armed savages on foot,' and as he like Judge Cloete had the very best means of information concerning this event, while the sources of their knowledge were different, if this was an error and the party had been a large one he would most likely have corrected it.

Mr. Carel Cilliers, who accompanied both this and the next expedition against Moselekatse, in his journal published in H. J. Hofstede's *Geschiedenis van den Oranje Vrijstaat*, never once mentions auxiliaries. He says: 'En de nood drong ons dat wij met 107 man het ondernam om tegen de magtige vijand op te trekken, en onze God gaf hem in onze handen, dat wij hem een groot nederlaag gaf en 6,000 beesten van hem namen, en niet een van ons gemis.'

Mr. G. J. Kruger, who was with both this expedition and the one in the following November, in an account of the emigration written in February 1852 for the assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen, does not allude to assistance from blacks on either occasion. His account remained in manuscript among the documents relating to the Orange River Sovereignty until 1886, when at my instance it was published in the *Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*.

Mr. J. G. van Vuuren, who was with the commando, in his evidence before the Bloemhof commissioners in 1871, says: 'About forty coloured people with us under Matlabe.'

Matlabe himself, in his evidence on the same occasion, says: 'Tawane gave two sons, Gontse also gave two of his sons; Tawane's sons took a small

march through a country so desolate that after crossing the Vaal not a single individual was met, and the approach of a hostile force was quite unknown to the Matabele. At early dawn on the morning of the 17th of January 1837 the military camp in the valley of Mosega was surprised. This camp consisted of fifteen separate kraals, and was under command of the induna Kalipi, who happened at the time to be away at Kapayin fifty miles farther north.

Seven months earlier, three American missionaries—Dr. Wilson and the reverend Messrs. Lindley and Venable—had taken up their residence at Mosega with Moselekatse's permission. The chief had met Christian teachers before, but had never comprehended even the first principles of the doctrines which they endeavoured to expound. As soon as he ascertained that the preaching of the American missionaries was against his actions he forbade his people to listen to them, and shortly afterwards he left Mosega and went to reside at Kapayin. The missionaries had been attacked by fever, and some members of their families had died; but they still continued at their post, hoping and praying for an opportunity to carry on the work to which they had devoted themselves. On the morning of the 17th of January they were awakened by the report of guns, and rushing out of their hut they saw clouds of smoke rising above the entrances of two of the passes into the valley, indicating the position of the farmers under Potgieter and Maritz.

The Matabele soldiers grasped their spears and shields, number of Kaffirs with them, also Gontse's sons, and I took fourteen, including myself; Moroko did not send any men, but three of his men joined us afterwards.'

Against all this evidence, in addition to the overwhelming testimony of subsequent events, the advocates of Montsiwa have to support their views nothing but a letter from Mrs. Erasmus Smit, who was in the emigrant camp at the time, and who wrote to her son in overdrawn language of 'een groot aantal ruiters van Marokke' helping them; the evidence of Moroko at Bloembhof, in which he says 'we mustered a great many men'; and the assertions of some of Montsiwa's followers made for the first time more than a quarter of a century after the event, when they had long been under the tuition of a European fabricator of fictitious statements.

and rushed forward; but volleys of slugs from the long elephant guns of the farmers drove them back in confusion. Their commanding officer was away, and there was no one of sufficient authority to restore order. The soldiers took to flight, and were hunted by the farmers until the sun was high overhead, when it was computed that at least four hundred must have been slain. The commando then set fire to the kraals. Most of the waggons that had belonged to the slaughtered emigrants were found there, and six or seven thousand head of cattle were seized. With this spoil Potgieter and Maritz considered it advisable to return to the Caledon rather than to follow up their victory. Not a single individual, European or black, had been hurt on their side. The missionaries and their families left Mosega with the commando, feeling that to remain with the Matabele would only be exposing themselves to danger, without the remotest likelihood of their being able to effect more good in the future than in the past. The Barolong auxiliaries acted as herdsmen, and received payment in cattle for their services. Matlabe, in his evidence at Bloemhof, stated that he 'got forty-seven head, and Tawane's and Gontse's sons each thirty-seven head; he received the most cattle because he was the leading man and the guide.'

After returning from Mosega, Potgieter removed from the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu to the Vet river, and formed his camp at a place to which he gave the name Winburg, from the recent victory. There his party was strengthened by the arrival of numerous families from the colony. In a short time some of them erected rough cottages, and thus the foundation of a permanent village was laid. Unfortunately, jealousy of each other, an evil which was afterwards prominent among the emigrants, already began to appear. Potgieter and Maritz quarrelled, and party feeling was bitter and strong.

In April 1837 another band arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu. It came from the Winterberg, and consisted of Pieter Retief and family, James Edwards and

family, three families Greyling, seven families Van Rensburg, two families Malan, three families Viljoen, one family Meyer, one family Van Dyk, two families Joubert, one family Dreyer, three families Van Staden, and a schoolmaster named Alfred Smith, in all one hundred and eight individuals, besides servants.

Mr. Pieter Retief, who was its leader, traced his descent from one of the Huguenots who fled from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes and came to South Africa in 1688. He was born and brought up near the present village of Wellington, but when still young removed to the eastern frontier. In 1820 when the British settlers arrived he was living in Grahamstown, and was considered to be the wealthiest man in the district of Albany, as also one of the most honourable. Being brought into close contact with the leading settlers, he soon acquired their confidence and esteem. Subsequently heavy losses in building contracts reduced his circumstances, and he then went to reside at the Winterberg, where the war of 1834-5 still further impoverished him. At this time he was a commandant, and had proved himself a man of ability in the field. His remonstrances against the policy pursued towards the Kaffirs brought him into disfavour with Captain Stockenstrom, who wrote to him in such a style as to create much irritation. He then resolved to leave the colony, and was elected by the intending emigrants from the Winterberg to be their head. A document embodying the reasons for emigrating was drawn up by him, and was published in the *Grahamstown Journal*, upon which the lieutenant-governor officially announced that he was dismissed from the position of commandant because he had signed it.

On the 6th of June 1837 there was a mass meeting of emigrants at Winburg, when a new volksraad was elected, and the chief executive power was entrusted to Mr. Retief, with the title of governor and commandant-general. The legislative power was vested in the volksraad, of which Mr. Maritz was elected president, and Messrs. J. G. L. Bronkhorst,

E. F. Liebenberg, P. J. Greyling, L. S. van Vuuren, and M. Oosthuizen were chosen members. It was decided that Mr. Maritz should continue to perform the duties of landdrost, with six heemraden to assist him in difficult cases. Nine articles were agreed upon as a kind of provisional constitution. In these the emigrants bound themselves to show respect and obedience to the officers whom they had chosen, and to abide by the old Dutch laws of the colony in all matters not provided for by special enactment of the volksraad.

One of the articles demands particular notice. It was to the effect that every member of the community and all who should thereafter join them must take a solemn oath to have no connection with the London missionary society. It must be clearly understood that by this was meant the political and social principles professed by the reverend Dr. Philip and some of the agents of that society in South Africa, and that it had no reference whatever to religion or religious instruction given to coloured people. The phrase 'London missionary society' had to the farmers long ceased to have any other than a political signification, implying anarchy and the social equality of civilised Europeans and naked savages. It was regarded by them as something like blasphemy to speak of Dr. Philip as a teacher of the Gospel. In point of fact, there were several missionaries of this society for whom as individuals they had the highest esteem, and who at any time would have been heartily welcomed in their midst, as had frequently been the case in the colony. But these missionaries confined themselves to instructing the coloured people in religious truths and the improvement of their condition, without interfering in political matters or questions affecting the right of all persons to social equality. The meeting at which these articles were adopted and the oath as here described was taken was opened and closed with prayer and the singing of psalms, as was indeed all other public gatherings of the emigrants.

Mr. Retief's first task was to compose the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz, and he apparently succeeded in restoring friendship between them, though it only lasted a short season. His next care was for the observance of public worship. There was no ordained clergyman among the emigrants, but there was an old missionary teacher named Erasmus Smit, and he was engaged to conduct the services. Mr. Retief then visited the chiefs Moroko, Tawane, Moshesh, and Sikonyela, and entered into agreements of mutual friendship with them.

While these arrangements were being made, the number of the emigrants was rapidly increasing. They were arriving by single families as well as in parties. One large band, under Mr. Pieter Jacobs, came from the district of Beaufort. Another, under Mr. Jacobus Uys, came from Uitenhage. It numbered more than one hundred souls, and was composed entirely of Mr. Uys's sons and daughters with their wives and husbands, children and grandchildren, for the leader was nearly seventy years of age. He was one of the most widely respected men in South Africa. His son Pieter Lavras Uys had won the admiration of the British settlers by his gallant conduct in the Kaffir war, and when the party reached Grahamstown on its way towards the border, the residents of that place testified their sympathy by a public deputation which in the name of the community presented a large and very handsome bible to the old man.

There were now more than a thousand waggons between the Caledon and Vaal rivers, and four or five hundred armed men could be mustered. Mr. Retief sent word to Moselekatse that if everything taken from the emigrants was restored, he would agree to peace, but as no answer was returned he prepared to send another expedition against the Matabele. Sikonyela, Moroko, and Tawane, seeing the white people in strength, offered their services, which Mr. Retief declined with thanks, as he knew from experience how impossible it would be to satisfy the demands of such allies. The expedition, however, was prevented from proceeding by rumours

that the Griquas of Waterboer and Kok were preparing to attack the emigrants.

About this time, possibly a month earlier or a month later, Dingan, Tshaka's successor, sent an army against Moselekatse. The Matabele were defeated by the Zulus in a great battle, in which one of their regiments perished almost to a man. They saw their cattle in possession of the conquerors; but they had courage and discipline enough to rally, and by another engagement they managed to recover some of their herds. The Zulus then retreated to their own country, taking with them among the captured cattle some oxen and sheep that had once belonged to the farmers.

In the spring of 1837 the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz was revived, and the whole of the emigrants were affected by it. Retief found it impossible to restore concord. From this time onward for some years jealousies were so rife, and party feeling ran so high, that it is not safe to take the statement of any individual among them as an accurate version of occurrences. Even the account of Mr. J. N. Boshof, their calmest and best writer, is distorted by partisan feeling. These jealousies caused the secession of a large number of the refugees from the principal body under Mr. Retief. The parties of Potgieter and Uys resolved to set up distinct governments of their own, the first on the ground purchased from Makwana, the last somewhere in the territory that is now the colony of Natal. To Natal also Retief determined to proceed, and in October he paid a preliminary visit to that district. While he was absent, the second expedition against the Matabele set out.

The commando consisted of two divisions, mustering together one hundred and thirty-five farmers, one division being under Hendrik Potgieter, the other under Pieter Uys. It was also accompanied by a few Barolong herdsmen, exactly how many it is impossible to ascertain, as they are not even mentioned in any of the contemporary accounts. Matlabe, in his evidence at Bloemhof, said that 'he did not

go himself, he sent three of his brothers with twenty men, but none of the other captains did that he saw.' Mongala, a brother of Matlabe, stated on the same occasion that he 'accompanied Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys with the second commando against Moselekatse, and had some Barolong under his command,' without mentioning how many.¹ Moroko may have furnished two or three men, but no record can be traced of a single man having been sent by either Gontse or Tawane.

In November 1837 this expedition found Moselekatse on the Marikwa, about fifty miles north of Mosega, where it attacked him, and in a campaign of nine days inflicted such loss that he fled far away beyond the Limpopo, never to return. The accounts as to the number of the Matabele killed on this occasion are very conflicting, both in the documents of the time and in the relations of the actors many years after the event. Mr. Carel Cilliers, who was with the expedition, in his journal set it down as over three thousand.² The reverend Mr. Lindley, who obtained his information from members of the commando, and who wrote immediately after the event, evidently thought four or five hundred would be nearer the mark. His words are: 'On returning to his encampment Mr. Retief found that a considerable number of the farmers were absent on an expedition against Moselekatse . . . which had about the same success as the one in January.' Between these extremes there are many accounts, no two of which agree in this respect. The fighting—or rather the pursuit of the Matabele soldiers, for no farmer was killed—took place over a large extent of ground, and the dead could not have been counted. The fact remains that the punishment inflicted

¹ This witness's evidence was found on the whole to be unreliable, and in some matters false, but he was known to have been with the commando.

² His words are: 'Op deze keer gaf de Heer onze God hem weder in onze handen dat wij hem ten onder bragten, en over de drie duizend van hen sneuvelde, zoo dat zij toen hun land verlieten, en wat de zijne was is de onze geworden.'

upon Moselekatse was so severe that he found it necessary to abandon the country he had devastated, and flee to the far north, there to resume on other tribes his previous career of destruction.

Six or seven thousand head of cattle were captured by the expedition, and given over to the Barolong herdsmen to take care of. One night these were surprised by a small party of Matabele, when several lost their lives, and some of the cattle were retaken. In the division of the captured stock the herdsmen were liberally dealt with, Matlabe's people receiving sixty-nine head for their services.

After the flight of Moselekatse, Commandant Potgieter issued a proclamation, in which he declared that the whole of the territory which that chief had overrun and now abandoned was forfeited to the emigrants. It included the greater part of the present South African Republic, fully half of the present Orange Free State, and the whole of Southern Betshuanaland to the Kalahari desert, except the district occupied by the Batlapin. This immense tract of country was then almost uninhabited, and must have remained so if the Matabele had not been driven out.

CHAPTER XL.

THE EMIGRANT FARMERS IN NATAL. 1837 TO 1840.

Account of English adventurers at Port Natal—Assassination of Tshaka and accession of Dingan to the Zulu chieftainship—Flight of the Amakwabi from Zululand—Failure of the exploring expedition under Messrs. Cowie and Green—Inspection of Natal by a party of colonial farmers—Visit of Captain A. F. Gardiner to Natal and Zululand—Foundation of the town of Durban—Terms of a treaty between Captain Gardiner and Dingan—Establishment of the American missions in Natal and Zululand—Objects of the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill—Visit of Pieter Retief to Dingan—Terms offered by Dingan for the cession of Natal to the emigrant farmers—Fulfilment of the conditions—Arrival of a large party of emigrant farmers in Natal—Second visit to Dingan of Pieter Retief, with sixty-five white men and boys and about thirty Hottentots—Cession of Natal by Dingan to Retief—Massacre of Retief's party by the Zulus—Massacre of men, women, and children in Natal—Expeditions against the Zulus—Proceedings of the emigrant farmers—Arrival in Natal of Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius, and his election as commandant-general—Despatch of a commando against Dingan—Victory of the emigrants at the Blood river—Destruction of Dingan's kraal Umkungunhlovu—Occupation of Port Natal by an English military force—Foundation of Pietermaritzburg—Negotiations with Dingan—Withdrawal of the English troops from Natal—Revolt of Panda against his brother Dingan—Alliance between the emigrant farmers and Panda—March of the allied forces of Pretorius and Panda against Dingan—Execution of two Zulu envoys—Battle between the forces of Dingan and of Panda, and victory of the latter—Flight of Dingan, and his assassination—Installation by Mr. Pretorius of Panda as ruler of the Zulus—Proclamation of Mr. Pretorius, taking possession of the country to the Umvolosi river.

In order to understand the events that took place when the emigrant farmers entered Natal in 1837, it is necessary to go back several years, to cast a glance at a little settlement of Englishmen on the shores of the port of the district, and to resume the thread of Zulu history.

In 1823 some merchants at Capetown formed a joint stock company for the purpose of trading with the natives on the south-eastern coast, and with that object chartered a brig named the *Salisbury*, of which Mr. James Saunders

King, who had once been a midshipman in the royal navy, was then master. The *Salisbury* sailed from Table Bay on the 23rd of June 1823. She had on board two members of the company that chartered her: Mr. J. R. Thomson, one of the founders of the Capetown firm of Thomson & Watson, and Mr. Francis George Farewell, previously a lieutenant in the royal navy and a close friend of Mr. King.

On her passage up the coast she put into Algoa Bay, and found there his Majesty's surveying ship *Leven*, under command of Captain Owen. Mr. Farewell went on board the *Leven*, and obtained a good deal of information concerning the coast. Seven Kaffirs, selected by the Cape government from the convicts on Robben Island, had been given to the surveying expedition as interpreters, and two of them, named Fire and Jacob, were transferred with their own consent by Captain Owen to Mr. Farewell. Fire was shortly afterwards accidentally shot, and Jacob managed to run away, but was subsequently met under strange circumstances.

On the 13th of July the *Salisbury* sailed from Algoa Bay. In trying to land on an open beach north of Natal two boats were lost and six men were drowned, but twelve others got safely to shore. Five weeks elapsed before they could be recovered, the brig having been blown to sea in a gale; but during that time they were well treated by the natives. The *Salisbury* then put back to Algoa Bay for supplies, after which she once more proceeded up the coast, and visited Port Natal. On the 3rd of December she reached Table Bay again.

The voyage was an unfortunate one for the company. Mr. Farewell, however, was so impressed with the capabilities of Natal for colonisation, and of its port as a gateway for trade with the interior of the continent, that he resolved to return and establish himself there. Some twenty-five individuals joined him in the enterprise. They purchased a sloop of thirty tons burden, named the *Julia*, which was intended to ply between Natal and the Cape, and chartered the brig

Antelope to convey them with their stores and some horses to their destination.

In April 1824¹ the *Julia* sailed for Natal with a few of the party under the leadership of Mr. Henry Francis Fynn, son of a man who for many years after the English conquest in 1806 kept an inn called the British Hotel, in Long-street, Capetown.

Mr. Farewell with the remainder of the party sailed from Table Bay in the *Antelope* on the 27th of May, and arrived safely at Natal six weeks after the *Julia*. But the hearts of most of the adventurers soon failed them. On the 7th of September Messrs. Hoffman, father and son, Pietersen, Buxman, Collins, Nel, De Bruin, Johnstone, and Davids embarked in the *Julia*, and set sail for the Cape.

The *Julia* returned to Natal, and on the 1st of December sailed again for Algoa Bay with eleven other members of the party. She was never afterwards heard of, and is supposed to have foundered at sea with her crew and passengers.

The Europeans at Natal were now completely cut off from intercourse with the outer world. The little party consisted of Messrs. Farewell and Fynn, two men named John Cane and Henry Ogle, and a boy named Thomas Holstead. Of the antecedents of the two last nothing is known. Cane was a man of unusual physical strength, who arrived in Capetown from London in August 1813. After working for a few months as a storeman, he went with Dr. Mackrill to the Somerset farm as a labourer. Then he bound himself to a carpenter, and learned that trade before he joined the Natal party. Mr. Farewell had three Hottentot servants.

A wilder venture can hardly be conceived than that of these few Englishmen. All that they knew of the country around them was that its soil seemed rich, that it abounded

¹ In Fynn's narrative he says he arrived at Natal in the *Julia* in March 1824. But this must be incorrect, for on the 27th of March the *Julia* reached Table Bay from Saldanha Bay with a cargo of grain. See shipping list in the *Cape Gazette*. No notice of her sailing to Natal on this occasion appears in the *Gazette*.

with elephants, that it was almost uninhabited, and that Tshaka claimed it. Early in July Mr. Farewell, accompanied by Messrs. Fynn, Pietersen, and several others, visited Tshaka at his principal military kraal, where no European had ever been before. To their surprise they found the interpreter Jacob, who had run away from the *Salisbury* at St. Lucia Bay, and was supposed to be dead. Jacob, who had received from the Zulus the name Hlambamanzi, was high in Tshaka's favour, and had already a large drove of cattle and several wives. He was obliging enough to commend his former master to his present one, and the Europeans were therefore well received.

When the rest of the party returned to Natal, Mr. Fynn and a Hottentot remained at the kraal. Two days afterwards an attempt was made to assassinate Tshaka while he was dancing, and he received a very severe wound. Fynn, who knew something of surgery, attended him, and by means of ointments and medicines sent by Farewell a rapid cure was effected. Nothing could have happened more opportunely for the interests of the Europeans, as from that time forward Tshaka was their friend.

As soon as the chief was out of danger, Fynn sent a message to Natal, and Farewell, accompanied by Henry Ogle, three of the crew of the *Julia*, and a Hottentot, proceeded to the kraal to congratulate him upon his escape. Tshaka presented a number of oxen to the party, and attached his mark to a document in which he 'granted, made over, and sold unto F. G. Farewell and Company the entire and full possession in perpetuity to themselves, heirs, and executors, of the port or harbour of Natal, together with the islands therein, and surrounding country,' which is described as running about a hundred miles inland and embracing the coast ten miles to the south-west and about twenty-five miles to the north-east of the harbour. This deed was dated the 7th of August 1824. It had upon it the marks of Tshaka himself, four of the indunas or officers of rank, among whom Jacob appeared under his Zulu

name ; and it was signed by the whole of Mr. Farewell's party.

The territory thus ceded was described by Mr. Farewell in a letter to Lord Charles Somerset as containing not more than three or four hundred native inhabitants. They were living in the most wretched condition imaginable, though one of them—a man named Umnini—had once been the head of a powerful clan. On the 27th of August Mr. Farewell hoisted the English flag at the port, fired a royal salute, and in the presence of several of Tshaka's indunas proclaimed the territory ceded to him a British possession.

Meantime Mr. King, the master of the *Salisbury*, had gone to England, and being impressed with the value of Port Natal for trading purposes, applied to Earl Bathurst for countenance in opening an establishment there. The secretary of state was not disposed to furnish active assistance, but wishing to encourage commercial enterprise, he gave Mr. King a letter of recommendation to Lord Charles Somerset. This was equivalent to granting him permission to settle at Natal if he chose to do so on his own responsibility. He came out in a brig named the *Mary*, and brought with him from St. Helena a young man named Nathaniel Isaacs, whose *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*, published in 1836, contain a very complete account of the events of the next six years. On the 1st of October 1825 the *Mary* was wrecked on the outer beach while attempting to cross the bar at Port Natal, but no lives were lost. The chief mate and three of the seamen proceeded to Algoa Bay in the longboat ; the remainder of the crew, with Messrs. King and Isaacs, joined the little party of white people.

The circumstances in which these Europeans were placed were not favourable to the growth of a civilised community. They were under the dominion of Tshaka, and though they kept him friendly by frequent presents, they were obliged more than once to accompany his armies to war. On one of these occasions, of which Mr. Isaacs

has given the particulars, that adventurer himself was severely wounded. The natives who had been living concealed in thickets ventured to place themselves under the protection of the white men, and very shortly they became practically petty chiefs, each with his own following.

Mr. Fynn set the example in this respect. In his account he says that they found some three or four hundred blacks in a famishing condition. Tshaka allowed him to collect these poor wretches together, and afterwards to receive some refugees from Zululand upon his reporting each case. Tshaka would not permit any trade whatever with his subjects, and all their business transactions were with him in person. They made him presents, rarely of less value than £100 at a time, and in return he gave them large quantities of ivory and grain and droves of cattle. Mr. Fynn frequently received fifty to a hundred head at a time, and corn in such abundance that he had no use for it. The Kolo (correct Kaffir spelling Xolo) tribe had once owned the country between the Umzinkulu and Umtentu rivers, but it was reduced to a few wretched wanderers. Its chief, Umbambe by name, was a soldier in Zululand. Tshaka allowed Mr. Fynn to locate the Kolos on a part of their old territory, and at his request set Umbambe at liberty.¹ Mr. Fynn then formed two establishments, one near the port, and one west of the Umzinkulu. To the people of each he gave cattle and grain, which he derived from Tshaka's liberality. After a time the Zulu chief granted him the whole country between Mr. Farewell's district and the Umzinkulu, and attached a mark to a document to that effect. Over that large tract of country he was the chief, and was responsible to Tshaka for the conduct of the people

¹The Kolo tribe is still living where it was located by Mr. Fynn, the district being now part of Alfred County, Natal. Umbambe was succeeded by his son Kani, who got into trouble with the Natal government, and fled into Pondoland, where he died. A few of his followers who entered Pondoland with him then returned to Natal. Patwa, great son of Kani, is the present representative of Umbambe.

residing in it. Ultimately over five thousand individuals were gathered together under the different Europeans.

A bitter feud soon arose between Farewell and King. They had obtained a considerable quantity of ivory, when a trading vessel put into the bay and gave them an opportunity of exchanging it for merchandise, principally muskets and ammunition, with which they armed some of their followers.

On the southern shore of the inlet the crew of the *Mary*, under guidance of the carpenter, Mr. Hatton, built from the wreck and native timber a small schooner, which they named the *Elizabeth and Susan*. Mr. King then induced Tshaka to send him with a couple of indunas as an embassy to the Cape government. The little vessel arrived safely in Algoa Bay in April 1828, but the object of the embassy could not be ascertained, for the indunas asserted that they were ignorant of their chief's intentions, and the government declined to receive Mr. King in the character of Tshaka's plenipotentiary. After a stay of nearly three months in Port Elizabeth, the indunas were sent back to Natal in a man-of-war, and Mr. King followed in the *Elizabeth and Susan*.

A few weeks after the return of Mr. King and the indunas, Tshaka sent John Cane with a party of Zulus overland to greet the governor, and express his thanks for the attention that had been shown to his people. These messengers were forwarded by the officials on the frontier, and reached Cape-town on the 7th of November 1828. Their business was purely formal and complimentary, and neither Cane nor the Zulus with him knew whether Tshaka desired to enter into friendly relationship with the Cape Colony or not, so on the 24th of November Captain Robert Scott Aitchison, of the Cape mounted rifles, was directed to return with them and ascertain what the chief's wishes really were. Before Captain Aitchison could set out, however, tidings of Tshaka's death were received, and his instructions were then countermanded.

The Zulu chief had for some time determined to destroy

the tribes between the Umzimvubu and the Cape Colony, and in July 1828 he sent an army against them, which marched unopposed to the Bashee. Tshaka himself, with one regiment as a bodyguard, remained at the Umzimkulu. There Mr. Fynn, by representing that the colonial government would certainly protect the Tembu and Kosa tribes, induced him to recall the army until the result of Mr. King's mission to the Cape could be known.

Early in September 1828 Mr. King died at Natal, and within a few months was followed to the grave by Mr. Hatton, the builder of the little vessel. For nearly three years there had been no additions to the European party, but about this time William Macdowell Fynn was sent from the Cape to Delagoa Bay to search along the coast for the wreck of a small vessel named the *Buckbay Packet*, and having found it in the Maputa river, he proceeded to Natal and cast in his lot with the adventurers.

On the 23rd of September 1828 Tshaka was assassinated at Tukusa, a military kraal on the river Umvoti, within the present colony of Natal, and about fifty miles from the port. The mother of the chief had died a few months before, and so many people were butchered for not participating in his grief, as he said, that even the most bloodstained of the Zulus were appalled. The army, after returning from the Bashee, was sent against Sotshangana's tribe at Delagoa Bay, but met with great reverses. Several thousand men fell victims to dysentery, and the survivors were retreating in the greatest distress from hunger. At this juncture Dingan and Umthlangana, two of Tshaka's half-brothers, and Umbopa, his most trusted attendant, entered into a conspiracy to put him to death.

From his brothers Tshaka seems never to have anticipated danger. According to Bantu ideas, Dingan was of higher rank by birth, but the original Zulu tribe was such a small fraction of the nation then existing, that he was not suspected of ambitious designs. Tshaka was sitting conversing with several of his attendants when the conspirators attacked him.

Dingan struck the first blow, but it was his treacherous servant who gave the death wound. His body was left uncovered on the ground, but on the following day it was buried, the residents of the place having been struck with superstitious dread when they saw that the hyenas had not devoured it.

Shortly after the death of Tshaka, Dingan with his own hand murdered Umthlangana, his brother and fellow-conspirator. Another brother with several indunas refused to acknowledge him as their head, and a short civil war followed, which resulted in the flight of one of Dingan's principal opponents and the extermination of all the others. The one who fled was named Keto (correct Kaffir spelling Qeto). He had with him a horde called the Amakwabi, with which he crossed the Umzimvubu and committed dreadful ravages south of that river.

The remnants of the conquered tribes far and near hailed Dingan as a deliverer, and for a year or two after his accession his government really was an improvement upon that of his predecessor. But gradually he began to display the vilest qualities. The favourites of Tshaka were the ablest men in the country, for that chief appreciated talent in his officers, and even had sufficient magnanimity to spare the men of rank in clans that sought incorporation with the Zulu tribe. Most of these were murdered by order of Dingan. Tshaka delighted in a display of force, Dingan in gaining his ends by treachery. The devastations of the latter were trifling in comparison with those of the former, only because there was so little left within his reach to destroy. Five years after his assumption of power his people felt his tyranny as much as they had felt that of Tshaka.¹

¹ Captain Allen F. Gardiner, in his *Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country*, gives several instances of the despot's ferocity which fell under his observation. William Wood, who lived with the great chief for some time when nothing unusual was taking place, in his *Statements respecting Dingan, king of the Zoolahs*, asserts that the executions at the kraal where he was residing were at the rate of fourteen a week. Dr. Andrew Smith, who visited

The Europeans at the port were invited by Dingan to remain there under his protection for commercial purposes, and they were well pleased to do so. On the 1st of December 1828 Messrs. Farewell and Isaacs sailed from Natal in the *Elizabeth and Susan*, with a view of procuring goods in the colony. All that were left of the crew of the *Mary* went with them, so that there remained at Natal only Messrs. H. and W. Fynn, John Cane, Henry Ogle, and Thomas Holstead. Upon the arrival of the schooner at Algoa Bay she was seized and detained by the authorities, and of all who had embarked in her, only Mr. Isaacs saw Natal again. In April 1830 he returned in an American trading vessel.

Mr. Farewell a second time interested a good many people in his scheme of colonising Natal, and in September 1829 was returning overland with a party of young Englishmen and some waggons laden with merchandise when his career was terminated. He and two companions named Walker and Thackwray left the waggons one afternoon, and rode on horseback to visit Keto, with whom he had been acquainted in Zululand. They were received with apparent friendship, but Keto did not conceal his annoyance at their intention of proceeding to trade with his enemy Dingan. A hut was given them to sleep in, and at a late hour they laid down to rest. Just before dawn next morning a band of Amakwabi fell upon them, murdered the three Europeans and five of their black servants, and then proceeded to plunder the goods. The members of the party who remained with the waggons managed to escape, but left everything behind in their flight.

After Mr. Farewell's death, John Cane and Henry Ogle divided his people between them, and a few years later, owing to constant accessions to their clans, they were the most powerful chiefs in Natal.

him in 1834, in his report says : ' As characteristic of his system of proceeding, I may only mention that when I was at his kraal I saw portions of the bodies of eleven of his own wives whom he had only a few days previously put to death merely for having uttered words that happened to annoy him.'

Early in 1829 Dingan was visited by Dr. Cowie, district surgeon of Albany, and Mr. Benjamin Green, who were on an exploring expedition from the Cape Colony. They left their waggon and most of their Hottentot servants at his residence, and proceeded on horseback to Delagoa Bay, where they found fever raging so severely that the European inhabitants of Lourenço Marques had been reduced from forty to six in number. Their horses died, and the explorers were compelled to leave on foot. On the 4th of April Dr. Cowie died, and was followed a few hours afterwards by one of the Hottentot servants. Four days later Mr. Green died, after giving the journal of the expedition to the interpreter, who brought it to the colony.

In this journal the explorers state that after crossing the Umzimvubu they entered a nearly depopulated country, through which they were thirty-five days in making their way to Mr. Fynn's kraal near Port Natal. During this time they saw no natives. At Dingan's residence they met about forty half-breed Portuguese traders from Delagoa Bay, whose principal article of traffic was a coarse kind of bead.

In October 1830 Dingan sent John Cane and Thomas Holstead with Hlambamanzi and six Zulus to greet the governor of the Cape Colony in his name, and to deliver a few tusks of ivory as a present. The party reached Grahamstown on the 21st of December, after a journey of seventy days from the Tugela. There they were detained until the governor's pleasure could be made known, and it was decided eventually that they should not proceed farther. It was also thought advisable to decline the present of ivory, lest its acceptance might lead to incorrect impressions on the part of the Zulu ruler.

Cane and his associates returned to Natal, when the unsatisfactory account which they gave of their mission irritated Dingan greatly. The Europeans suspected Hlambamanzi of prejudicing the chief against them. They accused him of stating that he had learned in Grahamstown that Colonel Somerset was about to attack

the Zulus, and would be assisted by them, which was the cause of the ivory not being accepted by Captain Campbell on behalf of the governor. Whether this was true or not, they came to learn of the approach of a Zulu regiment, and thought it prudent to get out of the way. The two Fynns fled to Buntingville in Pondoland, Cane, Ogle, and Holstead retired to a thicket on the Umzimkulu, and Isaacs left in the American brig *St. Michael*, which happened to be there with merchandise for him.

Isaacs never returned to Natal, but his liking for Africa was so great that he spent the remainder of a long life on an island in the gulf of Guinea. As soon as Dingan's passion was over he sent for the others, and they all went back. The Fynns left Buntingville on the 11th of August 1831 in company with Mr. James Collis, who had visited Natal in the preceding year, and was now on his way from Grahamstown to establish himself as a trader at the port. He took with him several assistants, among them the parents of William Wood, who was afterwards Dingan's interpreter. Within the next year some fifteen or twenty other Englishmen—among them the father and a younger brother of the Fynns—also made their way to Natal, and sought a living either as traders or elephant hunters.

The little community was not bound by any laws, except that some of its members were chiefs of parties of blacks, and owned the supremacy of Dingan. These men exercised absolute power over the people under their protection. Dingan threw upon Hlambamanzi the blame of his conduct towards them after the return of his embassy, and by his instructions Ogle caused that individual to be put to death.

This condition of things, as well as that white men were in the habit of assisting Dingan in war, came to the knowledge of the imperial government, and on the 25th of May 1832 Lord Goderich, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, instructed Sir Lowry Cole to send an officer to Natal to exercise authority over the Europeans there. But as he restricted the salary of the officer to a

sum not exceeding one hundred pounds a year, the governor was unable to carry out the instructions.

In June 1834 the Europeans came to suspect hostile intentions on the part of Dingan, and they all fled over the Umzimkulu. It turned out, however, that their alarm was due to a mistake; and Dingan, to restore confidence, withdrew his soldiers from the country south of the Tugela for thirty-five or forty miles upwards from the sea, a tract of land that has never since been occupied for more than a few days by a Zulu army. The Europeans then returned, but in September of this year Messrs. Henry and William Fynn abandoned the district, and shortly afterwards both of them took service under the Cape government.

In 1834 Natal was visited by a party of farmers from the Cape Colony, who were desirous of ascertaining by personal observation whether the reports concerning its beauty and fertility were correct or not. Among them was Mr. Pieter Uys. They travelled through Kaffirland with fourteen waggons, and after inspecting the bay, where they met with a very friendly reception from the European residents, they thoroughly explored the uplands. The luxuriant pasturage and well-watered soil charmed them exceedingly. Having satisfied themselves as to its capabilities, they returned to the colony to find that the Kosas had laid waste the eastern districts during their absence.

In January 1835 Captain Allen F. Gardiner, previously of the royal navy, visited Natal with the object of preparing the way for the establishment of Christian missions among the Zulus. In his *Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country* he states that there was then at the port but one house constructed after a European model, and that was built of reeds and mud. It was occupied by Mr. James Collis, the principal trader, who lost his life by an explosion of gunpowder a few months later. As the huts of the residents were all carefully concealed in the thicket, the place presented a wild and deserted appearance.

By this time, however, the Europeans began to aspire

to the possession of better habitations. On the 23rd of June 1835 at a public meeting they resolved to lay out a town, and to name it D'Urban¹ in honour of the governor of the Cape Colony. Accordingly they selected a site a little farther up the shore of the inlet than where the present town is built. The regulations which they adopted included provision for a church and a hospital, and show that the little community was intelligent and progressive. Including Captain Gardiner, his interpreter George Cyrus, and his waggon driver Richard King, the whole white population did not amount to thirty-five souls, most of whom were elephant hunters who merely lived there for a month or two in the year.

They held advanced views upon representative government, as is shown by a petition which they sent to Sir Benjamin D'Urban for transmission to England. In it they stated that the country between the Tugela and Umzimkulu rivers was unoccupied except by about three thousand blacks, who were living under their protection and who acknowledged their chieftainship, although there was no recognised authority among themselves. They had named the district Victoria, and requested that it might be made a colony of the British empire, with a governor and council appointed by the king to act in concert with a house of assembly chosen by themselves.

On the 20th of January in the preceding year there was a meeting in the commercial exchange in Capetown, when it was resolved to request the imperial government to acknowledge the settlement at Natal; and a petition to that effect, with one hundred and ninety-two names attached to it, was forwarded a few months later. The governor, in his covering despatch, observed that the adoption of the scheme would prevent other powers settling there, but he was of opinion that a garrison of at least a hundred soldiers would be needed. On the 10th of November Mr. Rice

¹ Now usually written Durban.

wrote, declining to give his consent on account of the expense.

On the 4th of December 1835, when forwarding the petition from the residents at Natal, Sir Benjamin D'Urban recommended the occupation of the district as a British possession, and suggested the appointment of Captain Gardiner as administrator. Earl Glenelg replied on the 29th of March 1836, refusing to accede to the petitioners' request, on the ground that 'his Majesty's government was deeply persuaded of the inexpediency of engaging in any scheme of colonisation or of acquiring any further enlargement of territory in Southern Africa.' Thus the country remained without law or court of justice.

There was one ever present cause of irritation between Dingan and the European settlers. Fugitives from his tyranny were continually placing themselves under protection of the white chiefs at the port, and naturally the Zulu despot was incensed at any interference between him and his subjects. On the other hand, the Europeans found it difficult to turn away poor creatures applying for shelter, as the only charge against them might be that they were relatives or dependents of some one that had incurred the wrath of Dingan, who in many instances condemned to death not only an offender but his entire family. The danger to the community from this circumstance was, however, so great that the white people agreed to observe a treaty entered into on the 6th of May 1835 by Captain Gardiner on their behalf and the indunas Umthlela and Tambusa on the part of Dingan.

In this arrangement the Zulu chief consented to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual then residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and to accord them his full pardon, without, however, ceasing to regard them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he might think proper. On their part, the British residents engaged for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country or its dependencies, and to use their best endeavours to

secure and return to the chief every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

In accordance with this treaty Captain Gardiner himself conveyed a party of four fugitives back to Dingan, by whose orders they were starved to death. The captain was now considered so trustworthy that Dingan gave him authority over the whole of the Natal people, with liberty to establish a mission station at the port, and one also in the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, which was under charge of the induna Nongalaza. Captain Gardiner thereupon returned to England as speedily as possible, with a view of procuring men to occupy these posts.

In 1835 the first American missionaries, six in number, arrived in South Africa. Three of them went northward to Moselekatse's country, and the others—Dr. Adams and the reverend Messrs. Champion and Aldin Grout—proceeded to Natal. They visited Dingan at his residence, Umkungunhlovu, and obtained leave to establish themselves in his country. In February 1836 their first station was founded about eight miles from Port Natal, on the river Umlazi; and in November of the same year they commenced another, which they named Ginani, on the Umsunduzi, about ten miles north of the Tugela. In July 1837 the three who had been compelled to abandon Mosega joined their colleagues in Natal, and shortly afterwards commenced two other stations, one thirty miles south-west of the port, and the other about the same distance beyond Ginani.

In June 1837 Captain Gardiner reached Natal again, having brought with him from England the reverend Mr. Owen, of the church missionary society. By dint of coaxing, Dingan's consent was obtained to Mr. Owen being stationed at Umkungunhlovu. The missionary had his wife, his sister, and a maid servant with him, and was accompanied by an interpreter named Richard Hulley, who with his family had joined the party at Butterworth on its way overland from Port Elizabeth. Captain Gardiner took up his residence at the station which on his former visit he

had named Berea. Here he endeavoured to act in the double capacity of a missionary and a magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, which at Lord Glenelg's instance was passed by the imperial parliament and received the royal assent in August 1836.

This act made crimes committed by British subjects in any part of Africa south of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude cognisable in the courts of the Cape Colony. It empowered the governor to grant commissions to persons to arrest, commit to custody, and bring to trial the king's subjects charged with crime anywhere south of that parallel. It was not to be construed, however, as investing the king with any claim or title to sovereignty or dominion over territory beyond the colonial border.

The Europeans in Natal, upon being informed that Captain Gardiner claimed authority by virtue of a commission which he held under this act, immediately resolved not to submit in any way to his control. They desired, they said, to be recognised as a British colony, and to have proper courts of law established; but to submit to the operation of an act which took no cognisance of offences committed against them, which left them without protection to be robbed or murdered, while it tied their hands even against self-defence, was something which as free men they could not consent to.

This was then the condition of affairs when Pieter Retief visited Natal. Dingaan claimed the whole country between the Drakensberg and the sea as far south as the Umzimvubu, but did not practically exercise direct authority south of the Tugela. There were six mission stations, three north of the Tugela and three south of that river, occupied by two medical men, four clergymen of the American presbyterian church, one clergyman of the English episcopal church, and a retired captain of the royal navy, nearly all of whom had families with them. At Durban and its vicinity there were about thirty Englishmen residing either permanently or in the intervals between hunting excursions. The leading

man and principal trader was Mr. Alexander Biggar, who came to South Africa in 1820 as the head of a party of British settlers, and in 1834 moved to Natal. His fate, with that of his two sons, will presently be told. Several of these Europeans were living as chiefs of little bands of Bantu, and exercised power even of death over their followers.

The actual number of blacks between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu cannot be accurately given. No estimate of that period rises so high as ten thousand, yet it would not be safe to say that there was not fully that number between the two rivers. They were living in the most secluded places, and kept out of observation as much as possible.

Early in October 1837 Pieter Retief in company with a few of the leading emigrants set out from the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu for the purpose of examining the capabilities of Natal and obtaining Dingan's consent to its occupation. On the 19th the party arrived at the port, without having met a single individual after they crossed the Drakensberg. The residents of Durban were greatly pleased on hearing that it was the desire of the emigrants to settle in their neighbourhood. They presented a warm address of welcome to Mr. Retief, and did all that was in their power to assist him. A messenger was immediately sent forward to announce his intended visit to the Zulu chief, and some days were then spent in examining the harbour and the country around it.

On the 27th the party left the port for Umkungunhlovu, accompanied by John Cane and Thomas Holstead, two of the oldest inhabitants of Natal, in the capacity of guides and interpreters. Their reception by Dingan was outwardly as friendly as possible. He seemed to agree with what Mr. Retief said concerning the advantages to his people of a European settlement in their neighbourhood, and he promised to take the request for land south of the Tugela into consideration and give a decisive reply in a few days. In the meantime he entertained the farmers with exhibitions of dances, in one of which nearly two hundred oxen, all of

the same colour, were mixed with the men of a regiment, and went through certain manœuvres with the most perfect accuracy. Among the stock recently captured from Moselekatse were some of the sheep taken by the Matabele from the emigrants on the Vaal. Dingan informed Mr. Retief that most of these were dead, but he restored one hundred and ten as a present, and offered the skins of the others.

On the 8th of November Mr. Retief arranged to return to his friends. On leaving, Dingan gave him a document written by the reverend Mr. Owen, in which the Zulu chief stated that he was willing to grant the land asked for, but the farmers must first recover and restore certain cattle that had recently been stolen from one of his outposts by a party of horsemen clothed as Europeans and armed with guns. He asserted that some of his people suspected the robbers were farmers, and he wished them to prove their innocence. It was, however, certain that the Zulus knew the plundering band to be some of Sikonyela's Batlokua.

The conditions seemed to Mr. Retief easy of fulfilment. The stolen cattle were only about seven hundred in number, and the Batlokua, by driving them through an encampment of the emigrants and thereby bringing the spoor upon the farmers, had made themselves liable to be called to a reckoning. Mr. Retief therefore returned to the Caledon, sent for Sikonyela, and when that chief appeared informed him that he would be detained as a prisoner until the cattle stolen from the Zulus were given up. They were at once surrendered, and the great body of the emigrants thereupon moved off to Natal. In the course of a few weeks nearly a thousand waggons crossed the Drakensberg.

The emigrants spread themselves out along the Bluekrans and Bushman rivers, and Mr. Retief then prepared to visit Dingan again to deliver the cattle recovered from Sikonyela. But by this time many of the farmers had acquired such a feeling of uneasiness as induced them to urge their leader not to venture again into the Zulu despot's power. A man

whose life was of less value to the community they thought should be sent, and there were not wanting many who nobly volunteered to fulfil the dangerous task. Mr. Maritz offered to go with only three or four others. But Mr. Retief objected to anything that might lead Dingan to suspect that they distrusted him, and he therefore determined to go himself and take a suitable escort of volunteers. Some sixty of the best men among the emigrants offered to accompany him, and several of these imprudently allowed their sons—boys from eleven to fifteen years of age—to go also.

Before they left, Thomas Holstead and George Biggar arrived at the Bushman river. The last named was a young man who had been residing in Natal since 1834, and who came up from the port as his father's agent to ascertain the requirements of the emigrants in the way of trade. He remained for this purpose after Mr. Retief's party left. Thomas Holstead, who had been thirteen years in Natal, and who spoke the Zulu language as readily as the English, went again with Mr. Retief as interpreter. There were also about thirty Hottentot servants leading spare horses with the party.

On their arrival at Unkungunhlovu, 3rd of February 1838, Dingan expressed himself highly satisfied with their conduct, regretting only that they had not brought Sikonyela bound to him to be put to death for having dared to plunder a Zulu cattle post. He asked for some firearms and horses which the Batlokua chief had been required to give up, but appeared satisfied when he was informed that these had been restored to their legitimate owners. As on the former occasion, the farmers were entertained with exhibitions of dances and sham fights.

The day after their arrival, Dingan requested the reverend Mr. Owen to draw up a document to show that he had given the farmers a country to live in. Mr. Owen thereupon drafted a paper in the English language, which met with Dingan's approval after it had been explained to him. The

document then received his mark, and when it was signed by witnesses, he handed it to Mr. Retief. It transferred to the emigrants for their perpetual property 'the place called Port Natal, together with all the land from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu river, and from the sea to the north, as far as it might be useful and in his possession.'

Grants similar to this, and covering the same ground or portions of it, had been previously made by Tshaka and Dingan himself successively to Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, King, Isaacs, and Gardiner; and under no circumstances would such a cession in the minds of Bantu mean more than permission to occupy the ground during the lifetime of the reigning chief, whose supremacy would be assumed. But Dingan from the first was only seeking to lure the white men to destruction, and never intended his cession to mean anything.

The farmers were entirely thrown off their guard by the trouble that was taken apparently to entertain them. On the morning of Tuesday the 6th of February 1838 Mr. Retief and his party prepared to return to their friends, and went to take leave of Dingan, whom they found, as usual, surrounded by warriors. Great care had been taken to show them that according to Zulu custom no one could approach the chief armed, and consequently when they were requested to leave their guns outside the kraal, they did so without suspicion of danger. They were received in the ordinary manner, and were pressed to seat themselves and partake of some beer, which was being handed round freely.

While in this defenceless position, into which they had been so carefully entrapped, Dingan suddenly called out 'Seize them,' when instantly the Zulu soldiers rushed upon them. Thomas Holstead, the interpreter, exclaimed: 'We're done for,' and added in the Zulu language: 'Let me speak to the king.' Dingan heard him, but waved his hand in token of dissent, and called out repeatedly: 'Kill the wizards.' Holstead then drew his knife, and mortally wounded two of his assailants before he was secured. One of the farmers

also succeeded in killing a Zulu, but the others were seized before they could spring to their feet. They were all dragged away to a hill where executions were commonly performed, and were there murdered by having their skulls broken with knobkerries. Mr. Retief was held and forced to witness the death of his companions before he was murdered. His heart and liver were then taken out and buried in the path leading from Natal to Umkungunhlovu, but no other mutilation of the bodies took place, nor was their clothing removed.

There perished on this memorable morning sixty-six Europeans, named Dirk Aukamp, Willem Basson, Jan de Beer, Matthys de Beer, Barend van den Berg, Pieter van den Berg the elder, Pieter van den Berg the younger, Jan Beukes, Joachim Botha, Gerrit Botma the elder, Gerrit Botma the younger, Christiaan Breidenbach, Jan Brits, Pieter Brits the elder, Pieter Brits the younger, Pieter Cilliers, Andries van Dyk, Marthinus Esterhuizen, Samuel Esterhuizen, Hermanus Fourie, Abraham Greyling, Rynier Grobbelaar, Jacobus Hatting, Thomas Holstead, Jacobus Hugo, Jacobus Jooste, Pieter Jordaen, Abraham de Klerk, Jacobus de Klerk, Jan de Klerk, Balthazar Klopper, Coenraad Klopper, Lukas Klopper, Pieter Klopper, Hendrik Labuschagne, Barend Liebenberg, Daniel Liebenberg, Hercules Malan, Carel Marais, Jan van der Merwe, Pieter Meyer, Barend Oosthuizen, Jacobus Oosthuizen, Jan Oosthuizen, Marthinus Oosthuizen, Jacobus Opperman the elder, Jacobus Opperman the younger, Frederik Pretorius, Jan Pretorius, Marthinus Pretorius, Matthys Pretorius the elder, Matthys Pretorius the younger, Pieter Retief, Isaac Roberts, Jan Roberts, Christiaan van Schalkwyk, Gerrit Scheepers, Jan Scheepers, Marthinus Scheepers, Stephanus Scheepers, Stephanus Smit, Pieter Taute, Gerrit Visagie, Stephanus van Vuuren, Hendrik de Wet, and Jan de Wet.

The servants had been sent for the horses when the farmers went to take their leave of Dingan. They were surrounded by a party of soldiers, and were also put to death.

One of them nearly made good his escape by the fleetness of his feet, but eventually he was run down and killed like the rest.¹

While the massacre was taking place, Mr. Owen sat in his hut, not knowing but that any moment he might hear the footsteps of the messengers of death. Dingan sent word to him that the farmers were being killed because they were wizards, but that he need not fear for himself. Notwithstanding this message, he felt that his life was in imminent danger, as the chief appeared to delight in nothing so much as in treachery. His interpreter, Mr. Hulley, was absent, having gone to Natal for supplies; but Mrs. and Miss Owen, a woman named Jane Williams, who had accompanied them from Wales, Mrs. Hulley, and her three children were with him. Another European who was present was a youth named William Wood, who had been living for several months at Umkungunhlovu in the capacity of interpreter to Dingan. Mr. Owen, Wood, and Jane Williams have published accounts of the massacre. They remained at

¹ It has been generally asserted that John Cane instigated Dingan to commit this massacre. In the colonial records I have found only one letter bearing upon the charge. It is dated 20th of July 1838, and was written from Port Natal by Edward Parker, a recent arrival there, to Major Chartres, military secretary to Major-General Napier. Mr. Parker accuses John Cane of having caused the massacre of Retief's party by treacherously sending a message to Dingan that the Boers, who had run away from the Cape Colony against the wishes of the English government, would try to drive him from his country, and that the English would not assist them. Parker states that Daniel Toohey, a clerk in Maynard's business at the port, informed him he had it from Cane's own mouth that he had sent such a message. On the other hand, in none of the statements by Zulus concerning the massacre is any such charge brought against Cane, though if it had been correct they would almost certainly have mentioned it. Neither Mr. Owen nor William Wood, both of whom would most likely have heard of such a message and been questioned by Dingan concerning its accuracy, say anything of it. The real evidence against him, apart from popular belief, being very weak, and the probabilities of the case being all in his favour, I have not referred to this charge in my relation of the massacre. A similar charge was made against Henry Ogle, and even against the reverend Mr. Owen, by a few prejudiced persons, but failed to obtain credit.

Umkungunhlovu a few days in order that Dingan might not suspect them of having lost confidence in him, and then they retired to Natal. Before they left, Dingan asked Mr. Owen for his best waggon and most of his household effects, which the missionary did not think prudent to refuse.

A few hours after the massacre two other Europeans arrived at Dingan's kraal. They were the reverend Mr. Venable and his interpreter, Mr. James Brownlee. The indunas at the different stations had shortly before this issued orders that no person was to attend the mission services or schools, and Mr. Venable was deputed by his colleagues to visit the chief and endeavour to get these orders countermanded. But when he learned what had happened, he thought it best to say nothing of the object of his journey. As soon as he could prudently leave he did so, and gave notice to his colleagues at the different stations, all of whom retired immediately to the port.

At noon on the same day that Retief and his party were killed some ten thousand Zulu warriors marched towards Natal, with the intention of falling upon the Europeans before they could hear what had happened and prepare for defence. Having formed themselves into several bands, at early dawn on the morning of the 17th they burst upon the encampments near the present village of Weenen, which has obtained its name, meaning wailing or weeping, from the events of that day. Men, women, and children were barbarously murdered, and every European in that part of Natal must have met this fate had not, fortunately, two or three young men escaped, who hastened to inform the parties farther on of their imminent danger. These at once made the best possible preparations in their circumstances, by forming lagers with their waggons. Hardly had they time to effect this arrangement when they were assailed, but in no instance were the Zulus able to penetrate the lagers, though great numbers perished in the attempt. At one place on the Bushman river they persevered for a whole day in the endeavour to reach the farmers, whose ammuni-

tion was nearly exhausted when a shot from a three-pounder, in ploughing through a mass of the assailants, struck down several of their leaders, which caused the remainder to retire. In the defence of the lagers the women were nearly as serviceable as the men, by loading spare muskets for their husbands and brothers.

As soon as the Zulus retired, the farmers hastened to learn the fate of their friends in front, when they found that, with few exceptions, all who had not time to take shelter in lagers had been murdered. Their cattle had been swept off, and their household goods had been destroyed. The waggons had been broken to pieces and burned for the sake of the iron in them, and beside the ruins lay the corpses of men and women, boys and girls, in some cases horribly mutilated. A few individuals had been left for dead, but subsequently recovered. Among these were two girls, named Johanna van der Merwe and Catherina Prinsloo, about ten or twelve years of age, who were found still living, though one had received nineteen and the other twenty-one stabs of the assagai. They were tended with care and recovered, though they ever after remained cripples. In another place, on a heap of corpses lay the mangled remains of George Biggar, the young Englishman from the port.

The number of white men thus cut off without warning was forty-one, named Christiaan de Beer, Stephanus de Beer, Zacharias de Beer, Josua van den Berg, Andries Bester, Wynand Bezuidenhout, George Biggar, Jan Botha the elder, Jan Botha the younger, Roelof Botha, Abraham Botma, Louw Botma the elder, Louw Botma the younger, Jacobus Coetsee, Gerrit Engelbrecht the elder, Gerrit Engelbrecht the younger, Willem Engelbrecht, Lourens Erasmus, Michiel Grobbelaar, Stephanus Grobbelaar, Willem Jacobs, Jan Joubert, Josua Joubert the elder, Josua Joubert the younger, Lourens Klopper, Frederik Kromhout, Christiaan Lochenberg, Hendrik Lochenberg the elder, Hendrik Lochenberg the younger, Marthinus van der Merwe, Willem van der Merwe, Joachim Prinsloo, Carel Roos, Jan Roos the

elder, Jan Roos the younger, Adriaan Russouw, David Viljoen, Willem Wagenaar, Pieter de Wet, Frans van Wyk, and Cornelis van Zyl. Fifty-six white women, one hundred and eighty-five white children, and about two hundred and fifty coloured servants also perished.

The survivors of this fearful massacre, after ascertaining the full extent of their loss, held a consultation to decide upon what was to be done. One or two proposed to withdraw from the country, but they were put to shame by the women, who declared that they would never leave Natal till the blood of their relatives was avenged. Their earnest, deep-seated religion supported them in this hour of distress, and gave a tone to all their proceedings. What had happened, said one, was in punishment for their sins, but let them call upon God and He would certainly help them. And then from that sorrow-stricken camp went up their cry to the God of heaven, that He would not forsake His people nor let the heathen triumph over them. After this the discussion was not what was expedient for them to do, but what it was their duty to do. The resolution they arrived at was that they ought to punish the murderers of their friends. For this they were then too weak, but they were not left long without assistance.

Commandants Potgieter and Uys, upon hearing of these events, hastened across the Drakensberg to aid their countrymen. The Englishmen at the port, having ample proof from the fate of Thomas Holstead and George Biggar that they were in the same danger, offered to attack Dingan with their people from one direction while the farmers should do the same from another. This was decided upon, but even in this juncture the jealousies which were the bane of the emigrants prevented that action in obedience to a single will which alone could ensure success. After Retief's death Mr. Maritz became the head of the whole of the parties in Natal, and they desired that he should command the expedition against Dingan. But neither Hendrik Potgieter nor Pieter Uys would serve under him, nor would one of these

serve under the other. At last it was arranged that Maritz should remain in charge of the lagers in Natal, while Potgieter and Uys should proceed against Dingan, acting in concert, but each having independent control over his followers.

Early in April the two expeditions set out. The one from the port consisted of about twenty English traders and hunters, the same number of Hottentots, and from a thousand to fifteen hundred blacks. These last were nearly all fugitives from Zululand, so that their fidelity could be depended upon. The whole expedition was nominally under command of Robert Biggar, a brother of the young man who had been murdered ; but in reality each white chief, such as John Cane and Henry Ogle, had absolute authority over his own people and obeyed only such orders as pleased him. Four days after leaving the port this commando reached a Zulu kraal, from which most of the men were absent. They secured here the whole of the cattle, variously estimated from three to seven thousand head, and a considerable number of women and girls. The bonds of discipline were too weak to stand the strain of this success. Cane's people raised a quarrel with Ogle's as to the division of the spoil, and a combat with sticks took place in which the latter were badly beaten. The English leaders saw that they could not proceed farther until the plunder was disposed of, and they therefore returned to Natal.

In the meantime Commandants Potgieter and Uys were advancing towards the Zulu capital. Between them they had three hundred and forty-seven men. Take the fact of their being mounted and armed with muskets into consideration, and this expedition must still remain one of the most daring events on record, considering that Dingan could bring into the field at least a hundred times their number of warriors, trained to despise death in battle, disciplined to move in concert, and armed with the deadly stabbing assagai. The loss of their horses at any moment must have been fatal to the commando. For five days their march was unopposed,

the country which they passed through appearing to have been abandoned.

On the 11th of April they came in sight of a division of the Zulu army, which they attacked impetuously, and were drawn into a skilfully planned ambushade. Before them were two parallel ranges of hills, between which was a long defile, and into this the farmers were led by the Zulus apparently retreating before them. Uys's division was in advance. When in the narrowest part of the gorge they found themselves surrounded by an immense force which had been lying in ambush, and by which they were so hemmed in that they could not fall back rapidly after firing and again load and charge, as was their mode of fighting with Moselekatse. The horses of Potgieter's division became almost unmanageable through the din created by the Zulus striking their shields. There was but one course open. The farmers directed all their fire upon one mass of the enemy, when, having cleared a path by shooting down hundreds, they rushed through and escaped. They left their led horses, baggage, and spare ammunition behind.

The loss of the farmers in this engagement was ten men, Pieter Lavras Uys, Dirk Cornelis Uys, Joseph Kruger, Frans Labuschagne, David Malan, Jacobus Malan, Jan Malan, Louis Nel, Pieter Nel, and Theunis Nel. Commandant Uys was assisting a wounded comrade when he received a stab from an assagai. As he fell he called to his followers to leave him and fight their way out, for he must die. His son, Dirk Cornelis Uys, a boy of fifteen years of age, was some distance off, but looking about he saw his father on the ground, and a Zulu in the act of stabbing him. The gallant youth turned his horse and rode to help his parent, but could only die at his side. Englishmen will remember how bravely another son of the same Commandant Uys conducted himself forty-one years later in our war with Cetywayo, and the manner of his death at Hlobane on the 28th of March 1879.

While this event was taking place, the Englishmen at

the port were about to leave for the second time. The quarrel concerning the division of the spoil taken on the first occasion was, however, not altogether made up, so that neither Ogle, nor his people, nor his partisans, would go again. The second expedition consisted of seventeen Englishmen, about twenty Hottentots, and fifteen hundred blacks, of whom between three and four hundred were armed with muskets. It was nominally under command of Robert Biggar, as before. A few miles south of the Tugela the commando came upon a Zulu regiment, which pretended to take to flight, left food cooking on fires, and even threw away a number of shields and assagais. The Natal army pursued with all haste, crossed the Tugela, took possession of a kraal on the northern bank, and then found it had been drawn between the horns of a Zulu army fully seven thousand strong.

The battle that was fought, on the 17th of April 1838, was one of the most desperate contests that ever took place on that bloodstained soil. Three times in succession the Natal army beat back the regiments that charged furiously upon it. Then a strong Zulu reinforcement came in sight, and renewed the enemy's courage. Another rush was made, which cut the Natal army in two, and all hope of successful resistance was over. One of the divisions tried to escape by the only open path, which was down a steep bank of the Tugela and across that river. A Zulu regiment hastened to cut off the retreat of the fugitives, and many were killed in the water; but four Englishmen, two or three Hottentots, and about five hundred blacks managed to get through. The other division was entirely surrounded. But no lion at bay ever created such havoc among hounds that worried him as this little band caused among the warriors of Dingaan before it perished. The young regiments were selected to charge upon it, while the veterans watched their prowess from a neighbouring hill. Whole masses went down before the withering fire, the survivors recoiled, but again they were directed to charge. At last a rush of a regiment, with

another in reserve close behind, carried everything before it, and the stubborn fight was over. A thousand Natal blacks had perished, and probably three times that number of Zulus. Thirteen Englishmen lay dead on the field of battle, Robert Biggar, Henry Batts, C. Blanckenberg, William Bottomley, John Cane, Thomas Carden, John Campbell, Thomas Campbell, Richard Lovedale, Robert Russell, John Stubbs, Richard Wood, and William Wood.

After this victory Dingan's army marched leisurely to Durban; but, fortunately, the *Comet*, a small vessel bound to Delagoa Bay, had called at Natal and was then lying at anchor there. The American missionaries, except Mr. Lindley who had volunteered to remain behind and report occurrences, had already left in a vessel bound to Port Elizabeth. Mr. Owen and his family, with Mr. Lindley and the surviving residents of Durban, took refuge on board the *Comet* at night and on one of the islands during the day. The blacks retired to the thickets. The Zulus remained at the port nine days, during which time they destroyed all the property they could find, leaving not even a dog or a fowl alive. They then returned to Umkungunhlovu to report themselves.

Some eight or nine Englishmen—among them Alexander Biggar, Henry Ogle, Daniel Toohey, Charles Adams, Robert Dunn, and Richard King—now resolved to try their fortune once more in Natal, and accordingly they left the island and sought out the blacks in the thickets. The missionaries and the remaining traders and hunters sailed in the *Comet* to Delagoa Bay, where fever attacked them, and one—Charles Pickman—died. From Delagoa Bay they proceeded to the Cape Colony. The missionaries intended to return as soon as prospects should be favourable; but of them all, only Mr. Lindley, Dr. Adams, and Mr. Aldin Grout saw Natal again.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter with his adherents also left Natal at the same time. Party feeling was running so high that there were not wanting those who attributed the disaster in which Pieter Uys lost his life to mismanagement

on Potgieter's part. He had the country purchased from Makwana, and that abandoned by Moselekatse, to fall back upon; and he did not care to remain in Natal, where the opposing faction was much stronger than his own. A large party recrossed the Drakensberg with him. On the 16th of May an officer sent to make inquiry by the civil commissioner of Colesberg met them two days' march on the inland side of the mountains, moving towards the Sand river. There they remained until November, when they proceeded onward to the Mooi river, and formed on its banks the first permanent settlement of Europeans in the present South African Republic. To the town which they built there they gave the name Potchefstroom in honour of their chief. Henceforth until September 1840 this party had a government of its own, independent of that of the other emigrants. Its volksraad claimed jurisdiction over the whole territory north of the Vaal and also over the northern half of the present Orange Free State.

The secession of Mr. Potgieter's adherents was, however, more than compensated by the arrival at Natal of fresh parties from the Cape Colony. The largest of these consisted of thirty-nine families from Olifants' Hoek, under the leadership of Mr. Carel Pieter Landman.

In May Mr. Maritz' camp was visited by Fieldcornet Gideon Joubert, of the district of Colesberg, and Mr. Jacobus Nicholas Boshof, first clerk to the civil commissioner of Graaff-Reinet and a justice of the peace. Mr. Joubert's object was to endeavour to induce the emigrants to return to their former homes. Mr. Boshof had leave of absence from the government to visit his parents at Swellendam, and for proceeding to Natal on this occasion he was dismissed from the service by Major-General Napier, but shortly afterwards he threw in his fortunes with the emigrants. Both of these gentlemen drew up reports upon the condition of the people and the country. That of Mr. Boshof has been published, and that of Mr. Joubert is still in manuscript in the colonial office. The emigrants were found resolute

to remain in Natal, and to punish Dingan as speedily as possible. Mr. Landman had been sent on a mission to the port, near which, in compliance with a request of the English settlers, a camp was about to be stationed. At this time there were in Natal about six hundred and forty male Europeans capable of bearing arms, and three thousand two hundred women and children.

On the 16th of May Mr. Landman, with the concurrence of the few remaining Englishmen at Durban, issued a proclamation taking possession of the port in the name of the 'Association of South African Emigrants.' He appointed Mr. Alexander Biggar landdrost, and Mr. William Cowie fieldcornet. Mr. Biggar, who was suffering under great depression of spirits consequent on the loss of his sons and his entire property, did not care to perform the duties, and therefore a few weeks later Mr. L. Badenhorst was appointed landdrost in his stead. He, in his turn, after a very short tenure of office was succeeded by Mr. F. Roos.

In July Major-General Napier issued a proclamation inviting the emigrants to return to the Cape Colony, promising them redress of well-founded grievances, stating that they could not be absolved from their allegiance as British subjects, and informing them that whenever he considered it advisable he would take military possession of Port Natal. He had previously announced that 'the determination of her Majesty's government was to permit no further colonisation in this part of Africa, nor the creation of any pretended independent state by any of her Majesty's subjects, which the emigrant farmers continued to be.' But proclamation and announcement alike fell upon deaf ears, for those to whom they were addressed were resolved not to return.

In August Dingan's army attacked the camp on the Bushman river again, and on three successive days endeavoured to force an entrance, but on each occasion was compelled to retire with heavy loss. Only one farmer, Vlodman by name, was killed.

Most of the emigrants were at this time in great distress

from want of proper food and other necessities of life, so much property having been destroyed and so many cattle swept of. Disease, in the form of low fever, broke out among them, probably induced by insufficient nourishment and clothing; and many must have perished if supplies of medicine and other necessities had not been forwarded by their countrymen at the Cape. This winter was, indeed, one of such suffering and hardship that it was long remembered as the time of the great distress. Mr. Landman was now the nominal head of the emigrants in Natal, for the health of Mr. Maritz had broken down, though he lingered in life until early in October.

In November Mr. Gideon Joubert was sent by Governor Napier to Natal to ascertain the condition and number of apprentices with the emigrants who were entitled to freedom on the 1st of December, and to demand that they should be allowed to return with him. He found no difficulty in carrying out his instructions. Most of the apprentices had already been set at liberty, and when this was not the case they were without exception offered the choice of returning with Mr. Joubert or of remaining as servants with wages. Nearly all preferred to remain, so that Mr. Joubert brought back only eight men, eleven women, and twenty-one children.

While Mr. Joubert was engaged in this mission Mr. Andries Willem Jacobus Pretorius, a man whose name was often to be heard during the next fifteen years, arrived in Natal, and was elected commandant-general. He had visited the country on a tour of inspection just before the massacre of Mr. Retief's party, and had been so well satisfied with its appearance that upon his return to Graaff-Reinet he and his friends resolved to remove to it. The new commandant-general was a man of considerable wealth and of high character. His family traced its descent through many generations to Jan Pretorius, son of a clergyman at Goeree in South Holland, who arrived at Capetown in the early days of the settlement; and they prided themselves upon

having preserved an unstained reputation for integrity during that long period. Mr. Pretorius, like most of the farmers of that day, had received very little education from books, and had no knowledge of modern history or the condition and relative strength of European nations, but in bible history he was as well versed as his remote ancestor could have been. His knowledge and his opinions, as well as his virtues and his failings, were those of the seventeenth, not of the nineteenth century. At this time he was in the noontide of life, being but thirty-nine years of age, and in full vigour of mind and body.

Early in December a strong commando was ready to take the field against Dingan. It was under direction of Mr. Pretorius as commandant-general, Mr. Landman being the officer next in rank. Guided by experience, the farmers determined to take a considerable number of waggons and some artillery with them for defensive purposes. Mr. Alexander Biggar, whose grief for the loss of his sons was inconsolable, joined the burgher army with a small party of Natal blacks to act as scouts. Altogether four hundred and sixty-four men mustered, exclusive of the commandants.

At this season of the year thunderstorms are frequent, and the rivers of Natal and Zululand are usually in flood. The Tugela in its lower course being impassable, the commandant-general resolved to cross it near the Kathlamba.

The march towards Umkungunhlovu was conducted with the greatest caution, to guard against sudden attack. Scouts were continually riding in all directions, and every night a lager was formed by drawing the waggons up in a circle and lashing them together. The commando resembled an itinerant prayer-meeting rather than a modern army on the march, for the men were imbued with the same spirit as the Ironsides of Cromwell, and spoke and acted in pretty much the same manner. There was no song, no jest heard in that camp, but prayers were poured forth and psalms were sung at every halting place. The army made a vow

that if God would give them victory over the cruel heathen, they would build a church and set apart a festival day in every year to commemorate it. The church in Pietermaritzburg and the annual celebration of Dingan's day bear witness that they kept their pledge. They did not wish to fight merely for the sake of revenge. On three occasions the scouts brought in some captured Zulus, and Mr. Pretorius immediately sent these to Dingan to inform him that if he would restore the property taken from the emigrants they were prepared to enter into negotiations for peace.

Dingan's reply came in the form of an army ten or twelve thousand strong, which attacked the camp at early dawn on Sunday the 16th of December 1838. The camp was on the bank of a river, which here formed a long and deep reach, giving complete protection on that side. Another side was also well protected by a water drain, then dry, with steep banks about fourteen feet in height, which opened into the stream. The Zulus attempted to force an entrance by sheer pressure of numbers on the two open sides, and they persevered in their efforts for two full hours, notwithstanding the terrible havoc created among them by the fire of the artillery and of the farmers' guns. At last they concentrated their strength on one point, when Mr. Pretorius led a body of horsemen out and attacked them in the rear, while they were being mowed down in front. This movement decided the action, for the Zulus, finding themselves between two fires and utterly unable to reach either, broke and fled. There were four or five hundred in the water drain and along the bank of the river, and these were all shot down. The farmers had three men slightly wounded, Mr. Pretorius himself being one of them. They estimated the number of Zulus lying dead around the camp at over three thousand. The ground was covered with corpses and gore, and even the water was discoloured. From this circumstance the stream on the bank of which the carnage took place received the name Blood river.

On the 17th the commando moved forward, and on the

21st reached Umkungunhlovu, when it was found that Dingan had set fire to his capital and had fled with his army to the thickets and ravines skirting the Umvolosi river. The first man to enter the still burning kraal was Mr. Jacobus Uys, brother of the late commandant, and next to him was young Jacobus Uys, the late commandant's son. Mr. Carel Cilliers, the most earnest preacher and at the same time one of the very best warriors among the farmers, was not far behind. But they found nothing living in that awful place which had been the scene of so many murders and so much woe.

On the hill outside the kraal they discovered the skeletons of Mr. Retief and his companions, who ten months before had fallen victims to Dingan's treachery, and whose death they were then avenging. The bodies appeared never to have been disturbed since the day of the massacre, and even the riems with which the victims had been dragged to the place were still attached to the skeletons. All the skulls were broken, showing how thoroughly the murderers had done their work. The skeleton of Mr. Retief was recognised by some fragments of clothing and a leather despatch bag suspended from the shoulder. In this bag was found the deed of cession of Natal, written by Mr. Ower, in a perfect state of preservation.

After the interment of the remains, a camp was formed some miles farther on, and then Mr. Pretorius sent a patrol of two hundred and eighty horsemen in pursuit of Dingan. A Zulu army was found in an extensive and broken valley with rocky and precipitous sides, and here for nearly a whole day the farmers were skirmishing. Towards evening they found that another body of Zulus was closing them in from behind, when they resolved to turn at once and cut their way out. In doing so they were obliged to cross a swollen rivulet, and here the enemy got among them, and killed Mr. Alexander Biggar, five emigrants, named Gerrit van Staden, Barend Bester, Nicholas le Roux, Marthinus Goosen, and Jan Oosthuizen, and five of the Natal blacks. The others got away in safety.

The commando then commenced its return march. When it reached the Buffalo river a patrol was sent out, which was fortunate enough to fall in with a herd of four or five thousand cattle, guarded by only a hundred men. The guards were shot, and the cattle seized.

All this time the imperial government was undecided how to act. In the opinion of Earl Glenelg extension of the colonial territory implied not alone extension of responsibility and increase of military expenditure, but injustice towards native tribes. Knowing nothing of the condition of the Bantu of the interior, the secretary of state and the English people believed that the emigrant farmers were in collision with peaceful and inoffensive clans of aborigines, and did not imagine that the Zulus and the Matabele were the most cruel foes the aborigines ever had. These erroneous impressions were strengthened by the violent language of Captain Stockenstrom and the reverend Dr. Philip concerning the dealings of the emigrants with the blacks, which, though it seemed to South Africans to be the phraseology of vindictiveness, appeared to Earl Glenelg as the outpouring of indignation against the perpetrators of wrong.

How could further emigration be prevented, and the farmers who had left the Cape Colony be compelled to return? Captain Stockenstrom urged that Port Natal should be occupied by troops, so as to cut off supplies of ammunition, and thus leave the emigrants only the alternative of retreat or death. His representations on this subject show as plainly as his evidence before the commons committee that at this unhappy period of his life his chief object was to please the secretary of state. Thus he recommended Earl Glenelg to occupy Port Natal as 'the first step towards further arrangements for arresting a system of encroachment, usurpation, oppression, and bloodshed, which, though familiar in the history of South Africa, was even there unparalleled in atrocity and extent.' Lord Glenelg could not see that language such as this conveyed utterly erroneous impressions, but he declined to act as advised.

Without instructions from England, in November 1838 Major-General Napier took the responsibility of sending a company of the 72nd highlanders and a few artillerymen to close the harbour of Natal. These troops were embarked at Port Elizabeth in the merchant ship *Helen*, which was engaged for the purpose ; and a little coasting vessel named the *Mary* conveyed the stores. The brig-of-war *Leveret* accompanied the expedition. Major Samuel Charters, of the royal artillery, military secretary to the governor, was in command, and Mr. Theophilus Shepstone went as Kaffir interpreter.

In a proclamation the governor announced that the occupation of Port Natal was temporary and purely military, not partaking in any degree of the nature of colonisation or annexation to the British dominions. The harbour was declared closed against all trade except such as should be carried on under special license of the Cape government. Clearances granted by a British, colonial, or foreign custom-house were not to be respected, and the officer in command of the troops was directed to prevent—by force of arms if necessary—the entrance of vessels into the harbour for purposes of trade, or the landing of cargo of any description upon the adjacent coast, unless the vessel was provided with the requisite license.

The proclamation further gave the officer in command of the troops power to expel or confine any persons whom he might consider dangerous. It directed him to search for, seize, and retain in his charge all arms and munitions of war which at the time of the occupation of Port Natal should be found in possession of the inhabitants, but he was to take care that the same should be kept in proper order, and to grant receipts to the owners.

This action on the part of the governor was very offensive to the emigrants, but neither he nor any other Englishman could look with indifference upon their design of establishing an independent republic upon the coast, with a harbour through which access to the interior could be had. Even

those who sympathised most deeply with them approved of the governor's taking possession of the port, but would have been better pleased if it had been declared a permanent British possession, and the safety and welfare of the emigrants had been provided for.

After the landing of the troops, on the 4th of December Major Charters proclaimed that he had taken possession of the ground surrounding the inlet within two miles of high-water mark, and declared martial law in force within these limits. There was standing near the Point a substantial stone store, recently erected for Mr. Maynard, with a small wooden building close by belonging to Mr. John Owen Smith, of Port Elizabeth. These were obtained from their occupants, and were converted into a warehouse for provisions and a magazine for arms. Three guns were landed, and were mounted on neighbouring sandhills which commanded an extensive range. The troops were provided with tents, which they occupied until wattle and daub barracks could be erected. The whole encampment was enclosed as soon as possible with stockades cut in the mangrove thickets, and it then received the name Fort Victoria.

Major Charters took possession of a large quantity of ammunition which was found in the stores of Messrs. Maynard and John Owen Smith, as well as the contents of a small magazine belonging to the emigrants. Upon the return to Natal of the commando under Mr. Pretorius, the volksraad deputed Mr. Landman to confer with Major Charters, and to receive from him the ammunition which they hoped he would not detain after full information concerning them had been given. The major, however, declined to release it without a pledge from the leading emigrants that they would not again cross the Tugela, and would only use it for defensive purposes. This pledge they declined to give, on the ground that they were a free people and the ammunition was property which they had a right to.

At this time there were three small camps of emigrants

close to the port. One, consisting of about five and twenty or thirty families under Mr. L. Badenhorst, was near the head of the inlet. A second, rather larger, was at the Umlazi; and the third, of about fifteen families, was ten or twelve miles beyond in the same direction. The last two were under Andries de Jager and Jacobus Uys.

Major Charters returned overland to Capetown as soon as the troops were settled, leaving Captain Henry Jervis of the 72nd in command. This officer held a commission under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, and under it he summoned a farmer who was accused of assault to appear before him. The farmer, however, declined to attend, alleging that he was a member of an independent community, and responsible only to the landdrost appointed by the volksraad. Thereupon Captain Jervis referred the case to Major-General Napier, by whom he was informed that it would be inexpedient to press the matter. Thus began and ended the attempt to exercise judicial authority over the emigrants at Natal, for in no other instance was the slightest effort made to interfere with their civil government. In the absence of instructions from the secretary of state, which were repeatedly solicited, but in vain, the governor could do nothing more than inform them on every opportunity that they were still regarded as British subjects, and officially ignore their volksraad and courts of law, while all the time they were acting as an independent people.

In March 1839 Pietermaritzburg¹ was laid out. It was named in honour of the late commandants Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz. Here, from this date onward, the volksraad, or governing council of the emigrants, met. It consisted of twenty-four members, elected annually, who met every three months, and not only exercised supreme legislative power, but appointed all officials, the commandant-general included.

Early in 1839 an attempt was made by Captain Jervis to

¹ Now usually termed Maritzburg for the sake of brevity.

bring about an agreement of peace between the emigrants and Dingan. He obtained a messenger from Henry Ogle, whom he sent to invite Dingan to appoint delegates and direct them to proceed to Natal to talk matters over. As afterwards seen, the Zulu chief had no intention of ceasing hostilities. He had lost about ten thousand men in all the engagements, but his army was still so large that he was by no means humbled. He was, however, quite ready to enter into an arrangement which would enable him to keep a constant watch over the emigrants' proceedings. He therefore sent delegates to Natal with three hundred and sixteen horses and a message indicating a wish for peace.

On the 26th of March the delegates had a meeting close to the fort with Mr. Pretorius and some other leading emigrants, in presence of Captain Jervis, when they were informed that the farmers would consent to peace if Dingan would confirm the cession of land made to Mr. Retief, would restore the cattle and other property which his army had taken, would make good all the damage caused by his people, and would agree that Zulus crossing the Tugela southward and white people crossing it northward should be shot.

The Zulu delegates professed to consider these conditions fair and reasonable, but said that Dingan's approval was necessary. They accordingly returned to their chief, and shortly afterwards came back to the port with a message to Captain Jervis to the effect that the farmers' property had been collected, and would be delivered to them if they would send for it. Captain Jervis hereupon communicated with the emigrants at the nearest camps, and they with the volksraad at Maritzburg. Upon this, Mr. Pretorius assembled a commando of three hundred and thirty-four burghers near the junction of the Mooi and Tugela rivers, where he formed a camp, and then sent a commission, consisting of Messrs. William Cowie, J. A. van Niekerk, and J. P. Roscher, for the property.

Dingan was found at a new kraal about four hundred yards from the site of the one that had been burnt six months

before. He stated that much of the farmers' stock had died, and that many of the guns had been lost, but he sent back with the commission thirteen hundred head of horned cattle, about four hundred sheep, fifty-two guns, and forty-three saddles, which were delivered at the camp on the 7th of June. He expressed himself very anxious for peace, but circumstances that indicate the still unbroken spirit of the people are noted in the report of the interview which Mr. Cowie furnished to Captain Jervis.

The Zulu chief promised to send his great indunas to the camp of the emigrants to make final arrangements, but instead of doing so he deputed two petty captains, who stated that he agreed to the terms delivered to his delegates in presence of Captain Jervis at the port. Mr. Pretorius then informed them that the losses and damages for which compensation was still due were estimated at nineteen thousand three hundred head of cattle, but part might be paid in ivory if more convenient. The captains then affixed their marks to the conditions of peace, and engaged on behalf of their master that delegates of rank should ratify their acts and that as soon as they returned home a quantity of ivory which had already been collected should be sent to Mr. Pretorius on account.

When the conditions were signed, the commandant-general wrote to Captain Jervis, requesting the delivery of the ammunition seized by Major Charters, on the ground that there could be now no pretence for detaining it. Captain Jervis replied that he would give it up upon the leaders of the emigrants signing an engagement that they would not use it against the Zulus or other tribes, but would restrict themselves to measures of defence on the territory which they then occupied.

Neither Mr. Pretorius nor any other of the principal leaders, however, would admit the right of an English officer to impose conditions, and so the powder and lead remained in the magazine of Fort Victoria. That there was no scarcity of ammunition among the emigrants was well known, and if

other evidence had been wanting it was proved by a fire which broke out in the evening of the 3rd of June in one of the camps near Maritzburg, in which nine individuals lost their lives, ten others were severely injured, and the waggons and household effects of twenty-nine families were utterly destroyed. The principal damage was caused by the explosion of gunpowder stored in different waggons.

On the 30th of June two messengers arrived at Maritzburg from Dingan. They brought no ivory, but said they had come to ratify the terms of peace and to inquire when the cattle would be taken over. The volksraad, ascertaining that they were persons of no rank, declined to confer with them further than to direct them to inform Dingan that he must send some of his chief captains within twelve days, otherwise they would treat with him no longer, but settle matters with a commando. On several occasions afterwards messengers arrived, but they did nothing else than deliver compliments, make promises, and apologise for mistakes, until it became evident that Dingan's only object was to ascertain whether the farmers kept in lager or were dispersing over the country.

At this time the emigrants were agitated by a rumour that a large body of English colonists would shortly be landed at Natal with the object of overturning their government. Great as was the danger from Dingan, they regarded this as greater. On the 31st of July the commandant-general and the volksraad wrote to Captain Jervis that they would never allow people not subject to their jurisdiction to settle in the country. 'The bones,' they wrote, 'of our innocent and treacherously murdered relatives and friends at the Bushman river will remain a lasting evidence of our right to this land until another beacon of similar materials shall overshadow ours.' On the 11th of November the volksraad passed a resolution to oppose the landing of immigrants without its previous consent, and if such immigrants should be attended by a military force too great to be resisted on landing, to carry on a guerilla warfare against them.

But their fears were groundless. The marquess of Normanby, Earl Glenelg's successor as secretary of state for the colonies, was indisposed to add another acre of land in South Africa to the empire. On the 30th of April 1839 he wrote to Governor Napier, approving of the temporary occupation of Port Natal for the purpose of preventing the introduction of munitions of war and checking the desire of emigration from the Cape Colony, but announcing his agreement 'to the fullest extent in the views of his immediate predecessor as to the impolicy of extending the dominions of the British crown in Southern Africa.'

The 72nd regiment was expecting orders to embark for Europe, and the governor therefore made up his mind to withdraw the garrison from Fort Victoria and to leave the emigrants entirely to themselves. His own opinion, often repeated and urgently pressed upon the successive secretaries of state, was that Natal should be constituted a British colony, but, as he stated in a despatch to Lord John Russell on the 22nd of June 1840, 'the reiterated expression by Lords Glenelg and Normanby of their merely temporary and conditional approval of the military possession of the port, their observations on the expense attending it, and the apparently fixed determination of her Majesty's government not to extend colonial possessions in this part of the world, made him feel confident that the colonisation of that country would never be sanctioned, and therefore he felt the further retention of the port might give rise to hopes or even fears which it was probably the wish of her Majesty's ministers not to foster.'

On the 24th of December 1839 the troops embarked in a vessel that had been sent for them. The farmers' ammunition was at last restored without any guarantee as to its use, and they saw all the symbols of English sovereignty disappear, though in a friendly farewell letter of Captain Jervis he stated that they were still considered British subjects. Under such circumstances, however, they might reasonably conclude that the imperial government had practically abandoned its claim to their allegiance.

About four months before the departure of the troops, a very important event took place in the Zulu country. Umpande, or Panda as he is usually termed by Europeans, one of the younger sons of Senzangakona, entered into a conspiracy against Dingan. In ability he was far inferior to either of his brothers, and almost immeasurably lower than his son Cetywayo in later years. But he possessed a large amount of low cunning, and he was clever enough to seize the opportunity that then occurred to improve his position. A great number of the incorporated Zulus—the remnants of tribes that had come under Tshaka as the only means of saving themselves—were ready to rally round any leader who could give them reasonable hope of deliverance from incessant bloodshed and tyranny. The induna Nongalaza, who was in command of the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, declared for Panda, and they joined him. The rebel chief, with a large following, then crossed the Tugela, and sent three messengers to Landdrost Roos at the port to ask protection from the Europeans. These messengers arrived on the 14th of September, and stated that Panda was accompanied by Nongalaza, Sotobe who had been sent by Tshaka to the Cape with Mr. King in 1828, and six other great indunas.

The emigrants at first regarded Panda with suspicion, as it was by no means certain that his flight was not merely a pretence to draw them to destruction. But in an interview which he had with the volksraad on the 15th of October he convinced the members of his sincerity, and permission was given to him to occupy for the time being a tract of land between the Tugela and Umvoti rivers. On the 26th of the same month he was installed ‘reigning prince of the emigrant Zulus’ by a commission from the volksraad, of which Mr. F. Roos, landdrost of the camps around the port, was president. An arrangement was soon afterwards entered into that the volksraad should require from Dingan immediate payment of their losses, and that in the event of the demand not being complied with, the emigrants should

assist Panda to depose his brother, in which case he undertook to pay the debt. It was understood on both sides that the first clause was a mere matter of form, and Panda therefore paid about two thousand head of cattle at once.

In accordance with this arrangement, on the 4th of January 1840 the volksraad directed Commandant-General Pretorius to march against Dingan, to demand from him forty thousand head of horned cattle, and if they were not given, to take them by force. Ten days later a burgher commando of four hundred men, supported by five or six thousand of Panda's adherents under Nongalaza, set out for Zululand.

During the campaign several prisoners were taken, and to the astonishment of the Zulus who were acting in concert with the farmers, they were released. On one occasion this happened after a mountain had been occupied with difficulty. Panda's followers could not appreciate such gentleness towards enemies, which they considered reprehensible. A tragic deed, which must always remain a reproach on the reputation of this commando, was more in accordance with their views of propriety.

The approach of the commando was made known to Dingan by his spies, and recognising the gravity of the position in which he was placed, he attempted—possibly in earnest—to come to terms with the emigrants. There were two officers immediately under him, whose advice he frequently sought, and through whom he carried on his government. Their names were Tambusa and Umthlela. The first named of these he now sent to the emigrant camp to renew negotiations for peace.

Upon Tambusa's arrival, he and his servant Kombazana were made prisoners, and contrary to all law and justice were brought to trial before a court martial. Panda and some of his officers were kept by Mr. Pretorius in his own camp as security against treachery, the column under Nongalaza being at some distance and marching in a

parallel line. These persons, who would assuredly do all in their power to cause the death of one of Dingan's magnates, were allowed to take part in the mock trial. Panda acted indeed in the double capacity of prosecutor and judge. He attributed the massacres of the emigrants to the advice given to Dingan by Tambusa, and accused the chief prisoner of many other enormities.

Tambusa, finding himself in the hands of those who were determined on his death, acted with the utmost calmness and dignity. He did not deny the truth of Panda's assertions, but said he was not there to defend himself: he had come as an envoy from a great chief to arrange terms of peace. He scorned to ask mercy for himself, but demanded the release of his servant, who, he said, was obliged to obey any orders given to him. Kombazana, on his part, displayed equal pride by refusing to be separated from his master even in death. They were both condemned to be executed.

When the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Pretorius spoke to the prisoners of God, the Almighty master before whose judgment seat they must soon appear, and besought them to pray to Him for pardon of their sins while yet there was time.

Tambusa answered that he had but one master; that it was his duty to remain faithful to Dingan to the last moment of his life; and that if he did this the great chief of whom Mr. Pretorius spoke could not fail to be satisfied with his conduct.

A few hours later on the same day, 31st of January 1840, the condemned men were led to execution. They were manacled together, and both were perfectly naked. Two farmers from a distance of sixty paces fired at them, when Kombazana was killed instantly. Tambusa fell to the ground with a ball in his body, though he was not mortally wounded. Rising immediately, he again stood erect, though manacled to the still quivering corpse of his servant, and

faced the executioners with an undaunted eye. The second discharge followed speedily, and he rose no more.

This act of Mr. Pretorius,—for the chief blame must rest upon him,—was a great mistake as well as a great crime. It gave those who were jealous of his influence an opportunity to attack him, which they at once availed themselves of. In the volksraad he was accused of having exceeded the authority entrusted to him by creating a tribunal with power of life and death. His partisans, however, were so strong that after a time the charge was allowed to drop.

Immediately after this event a messenger from Nongalaza brought word to the burgher column that on the preceding day, 30th of January 1840, he had fought a great battle with Dingan's army led by Umthlela, and had won a complete victory.

This battle proved a decisive one. At its commencement Dingan's army was superior in number, but during the action a body of his troops went over to Panda's side, and turned the scale. Those who were faithful stood their ground, and fell as became Zulu warriors. The slaughter on each side was enormous. The two best regiments of Dingan perished. The veterans who had won their plumes under Tshaka preferred to die rather than show their backs to the traitors who had deserted their cause. Umthlela placed himself at the head of the reserve, and went into the hottest part of the field, where he was pierced through the heart with an assagai. Still the issue of the day was doubtful, when the cry echoed along Nongalaza's ranks: 'The Boers are coming.' It was not so, but the belief that it was answered Nongalaza's purpose. The remnant of Dingan's army, the men who could not flee from a foe armed with spear and shield, gave way in their fear of those dreaded horsemen who had power to deal out death without meeting it themselves. A bushy country spread out before them, and favoured their escape. The battle was over, and the terror which the Zulu name had inspired for twenty years was a thing of the past.

Dingan fled northward to the border of the Swazi

country, where he built a kraal in a secluded and tolerably secure position. There he was soon afterwards assassinated by a Swazi who stole upon him unawares. Those who had adhered to him in his misfortunes then tendered their submission to Panda, by whom they were received with every mark of favour.

After the decisive engagement an enormous booty in cattle fell into the hands of the conquerors. About forty thousand head were delivered to Mr. Pretorius, and were subsequently distributed among the emigrants in proportion to their losses.

On the 10th of February Mr. Pretorius formally installed Panda as chief of the Zulus, but in vassalage to the volksraad, to which he promised fidelity. It was arranged that he should remove his followers to the northern side of the Tugela, and that the ground on which he was to reside should be an appanage of the republic of Natal. To this end, on the 14th of February 1840 Mr. Pretorius issued a proclamation in the name of the volksraad, taking possession of the land between the Tugela and Black Umvolosi rivers from the Drakensberg to the sea, and declaring St. Lucia Bay and the coast southward to the mouth of the Umzimvubu to belong to the emigrants.

Map XV. This map shows the Republic of Natal.



CHAPTER XLI.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, GOVERNOR,
INSTALLED 22ND JANUARY 1838, RETIRED
18TH MARCH 1844.

Particulars concerning Major-General Napier—Leading events during his government—Condition of the eastern border of the Cape Colony—Mutiny of Hottentot soldiers at Fraser's camp—Visit of the governor to the frontier—Treaty of alliance with the Gunukwebe chiefs—Dealings with the Fingos—Increase of the defensive force on the frontier—Investigation into the charge against Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom—Acquittal of the lieutenant-governor of the charge of wilful murder—Departure of Captain Stockenstrom for England—Appointment of Colonel Hare as lieutenant-governor—Reprisal upon the emigrant Tembus—Conduct of the Gaikas—Modifications of the Stockenstrom treaties—Unsuccessful efforts to punish a notorious robber captain—Condition of the freed slaves in the Cape Colony—Devastations caused by measles and small-pox—Failure of European immigration schemes—Account of the Children's Friend Society—Addition of large numbers of negroes to the population—Payment of the public debt of the colony—Construction of 'the queen's road'—Account of harbour works in Table Bay, Algoa Bay, and Port Frances—Details concerning the revenue of the Cape Colony—Details concerning the imports and exports of the Cape Colony—Introduction of the Herschel system of public schools—Changes in the legislative council—Increase in the number of Dutch churches—Partial release of the Dutch reformed church from state control—Progress of the English episcopal and Roman catholic churches—Formation of a number of banks and insurance companies—Introduction of steamships for the coast service—Erection of several public buildings in Capetown—Creation of the districts of Wynberg, Malmesbury, Paarl, and Caledon—Abrogation of matrimonial courts—Shipwrecks in Table Bay—Introduction of an excellent system of constructing public roads—Retirement of Governor Sir George Napier—Arrival of Sir Peregrine Maitland as his successor.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, an elder brother of the historian of the war in the peninsula, was a soldier of distinction, but had not previously occupied an important civil post. During the memorable retreat to Coruña he was aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore, on the 16th of January 1808 when that general was mortally wounded he was at

his side, waited upon him to the last, and assisted to place his body in the grave. As a captain in the 52nd regiment he was severely wounded at Busaco, again at Casal Nova, and on the 19th of January 1812 lost his right arm when leading the storming party at Ciudad Rodrigo.

One of the bravest of the brave in the field of battle, the new governor was usually courteous and kindly in demeanour, though he was somewhat irascible, and when provoked was accustomed to make very cutting observations. He was less determined in character than Sir Benjamin D'Urban, but was honest and benevolent. Like his predecessor, he came to this country with a strong impression that the colonists were disposed to oppress the coloured people, and with a conviction that the principles which were being carried out by Lord Glenelg were just and politic. At this time he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He was accompanied to the Cape by his wife, two sons, two daughters, and an intimate friend, a student of natural history named Charles Bunbury. A few months later he was created a knight commander of the bath, of which order he was only a companion when he arrived.

The period during which he was at the head of affairs appeared to the colonists then living as one of the gloomiest ever known in South Africa, but looking back upon it after the lapse of half a century it is seen to have been in many respects a turning time towards brighter days.

The border policy of Lord Glenelg caused great losses to the white people, and, so far from being of any benefit to the blacks, withheld from them the advantage of judicious control and in course of time excited them to a destructive war. But it was necessary that this system with all its calamitous consequences should have a trial, to convince the authorities in England that the theories of those who claimed for themselves exclusively the title of philanthropists were formed in ignorance and tended to evil. It is doubtful whether the Cape Colony would have obtained representative government in 1854 if the Glenelg system had not been tried,

and its failure been impressed upon men's minds not only by the sufferings of the colonists, but by the blood and treasure which it cost Great Britain.

The farmers in the western districts, left almost without servants by the termination of the apprenticeships on the 1st of December 1838, necessarily underwent much hardship ; but they speedily learned to accommodate themselves to the new order of things. Many more than formerly turned their attention to the breeding of merino sheep, and the production of wool rapidly increased.

The colony was losing large numbers of its European inhabitants, without a corresponding influx from abroad ; but the waste regions beyond the border were being occupied by civilised men, who created a commerce and opened the interior of the country to Christianity and order.

No public works of consequence were undertaken until towards the close of this period, but the colonial debt was paid off, which made it possible to carry on important improvements thereafter, and a much less vexatious method of taxation was adopted.

The introduction of a better system of public schools and an increase in the number of churches also mark this period as not altogether one of gloom.

The continued emigration of colonists and their fate after crossing the border form the subject of other chapters, the remaining matters above alluded to will here be taken up in detail.

Too great a space in the history of these times may seem to be devoted to transactions with the Kosas and Tembus on the eastern border, but it must be borne in mind that a system of dealing with barbarous tribes, founded on the principle that they were as trustworthy, honest, and peaceably disposed as civilised communities, was on its trial, and that its working ought to be fully explained.

When the new governor arrived in South Africa the condition of the eastern frontier was such that the colonists feared war would break out again immediately. The Gaikas

were threatening the Gunukwebes with a raid unless they restored the cattle placed under their care during the war, the Rarabes in general were constantly assailing the Fingos, and the colonists were being plundered mercilessly. In 1837 the 98th regiment had been sent home, and the force on the border was too weak to prevent outrages.

On the 19th of February 1838 a party of Cape mounted riflemen rose in mutiny at Fraser's camp, a post between Grahamstown and Trompetter's drift on the Fish river. Sixteen Hottentot soldiers fired at their officers, who were seated in the messroom, and an ensign named Crowe was killed. Every one feared that the whole corps was disaffected, and consternation was increased by its becoming known that the chief Umkayi was in league with the mutineers. Such prompt measures were taken by the military authorities, however, that the rebels were speedily captured and brought to trial before a court martial, when thirteen were condemned to death. This sentence was regarded by the governor as unduly severe, but the two ringleaders underwent the awarded punishment by the hands of their former comrades, and seven others were banished to Robben Island. By this example the authorities hoped to check feelings of disloyalty in the corps, though the colonists could not divest themselves of apprehensions of danger from an alliance between the Hottentot soldiers and the Kaffirs.

The governor felt it his duty to visit that part of the colony as speedily as possible, and on the 22nd of March he left Capetown for the frontier. At Port Elizabeth an address was presented to him by the inhabitants, in which they attributed the deplorable state of affairs 'to the ruinous and mistaken policy pursued towards the Kaffirs, by the sacrifice of measures based on the principles of justice and equity in favour of visionary and utopian theories.' In his reply he stated that he 'accepted the government of the colony in the conviction that the former system, as regarded the Kaffirs, was erroneous, and he had come out agreeing in and determined to support the system pursued by the lieutenant-

governor in accordance with instructions received from the secretary of state, an opinion and determination to which he still adhered.'

As he proceeded onward, however, his views became greatly modified. He found the Kaffirs plundering the colonists almost with impunity, for the white people were obliged to observe the conditions of the treaties, which the blacks paid not the slightest regard to. The military line of defence selected by Captain Stockenstrom he observed was the worst that could have been adopted, and would require a very much larger force to guard than the line of the Keiskama and Tyumie rivers. After careful inspection, on the 12th of July he wrote to Lord Glenelg, asking for three regiments of the line, the Cape mounted rifles—which he proposed to reduce to four hundred and eighty rank and file,—and half a company of artillery, to be stationed on the frontier 'to prevent the ruinous stockstealing and provide against a sudden rush of the Kaffirs into the colony.' The Kosas, he added, had no excuse for their daring depredations, as on the part of the colonists the treaties had never been infringed.

On the 19th of June 1838 the governor met the Gunukwebe chiefs Pato, Kama, and Kobe at Fort Peddie. They were in such fear of an attack by the Gaikas that they were ready to promise anything in return for substantial support. Captain Stockenstrom gave them a good character, and expressed a belief that they would faithfully carry out their engagements, upon which Major-General Napier entered into a supplementary treaty, establishing a defensive alliance with them. They bound themselves before making war to submit their disputes with other clans to the arbitration of the British authorities, and they were not to be entitled to assistance in aggressive movements. But they were to be protected from attack, and in case of a sudden raid upon them they were to be permitted to take shelter on the colonial side of the Fish river. Thus in return for a promise of such aid as they could give in time of war, the governor

took upon himself a great responsibility, without securing any control in their affairs.

With the Rarabe chiefs the governor had several interviews. They desired that the Hottentots should be expelled from the valleys at the sources of the Kat river, which Makoma claimed as his property. This request could not be complied with, but Makoma and Tyali repeated it again and again. The governor informed them that he must insist upon their carrying out the conditions of the treaties, as the robberies committed by their people, unless checked, would inevitably lead to war. He therefore warned them that if they did not restore stolen cattle traced to their kraals, or give up others equivalent in value within one month after the robbery, he would send an armed party to enforce the demand. That is, he would in effect revert to the old reprisal system, though he chose to call it by another name.

The only course that suggested itself with regard to the Fingos was to remove them all to the Zitzikama, and form a large location there. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be made this scheme was attempted. A sum of money was raised by benevolent people in England to provide them with agricultural implements, a Moravian missionary was selected as their instructor, and a tract of land—to which the name Clarkson was given—was set apart for their use. But now the same difficulty arose that has often since been experienced in dealing with sections of the Bantu. The Fingos declined to move in a body. They were willing enough to send out a swarm to occupy the new location, but to surrender a square rood of ground in exchange was something they could not make up their minds to. Very shortly came word that cattle would not thrive at the new settlement, so that the scheme was of necessity abandoned. Two years later the governor tried to get the Fingos who were at the Zitzikama back to the location between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, which he then desired to strengthen so that it could resist an attack;

but he found it impossible to get the whole of them to return.

Some changes were made in the position of the troops, and a system of patrols was organised. During the winter of 1838 several Kaffirs were killed or wounded when in the act of driving off stolen cattle, and for a short time depredations became less numerous. But they were soon resumed on the same scale as before, and although the imperial authorities complied with the governor's request and in 1839 sent out the 25th regiment of foot and a wing of the 91st, which enabled him to station eighteen hundred soldiers on the border, it was impossible to check thieving while the Kaffirs were in possession of the jungles in the valley of the Fish river. The Cape mounted rifles—reduced in June 1839 to six companies each of eighty rank and file and placed under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset—were so harassed with patrolling that some of the infantry of the regiments of the line were furnished with horses to assist in the duty. But it was all to little or no purpose.

With regard to the treatment of the Kaffirs by the colonists before the recent war, the governor found himself obliged to change the opinions which he held on his arrival in South Africa. On the 18th of May he wrote asking Lord Glenelg to apply to parliament for compensation to the farmers for their losses, and pointed out that if a faulty system had caused the war, the imperial government alone was responsible for that system, as the colonists had no voice in the matter. He therefore hoped that the secretary of state would plead the cause of the unfortunate people, and try to obtain from the imperial treasury a grant to make good a portion of the 350,000*l.* worth of property which had been taken from them. Lord Glenelg, however, declined to accede to the request.

During this visit to the frontier the governor had a very unpleasant duty to perform, by sitting as a judge at the trial of the officer next in rank to himself in the colony. Before bringing his unsuccessful action against Captain Campbell,

the lieutenant-governor had urgently requested the secretary of state to appoint a commission to investigate the charge of his having once shot a Kaffir boy, and on the 19th of December 1837 Lord Glenelg directed Major-General Napier to constitute a court for that purpose and to preside in it. The governor accordingly associated with himself Major Samuel Charters, who was his military secretary, and Captain the honourable Richard Dundas, of the ship-of-war *Melville*; and on the 21st of May 1838 opened the inquiry at Grahamstown.

Before this court Captain Stockenstrom tried to make it appear that there was a malicious conspiracy against him, of which the principals were Messrs. Campbell and Van Ryneveld, civil commissioners of Albany and Graaff-Reinet. He also endeavoured to show that the evidence against him was so conflicting as to be valueless. A great number of witnesses were examined, and many documents were put in. The court sat daily, Sundays excepted, until the 6th of June. The three members then, without consulting each other, drew up separate verdicts, which were forwarded to the secretary of state, and only made public in the colony several months later.

They all found that during the operations of the commando under Captain Fraser in December 1813 Captain Stockenstrom had shot a Kaffir who was trying to conceal himself under some driftwood in the bed of the Blinkwater river, but it was while a rush was being made to scour the thickets on the opposite bank into which a body of Kosas had retreated with their cattle; they found further that the Kaffir was armed with assagais and was between sixteen and twenty-five years of age, so that the deed was a lawful military act; and they all fully and honourably acquitted the accused of having shot an unarmed boy in a coldblooded or cruel manner. At the same time they acquitted Messrs. Campbell and Van Ryneveld of conspiracy or dishonourable conduct, and the witnesses of corruption or collusion with each other; but they expressed an opinion that in the

general antagonism towards Captain Stockenstrom some other individuals had been over zealous in hunting up evidence against him.

Thus the matter remained almost as the decision of the supreme court had left it. A Kaffir lad had been killed by Captain Stockenstrom, but no legal murder had been committed, because it was an act of war. The judgment placed the lieutenant-governor in exactly the position of Erasmus's patrol when Seko was killed, and that was all his opponents of any note ever asserted. It was he, not they, who first professed to regard such an act as a heinous crime.

As soon as the inquiry was concluded, the lieutenant-governor requested leave of absence to proceed to England for the purpose of placing his resignation in the hands of Lord Glenelg, and announced that he intended never to return if he could find bread for his family in Europe. Some expressions in the despatch ordering the court of inquiry to be held made him fear that he had partly lost the confidence of the secretary of state. Major-General Napier complied with his request, and on the 9th of August Colonel John Hare, of the 27th regiment, assumed duty as acting lieutenant-governor.

Captain Stockenstrom left the public offices in the eastern districts in a condition very different from that in which he found them. The easy-going method of earlier years, under which the interests of private individuals were too often made subservient to the convenience of officials, was entirely done away with. Every one in the civil service was required to be at his post during certain specified hours, and no work was allowed to fall in arrear. The convenience of the public was made the first consideration, no one was kept waiting for half a day perhaps before he could pay his taxes or enter a complaint. The great industry and power of application of the lieutenant-governor enabled him to watch over the minutest details of what was going on in all

departments of the province, and in this respect no man could have exceeded him in ability.

Upon his arrival in England Captain Stockenstrom placed his resignation in Lord Glenelg's hands, but withdrew it upon the secretary of state expressing entire confidence in him. It was arranged that he should return to South Africa as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts with a salary increased to 1,500*l.* a year, when on the 8th of February 1839 Lord Glenelg received an intimation from the premier that the ministry had resolved upon certain changes, in respect to which he had not been consulted, and that he must retire from the office which he then held. There were other colonies besides the Cape that had been brought to the verge of ruin by his administration.

Glenelg at once resigned, and on the 20th of the same month was succeeded by the marquess of Normanby, who had previously filled the posts of governor of Jamaica and viceroy of Ireland, and was therefore regarded as a man of experience. The new secretary would have permitted Captain Stockenstrom to return as lieutenant-governor, but matters soon came to his notice which made him hesitate. On the 21st of September 1836 Captain Campbell, civil commissioner of Albany and Somerset, was required also to perform the duty of resident magistrate of Albany, and in consequence of pressure of work the land books of Somerset got in arrear. Captain Stockenstrom, in his hostility towards that officer, then accused him of neglect of duty, and pushed the matter as far as he possibly could. Campbell, broken down in health, was obliged to retire from the service, and on the 21st of August 1838 was succeeded as civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Albany by Mr. Martin West, previously registrar of the supreme court of Bombay.

The question whether he was entitled to a retiring allowance rested upon the accuracy of Stockenstrom's charge. Under these circumstances he retorted by taking up a newspaper scandal and accusing Stockenstrom of corruption in

having received a free grant of the farm Maasstrom, consisting of ten thousand acres of the best land in the old ceded territory. The charge and countercharge came before the secretary of state, who was irritated by having to attend to such matters when affairs of importance were pressing upon him. Sir George Napier, to whom the subject was referred, completely exonerated Captain Campbell, and that gentleman was allowed a pension of 200*l.* a year. On the other hand Stockenstrom was able to show that he had obtained his estate from Sir Rufane Donkin in a perfectly honourable manner, at a time when land was being given away by the government to any official who applied for it.

During the investigation of this matter it was brought strongly to Lord Normanby's notice that Captain Stockenstrom was exceedingly unpopular in South Africa. Major Charters, who was then in London, further gave the secretary of state to understand that Sir George Napier considered Stockenstrom's return objectionable, though it was subsequently shown that he had mistaken some expressions of the governor. The correspondence to which this communication gave rise settled a doubt that had arisen in Lord Normanby's mind as to the prudence of forcing an unpopular administrator upon an irritated people.

On the 31st of August 1839 the secretary of state informed Captain Stockenstrom that in consequence of the feelings of distrust and alienation which had taken such deep root in the minds of a large proportion of the colonists as to deprive his services of the value which would otherwise belong to them, it was not expedient that he should resume the government of the eastern districts. Some flattering expressions were added concerning his personal and official character, but he was left with nothing more than a promise that any claims he might make to recompense for the loss of his post would be taken into favourable consideration.

Three days later a change took place in the cabinet. Canada and Jamaica were violently disturbed, and matters generally in the dependencies of the empire were in such

confusion that the ministers decided upon entrusting them to the ablest member of their party. On the 3rd of September Lord John Russell became secretary of state for the colonies, and the place he vacated was filled by the transfer of the marquess of Normanby to the home department. The new secretary offered Captain Stockenstrom the governorship of a West Indian island with a knighthood, which he declined, and asked for a pension of 1000*l.* a year. Lord John Russell then offered him a pension of 700*l.* a year from the colonial revenue and a baronetcy of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, which he accepted.

On the 31st of May 1840 the late lieutenant-governor, now Sir Andries Stockenstrom, reached South Africa again. Still sore from the loss of his office, he showed much resentment towards Sir George Napier, and involved himself in an acrimonious controversy with Judge Menzies, in which he was very severely worsted. But his good qualities rapidly gained the ascendancy. Removed from the false position in which one great error had placed him, freed from the delirium caused by an unavailing struggle to make it appear that his conduct had been correct and consistent, no longer regarding the favour of the secretary of state for the colonies as the very breath of his being, and with ample time for reflection, his whole course of life was changed. The upright, honourable, patriotic conduct of his younger days was resumed as natural to him. He wanted indeed several elements of true greatness: he did not relinquish the habit of abusing imaginary opponents, he did not cease to quarrel with every one whom he regarded as a rival, and to his latest hour he would not admit in words that he had grievously erred; but there never lived a man whose conduct at different periods formed a stronger contrast. Captain Stockenstrom giving evidence before the committee of the house of commons and acting as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, and Sir Andries Stockenstrom fifteen years later in occurrences that must be dealt with in other chapters, can hardly be recognised as the same individual. Fortune

was kinder to him than to most men who tempt her: she gave him time and opportunity to recover the esteem and affection of his fellow-colonists, and he availed himself to the fullest extent of her favours.

Colonel Hare succeeded to the title of lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, but the office ceased to be one of any importance. The administration was carried on by the governor as before 1836, the only difference being that instructions and reports now passed through a greater number of hands, and were consequently subject to more delay than in former years.

In October 1838 Sir George Napier reached Capetown again, after a long detention on the eastern border. He returned by way of the northern districts, and at Shiloh had a conference with the emigrant Tembu chiefs, whose people were at the time plundering the farmers in their neighbourhood almost at will. The governor informed them that he intended to enforce the observance of the treaties, and demanded the restoration of the stolen cattle known to be in their possession. They promised to comply, but failed to keep their word. Colonel Hare then sent a detachment of troops to the Zwart Kei, and at a meeting with Mapasa, Diniso, and other chiefs, urged them to act honestly, at the same time informing them that if they did not give up their booty he would be obliged to take it by force.

After allowing them ample time without any good result, the lieutenant-governor found himself obliged either to revert to the old reprisal system or to submit to be set at defiance. With Sir George Napier's approval, in April 1839 he assembled a strong military force in two divisions, respectively under Lieutenant-Colonel Greaves, of the 75th regiment, and Major Armstrong, of the Cape mounted rifles. This force marched to the kraals of Mapasa and Diniso, seized the whole of their cattle, and drove the herds to Shiloh. There the farmers who had been plundered were compensated by Mr. Henry Fynn, the political agent, and the residue was afterwards restored to the chiefs. In the march

Major Armstrong's division was attacked, and was obliged to fire upon the Tembus, when one was killed. This action had a decidedly good effect, and for some time afterwards that part of the country enjoyed comparative tranquillity.

Makoma also learned a lesson from it, and being threatened with similar treatment if he did not keep his people in order, for some months there was almost a cessation of robberies along the Gaika line. But the memory of barbarians is short, and the temptation was too great to be long resisted.

Early in 1840 Sandile, son of Sutu and legal heir of Gaika, was circumcised. He was a weakminded boy, and was frail in body also, for one of his legs was withered. As is customary on such occasions, the event of his circumcision was celebrated with prolonged revelry by the people over whom he was about to become the head. Month after month dancing and feasting continued in all the glens of the Amatola range, and he was the hero of the hour who brought the most and the fattest cattle from the pastures of Albany to contribute to the supply of food. Sir George Napier hardly knew what to do. With experience his views of the Glenelg system had become greatly changed, and on the 21st of September 1840 he informed the secretary of state that after a trial of four years the Stockenstrom treaties had utterly failed. Decisive action of some kind was needed, as delay was no longer possible 'without the risk, nay almost the certainty, of the plundered, harassed, and justly irritated farmers taking the law into their own hands and suddenly entering the Kaffir country with commandos to retake their cattle by force, if not to revenge by bloodshed all their wrongs.'

Under the Stockenstrom treaties a farmer was obliged to employ armed herdsmen, otherwise he had no claim to aid from the government if his cattle were stolen. This condition acted like a premium upon murder. The Kaffirs regarded the killing of the herdsmen as a clever performance, and within four years after the introduction of the system no

fewer than forty-nine individuals thus lost their lives. In addition to these a trader named Charles Bezant was murdered at Pato's kraal on the 6th of July 1838, and his shop was plundered—as the Gunukwebes asserted—by Nonibe's people. Thus fifty murders within four years were chargeable to the Kaffir clans, though the governor wrote that not a single act of injustice or infringement of the treaties had been committed towards those people by colonists.

The difficulty of the situation was increased by the 72nd regiment being recalled to England in April 1840. The governor dared not move a man from the frontier, so he kept there the 27th, 75th, and a wing of the 91st, with the Cape mounted riflemen and some artillerymen and engineers, leaving the defence of the Cape peninsula to the 25th regiment only. Three companies of the 91st were at St. Helena.

In 1839 the chief justice, Sir John Wylde, when on circuit sentenced nine convicted cattle thieves to death, with a view to deterring others from the commission of this crime; but the governor mitigated the sentence, knowing that public opinion in England would be horrified if it was carried into effect. The secretary of state approved of the mitigation. He issued instructions to try if a better arrangement could not be made with the chiefs, though the treaties were not to be abrogated until some other feasible system should be submitted for his consideration, and the clans must be dealt with as independent powers. With these instructions, on the 6th of October 1840 the governor left Capetown to visit the frontier for the second time.

On the 24th and 25th of November he had an interview with some ninety or a hundred farmers at Fort Beaufort, when he heard their complaints and discussed measures of relief. Mr. Stretch, diplomatic agent with the Gaika clans, who was in attendance, was then sent to the chiefs to propose certain alterations in the treaties, and to invite

them to meet the governor on the 1st of December at a spot close by Lovedale mission station.

On the day appointed, Sandile, Makoma, Tyali, Anta, Botumane, Eno, Tshatshu, and some others of less note, with about four thousand armed followers, gathered on the high ground above Mr. Stretch's residence, hardly a musket shot from the present classrooms of the Lovedale institution, and there, after a long conference, at which the Kaffirs all agreed that friendship should be renewed on account of Sandile having come of age, the chiefs consented to some very important modifications of the Stockenstrom treaties. The principal of these were that British subjects should be at liberty to enter Kaffirland in pursuit of stolen cattle, provided they went unarmed and in small parties; that they need not be accompanied by Kaffir police; that it should not be necessary for farmers to maintain armed herdsmen; that persons from whom cattle were stolen could claim reasonable damages as well as restitution of their property; and that murderers of people in British territory should be surrendered by the chiefs to the colonial authorities.

To this effect on the 2nd of December the chiefs attached their marks to modified clauses of the Stockenstrom treaty, which were also duly signed by Sir George Napier, Colonel Hare, and the diplomatic agents.

On the 29th of December precisely the same course was followed at Fort Peddie with the Fingo chiefs Umhlambiso, Jokweni, Matomela, and Zibi, and the Gunukwebe chiefs Pato, Kama, and Kobe. On the 31st of December at Fort Peddie similar arrangements were made with the Ndlambe chiefs Umkayi, Umhala, Gasela, Siyolo, and Nonibe for her son Siwani. And lastly, on the 28th of January 1841 the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa met the governor at Grahamstown, and attached his mark to the same conditions.

These changes were regarded with much satisfaction by the frontier colonists, though no one supposed that the chiefs had any intention of keeping their new engagements. But

considering treaties of this kind merely as rules of conduct for white people, they found themselves much less hampered now by regulations which seemed to have been framed purposely to tempt robbers.

Shortly after these arrangements were made intelligence reached South Africa that the Melbourne ministry had fallen. Having been defeated by a majority of one on an important question, on the 23rd of June parliament was dissolved, and the ministers appealed to the country. The result was a victory for the conservatives, and on the 3rd of September 1841 Sir Robert Peel became premier and Lord Stanley secretary for the colonies. In South Africa it was supposed that the new government would introduce a more vigorous policy in favour of order; but for a considerable time no changes were made, except that the military force on the frontier was greatly strengthened.

The three companies of the first battalion of the 91st were sent to the Cape from St. Helena, and were followed by the second battalion of the same regiment from England. Upon its arrival, in August 1842, the 25th was sent to India. In February 1843 a transport bound to Mauritius put into Table Bay with the reserve battalion of the 12th on board, and the governor took the responsibility of detaining the troops to garrison Capetown, and adding the second battalion of the 91st to the force on the frontier. On the 1st of May of the same year the 45th arrived from Cork to relieve the 75th, which enabled the governor to allow the 12th to proceed to Mauritius. In July the skeleton of the 75th embarked for England, about two hundred and fifty men belonging to the regiment having taken their discharge in the colony. The 7th dragoon guards, three hundred and thirty-two strong, arrived from England within the same week, and were at once sent to the frontier. The artillery and engineer force was also strengthened. The troops in the colony now consisted of four battalions of infantry—namely the two of the 91st, one of the 27th, and one of the 45th—a regiment

of dragoons, the Cape mounted rifles, and a number of artillerymen and engineers.

Even with the large force which could now be stationed on the frontier it was found impossible to prevent depredations, though there was an agreement of opinion among the military officers that if the line of the Keiskama and the Tyumie had been preserved, so as to cover the jungles of the Fish river, a smaller body of troops would have sufficed for the purpose.

On the 1st of May 1842 the chief Tyali died of a chest complaint at his kraal in the Tyumie valley, and as his sons Fini and Oba were mere lads, his brother Koko was appointed regent of the clan. Koko was possessed of a fair amount of ability, and was guided by the old councillors, so that the condition of this branch of the Gaikas underwent very little change upon the death of its turbulent head.

Tyali had long been ill, but the people would not believe that a man of his rank had died a natural death, and a witchfinder was therefore employed to smell out those who had killed him. This man pointed to Sutu, great widow of Gaika, as the guilty person, and for some hours she was in danger of being maltreated. But the diplomatic agent Stretch and the missionaries of the Glasgow society, learning what was taking place, hastened to the dead chief's kraal, and as they found a large party doubtful of Sutu's guilt, or at any rate unwilling that the mother of Sandile should suffer punishment, they succeeded in rescuing her. She was conveyed to the mission house at Burnshill, and remained there until the excitement was over. It was generally supposed in the colony that Sutu was smelt out at the instigation of Makoma, who would have gained greatly by her fall ; but men who are well acquainted with Kaffir ideas, and who know the full particulars of this event, acquit him of the atrocious design.

During the early months of 1843 the pillage of the colony was leading to such exasperation of the farmers that the governor resolved to make an example of the most notorious

robbers. There was a clan of the Imidange under a captain named Tola, whose kraals were between Fort Beaufort and the abandoned fort Willshire. These people prided themselves upon being the most expert stocklifters in the country, and their reputation in this respect was so widespread that they were joined by many clever and aspiring men from other parts. Tola thus rose to be a chief of importance among his fellows, though the farmers of Albany were wont to stigmatise him as the greatest scoundrel at large. The other chiefs assured Colonel Hare that they had no sympathy with him, and would punish him for his misdeeds if he were not so strong.

An arrangement was then made with Sandile that a body of troops should assist to chastise the offender, he promising to aid with the whole of the Gaika clans. Accordingly on the 7th of June 1843 four divisions of soldiers, in all six hundred men, under the general direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, marched from Grahamstown towards Tola's kraals. At the same time Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, who in February 1839 had succeeded Mr. J. M. Bowker as diplomatic agent with the Fingos and Gunukwebes, marched from Fort Peddie with a Fingo contingent to attack the marauder from the south. Sandile with the Gaikas was to have cut off his retreat northward and eastward, so that it was hoped he might be secured.

But when the soldiers reached the kraals of Tola they found that he and his people had fled eastward to the Kwelegha river, and so far from the Gaikas assisting, it was apparent that they were prepared to protect the robbers against seizure, and that a further advance of the troops would be the signal of a general war. The Fingos pursued some distance, but were then recalled, and the military force retired, taking with them five hundred head of cattle, the only trophy of this inglorious expedition. The cattle were distributed at Fort Beaufort to the principal sufferers from robberies, and the soldiers went back to their posts.

On the 23rd of June the lieutenant-governor had a

conference with the Rarabe chiefs at Fort Beaufort, when he remonstrated with them upon their treacherous conduct. As usual, they were quite ready to upbraid themselves for the past, and to make ample promises for the future; but on both sides the proceedings were regarded as a farce. Yet this was the method by which what was called peace was preserved under the modified Stockenstrom treaties.

At this time—June 1843—the Gunukwebe captain Kama, the most orderly and honest of all the Kosa chiefs, foreseeing that a general war must soon take place and not wishing to be involved in it, abandoned the country near the coast and with his people moved to the neighbourhood of the Lesuto, where he was provided with a location by Moshesh. Kama was a convert to Christianity, and was held in much respect by the white people. His removal from the vicinity of Fort Peddie was an intimation of the part he knew his brother Pato would take in the coming struggle.

On the 1st of December 1838 the period of negro apprenticeship expired, and the farmers of the western districts found themselves almost without servants. In some instances indeed the attachment to their late masters was strong enough to keep the freedmen at work until the crops then ripening were gathered, but in general they made their way to the nearest towns and villages, where they could lead lives of comparative idleness. Huddled together in little apartments in back streets and alleys—especially in Capetown,—they could exist upon the merest trifle, and for more than that the majority seemed to have no desire. The townspeople were only too glad to get their services occasionally at high wages, and with the payment for a couple of days' labour they could live upon fish and rice for a week. Numerous philanthropic societies provided for them in sickness, and ineffectually strove to inculcate a desire for industry and cleanliness. Their children were gathered together in schools, and were taught to read and write, a kind of knowledge that without improved habits of life they could not turn to much account.

The freed people were in this state when on the 20th of February 1839 the measles appeared in Capetown. For more than thirty years the colony had been free of that disease, and no one knew how it originated on this occasion, but very shortly it made its presence felt in an alarming manner. Spreading through the country, it attacked especially the coloured people who were living amidst filth in stifling rooms, and during the next three months created fearful havoc among them.

In January of the following year the small-pox broke out among some negroes landed from a captured vessel, and although every possible effort was made by the government to check it, it spread with frightful rapidity. Since 1812 this loathsome disease had been unknown in the colony, though towards the close of 1831 it was prevalent among the Griquas and Koranas north of the Orange river, having been brought there as was supposed from Delagoa Bay. During the winter of 1840 it proved fatal to a good many white people, and carried off several thousand negroes. The exact number could not be ascertained.

At this time the imperial government made such alterations in the duties on wines entering Great Britain as to place the Cape at a disadvantage in competition with France. Coupled with the scarcity of labour, this produced such an effect that the exportation of wine rapidly fell off. Many farmers, however, turned their attention to breeding merino sheep, an industry which could be carried on with fewer and less skilful hands than were required for tilling the ground. In consequence wool soon rose to the first place in the list of exports, and it may be said that merino sheep saved the country from general bankruptcy.

To compensate for the great number of white people who were leaving the colony, efforts to obtain emigrants from Great Britain were made by means of petitions to the imperial government and proposals of some of the unofficial members in the legislative council. The plan generally favoured was to appropriate to immigration purposes from

8,000*l.* to 12,000*l.* yearly from the loans being repaid to the government bank, instead of destroying that amount of paper money. Applications were then to be called from persons requiring labourers of any kind, and upon their giving a guarantee to provide employment for a fixed term at specified wages, an agent in England was to select the people needed and send them out at the cost of the colony.

But the imperial authorities declined to sanction any expenditure that could be avoided until the public debt was paid off, as under the measures adopted in 1825 Great Britain was responsible for the notes which represented the greater part of the debt, they being exchangeable for treasury bills. There was thus no state-aided emigration from Europe to the Cape at this time. A few families came out of their own accord, three or four hundred soldiers whose term of service had expired were allowed to take their discharge on the frontier, some English emigrants bound to Australia and New Zealand were wrecked in Table Bay and remained here, and in 1843 some artisans began to arrive at Port Elizabeth from England under a system of advanced passages inaugurated by Mr. Joseph S. Christophers ; but the whole number thus added to the European population was small.

Even the supply of juvenile immigrants received by means of the Children's Friend Society came to an end in 1839. This society was founded in 1830 by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, of the royal navy, with the benevolent design of rescuing destitute children in the great cities of England from a life of vice and misery. In Capetown there was a committee of clergymen and government officials, who co-operated with the directors in London, received the children when they were sent out, and saw that they were apprenticed to suitable persons. Of the Capetown committee, Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, was secretary, and no man could have been more careful of the interests of the children than he. There

was a special ordinance providing for the protection of the immigrants, and empowering the committee to apprentice them.

By this means about seven hundred and fifty children were brought to South Africa, when an untoward event caused the enterprise to come to an end. Though efforts were made by the directors to exclude hardened criminals from their operations, a few lads of depraved habits eluded their vigilance, and arrived in this country only to give endless trouble. Some letters which one of these boys wrote to his friends in London were made public, and caused benevolent people there to suspect that the children were subject to very harsh treatment in South Africa. The directors of the institution at once requested the secretary of state to appoint a special commission of inquiry, and Lord Normanby instructed Sir George Napier to do so and forward a full report. The society also sent out Mrs. Bourhill, the matron of one of its receiving establishments near London, to report upon the condition of the girls, and to remain here as superintendent of female immigrants.

Just at this time a boy named Trubshaw, who was one of twelve lads apprenticed to Mr. G. H. De Wet, a farmer near Stellenbosch, ran away from his employer, and worked his passage in a ship to England. Two days after his arrival in London he was taken before a magistrate on a charge of theft, and there he told a story which roused an outburst of prejudice against the Children's Friend Society. He said that he had been sold at the Cape of Good Hope as a slave to a farmer, by whom he had been so cruelly treated that he had been forced to run away, and as he had no food nor means to obtain any when he reached home he was obliged to steal.

In accordance with Lord Normanby's instructions, the governor directed Captain Hill and Majors Longmore, Piers, and Barnes to inquire into the condition of the juvenile immigrants. They found that there had been a few instances of

harsh conduct towards the children, the very worst of which was by an English officer who was afterwards dismissed from the queen's service by a court-martial on account of it; but that in the vast majority of instances the apprentices were very well treated. As for Mr. De Wet, from whom Trubshaw had run away, he was an exemplary master, and the eleven apprentices remaining with him had not a word of complaint. As a rule the children were in excellent health, were comfortably provided for, were learning to get an honest living by labour, and altogether had much better prospects than they could ever have had in England. According to their indentures a small sum of money ranging from three pence to a shilling a week was placed to the credit of each in a savings bank. There were exceptions to this general statement, but they were mostly of children with vicious habits, who should never have been sent out.

Mrs. Bourhill died in July 1839, after sending home a report which might be termed enthusiastic regarding the condition of the girls. She expressed an earnest wish that many thousands of poor children then going to ruin in the great English cities could be placed in as good positions.

Meantime it was ascertained in London that the boy Trubshaw under another name had been twice convicted of petty theft before the Children's Friend Society took him under its care. The society challenged the strictest investigation into his statement that he had been sold as a slave, and asserted that the only ground for such a charge was the fact that persons in the colony on receiving an apprentice were required to contribute from 7*l.* to 9*l.* to their funds to aid in defraying the expense of outfit, passage, and maintenance of the child.

This, however, did not allay the outburst of prejudice against the society by the very class of people benefited by its operations, and even respectable newspapers continued to hurl charges of gross mismanagement against it, only one

of which had any foundation in fact, namely that the children sent out were often placed as apprentices in such situations that they could not attend church regularly every Sunday. Captain Brenton's death was hastened by the opprobrium heaped upon him, and the mourners at his funeral were insulted by an angry mob.

The committee in Capetown resigned, declaring that they would no longer expose themselves to the abuse of those persons in England who paid implicit belief to every foolish report or misrepresentation to the discredit of the colony.

On the 2nd of January 1840 Sir George Napier published a notice in the *Gazette*, stating his confident trust that the reports of the commission of inquiry would effectually disabuse the public mind in England as to the general treatment and actual condition of the apprentices, and recording his opinion that the directors in London as well as the commissioners on the spot deserved thanks instead of the unmerited reproach to which they had been subjected.

The society tried to live down the bitter feeling against it, and after a time the committee in Capetown consented to resume its labours. In November 1840 the farm Belle Ombre, four hundred and twenty-two acres in extent, a little beyond Wynberg, was purchased for 1,750*l.* with a view to its being converted into an industrial and training school for the children until it could be seen which were fit to be apprenticed either to tradesmen or farmers. But popular prejudice in London was not to be overcome, and in May 1841 the Children's Friend Society was finally dissolved, thus bringing to an end one of the best schemes ever devised for benefiting alike poor English children and Cape colonists.

Though European immigrants were few at this period, it was very different with blacks. Some thousands were brought in by British cruisers, taken in captured slave ships. Such vessels went through the form of being condemned by

a court of mixed commission, established under treaties between Great Britain and Spain and Portugal. The negroes were then landed, and apprenticed by the collector of customs for short periods; but by an order from England none under nineteen years of age could be given out for farm work. Some two or three thousand blacks also, who were being maintained at St. Helena at the expense of the imperial government, were forwarded to the Cape by order of Sir George Napier, and so great was the want of the farmers that they were not only eagerly inquired for, but there was no difficulty in raising money by subscription to defray the cost of their transport.

As regards public works, Sir George Napier, like every preceding governor, saw the need of roads, bridges, light-houses, and harbour improvements; but without money nothing could be done, and the instructions of both Lord John Russell and Lord Stanley were to pay off the colonial debt before proposing any expenditure that could be avoided.

Many of the colonists maintained that Great Britain ought to redeem the debt, because she had imposed such an expensive government upon the country from 1806 to 1834 as to cripple its finances, and was also in possession of the military buildings which formed part of the security for the paper money. The secretaries of state, however, did not concur in this opinion, and thought England was acting generously by not claiming payment for 67,233*l.* of the paper money for which treasury bills were given in exchange by the commissariat shortly after the value of the rixdollar note was fixed at one shilling and sixpence. That amount Great Britain consented to lose, and the colony was now required to pay off the remainder. Expenses of every kind were therefore cut down as much as possible, and every penny of surplus revenue was applied to the extinction of the debt. Wherever government farms had been leased, as at Groenekloof, the occupants were permitted to become proprietors by paying fifteen years' rent at once, and several public

buildings were sold. The money thus obtained, as also the private fund of the orphan chamber, or surplus interest as it was called after that institution was placed under the master of the supreme court, and even Mr. Van Dessen's legacy to the chamber, was devoted to the same object.

By these means the debt was greatly reduced, when in April 1843 Mr. John Montagu became secretary to government. He applied himself to the subject with the closest attention, and having ascertained that there was a large amount of revenue many years overdue, he set about collecting it with an intensity of purpose from which even pity for the distressed was absent. He succeeded so well that upon the expiration of Sir George Napier's tenure of office the debt was almost extinguished. There was then sufficient recoverable arrear revenue with the estimated surplus of the following year to meet the amount still due, except 40,000*l.* for which provision was made by an offer to convert quitrent tenure land into freehold upon payment of fifteen years' rental, the offer to hold good only until the sum required was realised. Before the close of 1845 the colony was free of debt.

The only important improvement in the thoroughfares of the country at this time was the construction of what is known as 'the queen's road,' between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort. It was made by military labour under the supervision of Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain, and its cost was entirely defrayed from the military chest. There were no extraordinary physical difficulties to be surmounted, but the road is still regarded as a good specimen of what engineering skill can effect in a broken country. The Fish river at Fort Brown and the Kat river at Fort Beaufort were spanned by substantial stone bridges. The foundation stone of that at Fort Beaufort—named the Victoria bridge—was laid by Lady Napier in November 1840.

In December 1836 Lord Glenelg authorised the creation of a harbour board for Table Bay, with power to collect

wharfage charges, to borrow money on security of such charges, and to complete the stone pier, the work on which was suspended in 1833. But the unofficial members of the legislative council objected to this scheme, and in its stead urged that the government should construct two or three cheap dwarf jetties, which would serve the purposes of trade until a comprehensive scheme for the improvement of the bay could be taken in hand. This course was adopted, but after the completion of the first jetty, close to the old wharf at the castle, Sir George Napier did not venture to commence another until the merchants of Capetown raised 2,900*l.* by subscription, purchased a range of buildings previously used by a fishing company, and transferred it to the government to be turned into offices and stores. He then caused a substantial jetty to be built at the foot of Bree-street. The first cost only 1,404*l.*, the second 7,479*l.* The last was opened for use on the 1st of January 1842.

An association called the commercial wharf company was now formed for the purpose of landing and shipping merchandise, which was still conveyed in boats to and from vessels at anchor. The Table Bay boatmen enjoyed the reputation of being among the most expert of their class in the world, and their feats in conveying anchors and cables to badly-found ships in winter gales often required the utmost daring as well as the greatest skill.

As several vessels in succession were lost at night on the rocks at Mouille Point, the secretary of state was induced to give his consent to a lighthouse of an inexpensive class being built there. A clear white light forty feet above sea-level was first exhibited on the 1st of July 1842.

In Algoa Bay a jetty was constructed by a commercial company. In 1837 a vessel named the *Feejee* foundered there near the shore, when it occurred to Mr. John Thornhill, a resident of Port Elizabeth, to turn the wreck to account. He purchased it, drove a number of piles round it, framed them together, and let the structure stand for some months

on trial. As it remained firm, in March 1838 he formed a company to build a jetty. The woodwork was completed, and on the 10th of April 1840—the twentieth anniversary of the landing of the first British settlers on the same spot—the foundation stone of the inshore portion was laid with much ceremony by Mr. William Lloyd, resident magistrate of the district. But the enterprise ended unfortunately. In a gale on the 25th of August 1843 four ships were wrecked in Algoa Bay. One of them struck the jetty, and eleven of her crew sprang upon it, believing it to be a place of safety. The next moment the whole structure was swept away, and the men disappeared in the general wreckage. Theirs were the only lives lost on the occasion, and of twelve vessels at anchor in the morning eight rode out the gale.

Great efforts to improve Port Frances were made by an enterprising British settler named William Cock, who maintained that the mouth of the Kowie could be made one of the best harbours in the world. He was a man of means, and was willing to venture his capital in the project. On the 27th of November 1839 an ordinance was issued to enable him and his partner—Mr. George Hodgskin—to improve the port, and to levy fees for a specified period upon goods landed or shipped there. Mr. Cock then set to work to construct training walls of wattled timber banked behind with sand and bushes, for the purpose of narrowing the mouth of the river and washing away the bar. He believed himself to be in a fair way of success, but the loss of two sailing vessels in succession when leaving Port Frances caused others to be doubtful.

Mr. Cock then got out a steamer of one hundred and forty tons and forty horse power, named the *Sir John St. Aubyn*, to ply between Port Frances and Table Bay and also to tow sailing vessels in and out of the Kowie. She arrived from England on the 2nd of July 1842, but on the 31st of January 1843 was wrecked when endeavouring to enter the Kowie with a vessel in tow.

Not discouraged yet, Mr. Cock next got up an association called the Kowie Navigation Company, of which he was the chief shareholder, and had a couple of small iron sailing vessels built in England to trade between Port Frances and Table Bay. These vessels—named the *British Settler* and the *Chanticleer*—were for some time running on the coast, but could seldom procure cargoes at or for Port Frances. The place never became of much importance.

At the strongly expressed desire of the legislative council, the secretary of state consented to great reforms being made in the method of raising the revenue. The taxes between 1836 and 1850 were the following :—

1. Capitation tax. This was levied at the rate of six shillings yearly on all males over sixteen and unmarried females or widows over twenty years of age. It was imposed by an ordinance on the 5th of March 1829, but was abolished in January 1840, after which arrears only were collected.

2. Taxes on male house or stable servants, at the rate of ten shillings a year, on horses and mules kept for pleasure, at the rate of ten shillings a year, on horses and mules maintained for trade or agriculture, at the rate of one shilling a year, on four-wheeled vehicles kept for pleasure, at the rate of four pounds a year, on carts kept for pleasure, at the rate of two pounds a year, on four-wheeled vehicles kept for trade or agriculture, at five shillings a year, on carts kept for trade or agriculture, at two shillings and six pence a year, and on incomes over 30*l.* a year not derived from agriculture or cattle rearing, at the rate of two per cent. These taxes were imposed by an ordinance on the 5th of March 1829, but ceased to be levied after the 6th of February 1839 except as arrears.

3. Taxes on stock and produce. The first of these was the impost levied for district purposes from the earliest days of the colony, and was based upon returns of their cattle furnished by the farmers themselves. On the 1st of April 1814 the rates were altered to three farthings a year for each

horse or head of horned cattle, and two pence farthing for every twenty-five sheep or goats. At the same time grain was taxed at three farthings a muid, wine at six pence a legger, and brandy at one shilling and a penny halfpenny a legger. After the 1st of January 1828 these taxes—probably in their effect upon the character of the people the very worst that could be devised—were paid into the general revenue, but were abolished at the close of 1838.

4. Taxes on grain, brandy, and wine brought to Capetown or Simonstown for sale. The impost on grain was a commutation of the ancient tithes, and that on brandy and wine was also of long standing. On the 13th of December 1820 these taxes were reduced in amount, on the 10th of December 1834 that on wine was abolished, and on the 8th of July 1842 those on grain and brandy were done away with.

5. Port dues. These were modified by an ordinance dated the 27th of November 1827, and were thereafter levied at the rate of two pence farthing a ton on vessels touching for refreshment, four pence halfpenny a ton on trading vessels, and nine pence a ton yearly on coasters. A fee of seven shillings and six pence was also charged for anchorage, and a similar amount for a clearance. These taxes were abolished on the 30th of January 1844.

6. Government bank. The revenue from this institution was derived from interest on paper money lent and discount on bills. After the establishment of the Cape of Good Hope and South African banks it ceased to pay, it was then some time in liquidation, and was finally closed on the 31st of December 1842.

7. Tolls and ferries. On the 22nd of November 1843 these were transferred to the central board of commissioners for public roads.

8. Stamps and Licenses. Stamps of different value were required on almost every legal document. Licenses

were needed to carry on business of different kinds, and especially to deal in spirituous liquors. Until the 5th of October 1846 a retail license to sell wines and spirits cost from 112*l.* 10*s.* a year in the principal towns to 3*l.* a year in country places, but by an ordinance of that date a uniform charge of 20*l.* a year was substituted.

9. Auction dues. This tax was of ancient date, and was confirmed by ordinances of the 7th of December 1827 and the 20th of February 1844. The charge was four per cent. on auction sales of movable property and two per cent. on auction sales of land.

10. Transfer dues. This also was an ancient tax, but was modified by a proclamation of the 2nd of January 1818, confirmed by an ordinance of the 26th of December 1844. The charge was four per cent. on the purchase amount of freehold property or quitrent farms, and two and a half per cent. on the bonus given for loan places.

11. Fines and fees of office. These were sums paid for drawing up legal documents of various kinds, charges in the orphan chamber branch of the office of the master of the supreme court, judicial fines, pound fees, &c.

12. Somerset hospital. The receipts under this heading arose from a charge to patients of means, varying from one shilling and three pence to three shillings a day.

13. Land rents. After the 6th of August 1813 these were derived from quitrents and from land leased before that date and not subsequently brought under quitrent tenure. The quitrent varied according to the value of the land when assigned to the first holder, and was fixed by a board with the governor's approval.

14. Postal receipts. By ordinances of the 11th of June 1834 and the 6th of November 1837 the charges for conveyance of letters from one part of the colony to another were made to vary from two pence to thirteen pence half-penny the quarter-ounce, according to distance. Ship letters were charged four pence the quarter-ounce additional. Newspapers were charged a penny for any distance inland,

and a penny for ocean transit. By an ordinance of the 7th of January 1846 the postage on letters inland was fixed at four pence the half-ounce, irrespective of distance, and the same charge was made for ocean transit. Newspapers remained as before. After the 1st of January 1846 there was a post twice a week between the principal seats of magistracy throughout the colony.

15. Sale of land. During this period all the old drost-dies, except that at Worcester, were sold. So were the government farms in Groenekloof and elsewhere, the lessees being allowed to purchase them by paying fifteen years' rent. The proceeds of the sale of waste lands and a small item for sale of stone quarried at Robben Island were also included.

16. Customs duties. At the strongly expressed desire of the legislative council, the secretary of state consented to increase these dues, so as to allow of the abolition of the various vexatious and unpopular taxes. The order in council of the 22nd of February 1832—given in a preceding chapter—was superseded by another on the 10th of August 1840, which placed special duties on various articles. An order in council on the 8th of May 1841 reduced the import duties on goods from British India to the same rates as on similar goods from other British possessions. On the 11th of March 1842 an order in council was issued, raising the duties on all articles not specially rated to five per cent. of the value if brought from British possessions, and to twelve per cent. of the value if brought from foreign countries. Further small modifications were made in specialised articles by orders in council on the 24th of April 1847 and the 31st of October 1848.

The average yearly revenue during periods of five years each is here given, but for one of the periods it is not absolutely correct, as the returns for 1841 in the records are not complete.

	From 1836 to 1840.	From 1841 to 1845.	From 1846 to 1850.
Capitation tax	£4,031	£1,825	
Tax on servants	127	29	
Tax on horses and carriages	3,658	1,230	
Income tax	2,224	899	
Tax on stock and produce	2,102	94	
Tax on grain brought to Capetown or Simonstown for sale	1,197	431	
Tax on wine and brandy brought to Capetown or Simonstown for sale	169	32	
Port dues	2,142	1,164	
Government bank	6,597	1,800	
Tolls and ferries	3,073	1,865	
Stamps and licenses	18,877	18,945	19,260
Auction dues	16,024	14,112	17,102
Transfer dues	18,338	17,854	21,958
Fines and fees of office	6,335	6,313	5,620
Somerset hospital	342	419	402
Land rents	12,896	17,471	16,509
Postal receipts	5,704	7,722	11,493
Sale of land	6,140	5,370	11,982
Customs duties	40,157	64,471	99,145
Licenses to remove guano		9,375	785
Miscellaneous	1,631	1,840	1,518
	£151,764	£173,261	£205,774

The Capetown local taxes were paid into the colonial treasury after the abolition of the burgher senate on the 1st of January 1828 until the establishment of a municipal council on the 1st of October 1840. They were on an average from 1836 to 1840:—

House rates	£1,267
Water rates	1,463
Rent of shambles and quarries	885
Market dues	2,630
	£6,245

The imports were greatly inflated during the early years of this period by speculation upon the money received for the slaves, and it was necessary to seek other markets for large quantities of goods intended in the first instance for

sale in South Africa. The following figures give the average yearly values :—

	From 1836 to 1840.	From 1841 to 1845.	From 1846 to 1850.
Goods entered for home consumption	£843,297	£708,458	£1,010,104
Goods imported, placed in bonding warehouses, and afterwards exported to other countries	342,254	143,139	155,108
Proportion of imports in British ships	96 per cent.	94 per cent.	93 per cent.

The exports of colonial produce were steadily rising in value, owing, however, almost entirely to the increase of sheep's wool. In agricultural produce, especially in wine, there was a considerable falling off, due largely to the scarcity and dearness of labour. The average yearly values were :—

	From 1836 to 1840.	From 1841 to 1845.	From 1846 to 1850.
Aloes	£2,159	£8,886	£2,929
Argol	343	1,347	853
Beef and pork	5,279	4,852	9,057
Brandy	105	290	613
Butter	8,166	6,111	3,839
Dried fish	3,838	8,654	8,334
Dried fruit	4,018	3,541	3,166
Grain	23,635	15,117	13,645
Hides and skins	47,842	48,713	46,564
Horns	3,790	1,881	1,130
Horses and mules	11,034	10,953	8,767
Ivory	1,508	2,320	7,243
Ostrich feathers	2,144	4,528	4,353
Tallow	5,556	5,287	3,385
Wax	163	143	451
Whalebone and oil	1,872	976	508
Wine	92,111	52,717	41,227
Wool	30,229	99,593	201,932
Other articles	15,355	23,819	22,471
	£259,147	£299,728	£380,467
Proportion of colonial produce shipped at Port Elizabeth	18 per cent.	37 per cent.	47 per cent.

Upon Sir George Napier's arrival in South Africa he found that Sir Benjamin D'Urban had contemplated a reform in the system of public education, and that an exhaustive report upon the condition of the country schools had been prepared by Colonel Bell, the secretary to government.

An account of the introduction of the system of education then existing has already been given, but in most of its details changes had recently been made. The free schools established in 1822 were still open, though they had long ceased to maintain as high a position as in earlier years. Some of the most competent teachers had secured more lucrative situations, others had died, and an inferior class of men had taken their places. The bible and school commission—which consisted of a few of the high officials selected by the governor, and the clergymen of the Dutch reformed, Lutheran, English episcopal, and Scotch presbyterian churches in Capetown—was supposed to exercise control over all schools in the colony receiving aid from the government; but in reality its supervision was only in name. Of this commission the reverend Jan Hendrik von Manger was chairman for many years, but the infirmity attending advanced age prevented his displaying much energy, though he did not retire from active service as a clergyman until the 21st of July 1839, and continued to take an interest in educational matters until his death on the 2nd of May 1842.

In each district there was a school board, consisting of the resident magistrate as chairman, the clergyman, and a number of members elected by contributors to the funds. These boards nominated the teachers, but the governor had the right of appointment. They provided schoolrooms, school furniture, and residences for the teachers, usually collecting funds for the purpose by public subscription. Until 1834 the masters received fixed salaries from the colonial treasury, but after that date, by desire of the bible and school commission, they received salaries not exceeding 40*l.* a year,

with 5*l.* extra for every ten pupils over twenty, and small fees from parents able to pay. In 1838 there were in the whole colony twenty-three village schools of the class established in 1822. There was also a class of elementary schools connected with churches, in which the church clerk acted as schoolmaster, and received a small salary from government for both services.

For the coloured people much better provision was made by mission societies, aided in many instances by grants of money from the government. Mission schools were scattered broadcast over the land. Zealous teachers were ever busy gathering children together and instructing them free of charge, for benevolent people in Europe and South Africa bore the cost. At this time there were in the colony seventeen Moravian clergymen, fifteen clergymen connected with the London mission, and having as their head the reverend Dr. Philip, whose zeal was unwearied in advancing the education of the coloured people, ten clergymen of the Wesleyan society, six of the Rhenish, one of the Berlin, one of the Paris, and one of the South African missionary society. All of these had numerous lay assistants, male and female, and all were intent upon instructing the children of the negroes, mixed breeds, and Hottentots, in the use of books. The Moravians and some of the others regarded industrial training as equally necessary, but with many the sole object was to impart an education such as was given to English children in English schools.

The farmers were still in the habit of employing private tutors, who were usually men of little learning and of intemperate habits, so that their office was held in small esteem.

There were several excellent private schools for both sexes in various parts of the colony, and in Capetown there was an educational institution of a high class, founded at the beginning of the century by a branch of the society *Tot nut van't algemeen*. There were also a few memorial schools under various names in different parts of the colony.

The South African college in Capetown was in receipt of

200*l.* a year from the treasury. The college classes met still in the orphan house, but the governor had already promised to make a grant to the directors of part of the great garden in Table Valley for the purpose of erecting a suitable building. In 1839 this promise was carried out, when the ground on which the last government slave lodge was standing and part of that where wild animals were once kept was transferred to the college. A sum of over 3,000*l.* was on hand from the old Latin school fund, and could be used for building purposes. The government lent the directors other 2,000*l.* from the prize negro fund,¹ for which, however, four per cent. yearly interest was to be paid. By these means a commencement was made with the building now in use, into which the classes were moved in 1841.

Before 1839 about 2,000*l.* a year was expended from the colonial treasury in aid of schools.

The eminent astronomer Sir John Herschel was residing at Feldhausen—now called the Grove—in the present village of Claremont, where an obelisk marks the position of his twenty-feet reflecting telescope. As he was known to take a very warm interest in matters relating to education, Sir George Napier asked for his opinion upon a system suitable to the circumstances of the country. In reply, on the 17th of February 1838 he furnished a memorandum on the subject, and as the principles which he advocated were afterwards acted upon, the system was called by his name. But to Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, as much credit is due as to either Sir George Napier or Sir John Herschel for the improvement which at this time was made in the public school system. His articles upon the subject were frequent, written in an excellent style, and attracted general attention. On the 19th of February 1838 he addressed the governor upon the matter in a letter which Sir George Napier regarded as of almost equal value with Sir John Herschel's memorandum.

¹ A sum of money raised many years before by a tax on negro apprentices for the purpose of providing for their maintenance when old and infirm.

The secretary of state having approved of the new system, it was put into working order as speedily as possible. The bible and school commission was replaced by a superintendent-general, whose whole time was devoted to control and inspection. Two classes of schools were established in the chief centres of European population throughout the colony. Those of the elementary class were provided with as competent teachers as could be obtained, whose salaries were fixed at 100*l.* a year from the government, with a free house or an allowance of 30*l.* for rent. Local boards, elected by contributors to the funds and approved by the governor, were expected to provide proper schoolrooms and furniture, and might supplement the teachers' salaries. These schools were open without charge to every child of good behaviour in the community. Religious instruction was given from the bible at a stated hour, but no child whose parents objected was required to attend at that time, and it was free to any clergyman to catechise the children of his congregation in a room by themselves. The Dutch language was used as the medium of instruction where parents desired it.

Above these in the principal villages were classical schools, provided with teachers of higher standing, most of them graduates of Scotch universities. The salaries were 150*l.* a year, with free house or 30*l.* allowance for rent, and fees, which were not to exceed 4*l.* a year from each pupil. The governor had the right to nominate a limited number of free scholars. The same rules were to be observed as in the elementary schools regarding religious teaching, but the medium of instruction was to be the English language exclusively.

A normal seminary was established in Capetown to train teachers for the elementary schools, but to take charge of those of the higher class it was necessary to procure men from Europe.

On the 11th of May 1839 Mr. James Rose Innes, once teacher at Uitenhage, and recently professor of mathematics

in the South African college, was appointed superintendent-general of education, with a salary of 500*l.* a year and travelling expenses when on tours of inspection.

In March 1838 Sir John Herschel returned to Europe. At the governor's request he selected five Scotch teachers—Messrs. Francis Tudhope, John Gibson, Humphrey McLachlan, Thomas Paterson, and Thomas Buchanan—who were sent out by Lord John Russell, and arrived in July 1840. The last-mentioned took charge of the normal school in Capetown, the others were stationed in the order of their names at Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Stellenbosch, and George.

After visiting the schools throughout the colony and putting them in as good order as possible, in May 1840 Mr. Innes proceeded to Great Britain to observe the latest methods of education and to procure more teachers. The degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon him by the university of Aberdeen; and in March 1841 he reached the colony again, bringing with him Messrs. John Paterson, John M'Naughton, Patrick Black, George Bremner, and Joseph Reid, who were stationed at Port Elizabeth, Wynberg, Worcester, Paarl, and Somerset East. Mr. George Cromar, another teacher engaged by Dr. Innes, followed shortly afterwards, and was stationed at George, Mr. Thomas Paterson being transferred to Graaff-Reinet.

The finances of the colony would not allow of the establishment of a larger number of high schools at this time, but as the revenue improved they were increased. In 1850 the amount expended on education from the colonial treasury was 7,923*l.*

There was a sum of 5,906*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* unclaimed as compensation for slaves, those who were entitled to receive it from the imperial treasury declining to apply for it on the ground that by doing so they would admit the justice of the treatment to which they had been subjected. With the sanction of the secretary of state, this money was now transferred to a committee consisting of the secretary to government,

the collector of customs, and the superintendent-general of education, who were required to invest it, and to use the interest to assist in the education of children of emancipated slaves.

An attempt to wreck the public schools was made in some places by a few individuals to whom it cannot be considered harsh to apply the word fanatical. They desired to force all kinds of coloured children upon the teachers, which could only result in the exclusion of respectable European pupils. No man with any regard for the morals of his offspring could allow them to associate with children of the vagrant class, whose ordinary environment was mental and physical filth.

Two distinct lines of thought were in collision over this question. One was represented by those missionaries of the London society who were in the habit on festival days of getting white and coloured children to march in procession hand-in-hand, with banners bearing their favourite motto: *ex uno sanguine*. The other was represented by the practical colonial farmers, who did not dispute the theory of one blood, but who accounted it folly to train pointers as they would mastiffs, and held that there was at least as much difference between the extreme races of men as between the different breeds of dogs.

Dr. Innes was called upon to decide between these conflicting opinions. To him it seemed as if the question was not whether the coloured children were to be educated, but whether white children were to be driven from the public schools. There was ample provision made by the mission societies and by the government for the requirements of one class, why then should the other be forced to forego advantages or to conform to ideas rightly or wrongly regarded as revolting? The words white and coloured could not be used in the school regulations, as public opinion in England would not tolerate it. The terms decently clothed and of good deportment, however, could offend only a few persons, and by means of them and a judicious exercise of

tact and conciliation on the part of Dr. Innes the same end was attained, and the usefulness of the schools was preserved.

In Sir George Napier's commission great changes were made in the constitution of the legislative council. Thenceforward the unofficial members were to hold their seats during the pleasure of the queen, not as previously for life; and there was to be no debate upon any subject unless the governor proposed it. The attorney-general was of opinion that by these changes the old council was abolished, and the governor therefore reappointed the unofficial members. These gentlemen, though consenting to retain their seats under the new conditions, at once forwarded to Lord Glenelg a protest against the restriction of their liberties. On the 8th of August the secretary of state replied that the changes had been made in mistake, and issued fresh orders restoring the former constitution of the council, except that the unofficial members were to hold their seats only during the queen's pleasure. As the military officer next in rank to the governor held also the appointment of lieutenant-governor and resided in Grahamstown, on the 26th of June 1840 Lord John Russell directed that the collector of customs should be a member of both the legislative and executive councils.

Of the members of the legislative council on its formation in 1834, only three remained ten years later.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, secretary to government, obtained leave of absence to visit Europe, and embarked on the 10th of June 1841. Upon his arrival in England he received military promotion, and therefore he did not return. When he left the colony, Mr. John Moore Craig, the governor's private secretary, was directed to act as secretary to government. Sir George Napier requested the secretary of state to appoint Mr. Craig permanently, but as he was a near connection of the governor by marriage, Lord Stanley did not think it advisable to do so, and gave the situation to Mr. John Montagu, previously secretary to government in

Van Diemen's Land, who arrived and took over the duty on the 23rd of April 1843.

Mr. Joachim Willem Stoll, treasurer-general, died soon after the creation of the council. Mr. William Henry Harvey, an eminent botanist and later author of three volumes of the *Flora Capensis*, was appointed to the vacant office by the secretary of state. He arrived on the 18th of October 1836, and took over the duty. On the 7th of December 1841 he embarked for Europe suffering from aberration of mind, and as his malady increased, he was obliged to retire. Mr. Harry Rivers, previously civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Swellendam, who was directed to act as treasurer-general when Mr. Harvey went home, received the permanent appointment.

Mr. Anthony Oliphant, the attorney-general, having been promoted to the office of chief justice of Ceylon, left the Cape on the 16th of March 1839, and Advocate William Musgrave acted for the next six months. On the 16th of September Mr. William Porter, who was appointed by the secretary of state, arrived and took over the duty. Advocate Musgrave returned to his practice, but upon the retirement of Mr. Justice Kekewich on the 12th of October 1843, he became second puisne judge.

Of the unofficial members of the legislative council, Messrs. Pieter Laurens Cloete, Charles Stuart Pillans, and Jacobus Johannes du Toit had retired, and were succeeded by Messrs. Henry Cloete, Hamilton Ross, and Advocate Henry Cloete.

The legislative council in 1844 thus consisted of the governor, as president, Messrs. John Montagu, Harry Rivers, Pieter Gerhard Brink, William Porter, and William Field, official members, and Messrs. John Bardwell Ebdon, Michiel van Breda, Henry Cloete, Hamilton Ross, and Advocate Henry Cloete.

This period is marked by a considerable increase in the number of churches throughout the colony. It was the custom for the government to appoint a clergyman and pay

his salary when the people who were to form a new congregation built a place of worship and a parsonage. Several young colonists who had pursued their studies for the ministry in Europe returned at this time, and there was no longer a difficulty in filling the pulpits. The ordinary manner of proceeding was for a committee to purchase a farm in a suitable place, to lay out a village upon it, and with subscriptions and the proceeds of the sales of building allotments to pay for the farm and erect the church and parsonage.

The village of Riebeek East was founded in 1840. Ten years earlier the Dutch-speaking people in the district of Albany, being desirous of having a church of their own, sent a petition to the government, with the result that Captain Campbell, the civil commissioner, was instructed to select elders and deacons. This was in accordance with the twenty-third article of Mr. De Mist's church regulations, which provided that when a new congregation was established, the landdrost of the district should nominate the first consistory for the governor's approval. The clergy claimed the nomination as a right of the presbyteries, and though this was not conceded by the government, the landdrosts always chose the persons recommended by those bodies. The elders and deacons thus appointed were installed in January 1831 by the reverend Alexander Smith, of Uitenhage, and from that date the congregation existed distinct from others. On the 22nd of April in the same year the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet approved of what had been done, and elected as consulent the reverend George Morgan, of Somerset East. The first resident clergyman was the reverend John Pears, who commenced duty on the 2nd of April 1839. There was as yet no church building or parsonage, but in April 1840 the consistory purchased the farm Mooimeisjesfontein, which had once belonged to Mr. Pieter Retief, with the object of laying out a village upon it and building a church. In January 1842 the reverend Dr. Roux succeeded Mr. Pears as minister, and by his wish a

few months later the name Mooimeisjesfontein was changed to Riebeek East.

The village of Piketberg also was founded in 1840. On the 1st of April 1832 the people of that part of the country sent a petition to the presbytery of the Cape asking that they might be formed into a congregation separate from Tulbagh and Clanwilliam. The presbytery recommended the request to government, and leave was given to take the preliminary steps. On the 18th of August, therefore, a meeting was held on the farm of Mr. J. Basson, when a committee was appointed to carry out the design. In the following year the committee was superseded by properly appointed elders and deacons, who commenced their duties about the 17th of October 1833. In the records the exact date is not given. On the 31st of December 1835 the government granted to the consistory the farm Grootfontein, two thousand two hundred and twenty-four morgen in extent, upon which to build a place of worship. There, after 1840, a village gradually grew up, which was named after the adjacent mountain. At the close of 1839 or beginning of 1840 the reverend Dr. John W. L. Scholtz became the first resident clergyman of Piketberg, but his salary was not paid from the public treasury until the 1st of March 1843.

In a similar manner the village of Riversdale was founded. The people of that part of the colony, being desirous of having a church in their midst, elected a committee to whom on the 24th of July 1838 a portion of the estate Doornkraal—afterwards increased to eight hundred and forty-eight morgen—was transferred by the farmer from whom it had been purchased. Building sites for a village were then surveyed and sold. On the 7th of March 1839 the presbytery of Swellendam commissioned some of its members to choose elders and deacons, and to inspect suitable boundaries for the new parish. The names of the elders and deacons having been submitted to the governor by the civil commissioner, they were formally approved of on the 27th of April, and in June they were installed and

the new congregation was established. The reverend Hubertus Adriaan Moorrees, who commenced his duties on the 19th of May 1839, was the first clergyman of this parish. At the request of the committee by whom the preliminary steps were taken, the name Riversdale was given to the village by government notice on the 30th of August 1838, in honour of Mr. Harry Rivers, the civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Swellendam, in which district the new parish was situated.

The people of the southern part of the district of Swellendam were also desirous of having a church of their own, but were divided in opinion as to where it should be. Two committees were consequently elected, one of which purchased the farm Langefontein and the other the farm Klipdrift. Each resolved to form a village and build a church. In 1838 their applications came before the presbytery of Swellendam, but were rejected on the ground that there were parts of the colony in much greater need and the number of clergymen was limited. The members of the Langefontein committee, however, were not disheartened. In May 1838 the first building sites of their village were sold, and they obtained the interest of the governor by requesting him to give it a name. He called it Bredasdorp, in honour of Mr. Michiel van Breda, member of the legislative council. The result was that a salary for a clergyman at Bredasdorp was voted at the next session of the council, and the presbytery of Swellendam then reversed its decision and took the necessary steps to establish the new congregation. The first clergyman was the reverend Johannes Jacobus Brink, who was inducted on the 27th of May 1839. On the same day the first elders and deacons—who had been approved by the governor on the 27th of April—commenced their duties.

The other committee also built a church and formed a village, the first erven of which were sold on the 4th of June 1838. They requested the governor to give his own name to the place, and on the 5th of March 1840 Klipdrift was

changed into Napier by notice in the *Gazette*. But it was a long time before a separate church was established there. An arrangement was made by which the clergyman of Bredasdorp held service occasionally at Napier, and on the 20th of February 1848 elders and deacons were installed. The first resident minister—the reverend Arnoldus G. M. Kuys—commenced duty on the 1st of September 1852.

In 1837 the people of Waggonmakers' Valley and the Groenberg decided to have a church nearer than the Paarl, and elected a committee to take action in the matter. Of this committee Mr. Richard Addey, a justice of the peace, was chairman. In the following year ground was purchased, and erven were sold as soon as surveyed. In 1839 a church building was erected. The committee thought to secure the governor's interest by requesting him to name the village after himself, but their letter arrived a little too late. They then requested that it might be named Blencowe, in honour of Lady Napier's father, Mr. Robert Blencowe, of Hayes, in Middlesex. This, however, the governor and his lady for some unassigned cause declined to assent to. Baffled again, the committee desired the governor to confer upon it any name that he chose, and on the 26th of March 1840 by a notice in the *Gazette* he called it Wellington. At the same time the committee requested that they might have as their minister the reverend Andries François du Toit, a young clergyman on the way out from his studies in Holland. The governor complied, and on the 19th of June 1840 Mr. Du Toit was appointed first clergyman of Wellington. In April of the same year the presbytery of the Cape confirmed what had been done and commissioned some of its members to select elders and deacons and to define boundaries for the new parish. The elders and deacons chosen were nominated by the civil commissioner, on the 22nd of June were appointed by the governor, and entered into office on the 26th of July 1840, after which the duties of the committee ceased.

In 1841 the people of the Zwartberg desired the presby-

tery of Graaff-Reinet to form them into a congregation separate from that of Beaufort West, of which they had previously been part. The consistory of Beaufort supported their request, and the presbytery appointed a commission to inspect a boundary for the proposed parish, but deferred further proceedings until the consent of the governor could be obtained. The leading men in the movement then elected a committee, who purchased the farm Kweekvallei, caused a village to be laid out upon it, and commenced to build a church and a parsonage. In 1842 the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet did not hold a session, but on the 1st of November in that year the synod met in Capetown, and after a few days the action of the Zwartberg people was brought before it. The synod approved of what had been done, named elders and deacons, who were appointed in the usual manner by the governor on the 24th of the same month, and thus the new congregation was established. On the 1st of August 1844 the reverend Pieter Kuypers Albertyn became its first clergyman. By a notice in the *Gazette* on the 31st of July 1845, the name Prince Albert was given to the village at the request of the consistory.

In 1843 the congregation of Tulbagh was divided into two. Upon the death of the reverend Mr. Kicherer in 1825, Dr. George Thom, previously of Caledon, was removed to Tulbagh. Unfortunately this able and zealous man a few years later became subject to periodical fits of insanity, and in course of time, as the malady increased, it became necessary to remove him to an asylum. On the 1st of November 1835 the reverend Robert Shand was inducted as his successor. In his first sermon the new minister made use of remarks by which many members of the congregation considered themselves insulted, and his declaration that he would not baptize children unless their parents were converted gave rise to much discussion. It was an old subject of dispute in the Dutch reformed church. The division between the minister and the congregation widened rapidly, and on the 12th of March 1836 Mr. Shand was

suspended from duty by the governor at the request of the presbytery. The reverend Hubertus Adriaan Moorrees was then appointed to act temporarily as clergyman of Tulbagh, and the case was referred to the synod. In October 1837, as Mr. Shand promised to conform to established usages, his restoration was recommended by the synod, and, by order of the secretary of state, on the 14th of December 1838 resumed duty at Tulbagh. Petitions for his removal were sent to England in vain. About half the congregation then resolved to secede, and on the 21st of January 1843 at a public meeting carried their decision into effect. They then established what is still known as the Kruisvallei congregation, which is identical with the Dutch reformed church in doctrine and forms of service, but is not represented in the synod. The reverend H. A. Moorrees became its first minister, commencing duty on the 6th of August 1843. No aid was given by the government to the new congregation.

The restraints imposed by the civil authorities upon all matters connected with the church, and especially the great power of the political commissioners in the synod,¹ where no resolutions could be adopted without their approval, led to urgent appeals to the government by the clergy and congregations for greater liberty of action. Sir George Napier expressed himself as 'most anxious to free the church from the trammels of secular interference in all spiritual or purely ecclesiastical matters,' and accordingly in November 1842 a number of rules and regulations were drawn up by the synod, which were attached to an ordinance passed by the legislative council and confirmed on the 8th of November 1843.

This ordinance repealed Mr. De Mist's regulations of the 25th of July 1804, as well as all other previous laws affecting the relation of the church to the state, and invested the

¹ In 1826 the country consistories were permitted to transact their business without the supervision of political commissioners, and in 1828 the same liberty was conferred upon the consistory of Capetown.

general assembly or synod of the Dutch reformed communion with the power of regulating its own internal affairs. The synod was to consist of all acting ministers and of an acting or retired elder elected by each consistory except that of Capetown, which was entitled to elect two elders. The synod was to assemble in Capetown every fifth year on the second Tuesday in October. It was further constituted the highest court of appeal in the church.

Next to it in order came the presbyteries, which were to assemble yearly on the second Tuesday in October, except when the synod met. They were then five in number, namely, the presbytery of Capetown, consisting of the clergymen and an elder of each of the congregations of Capetown, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Somerset West, Durbanville, and Wynberg; the presbytery of Tulbagh, representing in the same manner the congregations of Tulbagh, Malmesbury, Worcester, Clanwilliam, Piketberg, and Wellington; the presbytery of Swellendam, representing the congregations of Swellendam, Caledon, George, Bredasdorp, and Riversdale; the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet, representing the congregations of Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, Beaufort West, Somerset East, Colesberg, and Prince Albert; and the presbytery of Albany, representing the congregations of Uitenhage, Riebeek East, Glenlynden, and Balfour.

Below the presbyteries were the consistories, consisting of the elders and deacons of each congregation, with the clergyman—where there was one—as president. The elders and deacons were still named by their predecessors in office. In 1837 the synod decided that all who had performed these duties at any time should have the right of taking part in the elections, and after that date only the names of as many deacons as were required were submitted to the governor for approval, instead of as previously a double list of names from which he could make a selection.¹ The ordinance now

¹ Under Mr. De Mist's church regulations it was not necessary to send a double list of names to the governor for selection, but most of the congre-

dispensed altogether with the governor's approval of the choice of elders and deacons.

To guard the interests of the church and to regulate matters when the general assembly was not in session, there was to be a synodical commission, consisting of the president of the last synod or his *secundus*, the *scriba*, the *actuarius synodi*, and one delegate elected yearly by each presbytery.

Political commissioners were dispensed with, and the civil government was relieved of the necessity of attending to matters affecting the church in its spiritual capacity only. There was much joy among the clergymen and the congregations over the change, which they believed gave them almost unlimited freedom of action. They were destined a few years later to learn that with clergymen appointed and paid by the state, and with the proceedings of the synod liable to be brought before the civil courts of law, they were in reality hardly more free now than they were before.

At the beginning of 1844 the English episcopal church had congregations with clergymen in Capetown, Rondebosch, Wynberg, Simonstown, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Bathurst, Fort Beaufort, and Sidbury. On the 10th of October 1841 a place of worship in connection with this body of Christians was opened for use on Robben Island, but was not provided with a resident clergyman.

The ministers of this church were under the superintendence of an ecclesiastical board, composed of the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishop of London. By instructions from Earl Bathurst on the 24th of March 1826 they were required to correspond with this board, but General Bourke obliged them to send their letters and reports through the secretary to government, that he might see them.

gations had followed the ancient custom of doing so. This refers to deacons only. The governor had the power of disapproving of the elders chosen, but from the earliest days of the colony except in a few exceptional instances only as many names of elders as were required were submitted to him for ratification or rejection.

Succeeding governors enforced this rule, and were in the habit of forwarding to the ecclesiastical board in London returns of other churches as well as of the English episcopal. Instructions were issued on the 17th of July 1828 that the senior colonial chaplain should take upon himself a general supervision of ecclesiastical matters connected with the English episcopal church, and that the other clergymen should send their reports to the government through him ; but these instructions were not observed until after the 19th of February 1834, when by order of the secretary of state, who acted by the advice of the bishop of Calcutta, a circular was issued strictly enforcing them. At long intervals, bishops on their way to India called at Capetown and performed the duties which in this communion are entrusted to them alone.

The Roman catholic church in Capetown—the only one in the colony—had met with several reverses. The reverend Mr. Scully left South Africa on the 11th of July 1824, and the congregation was without a clergyman until the arrival of the reverend Theodore Wagener on the 30th of March 1826. On the 25th of May 1827 the reverend Thomas Rishton reached Capetown from Europe, and during the next five years the two clergymen conducted services. Mr. Wagener alone received a salary from government. Mr. Rishton was offered a salary if he would remove to Grahams-town, but he declined to entertain the proposal. On the 15th of May 1832 Mr. Wagener resigned in order to return to Europe, and his companion was then appointed by the governor Roman catholic clergyman of Capetown, with a stipend of 200*l.* a year. In March 1835 Mr. Rishton's health so completely broke down that he was obliged to retire, and then for rather over three years there was no clergyman of this communion in South Africa except a Spanish monk—the reverend Thomas Moral—who in January 1836 happened to call in a homeward-bound ship from the Indies, and was induced to remain in Capetown for a few months.

The chapel in Harrington-street and the clergyman's

dwelling-house were built partly by subscription, but chiefly by means of loans of money from the government bank. The ground on which they stood was transferred—7th of September 1821—to the reverend Mr. Scully personally, and after his departure from the colony was held by legally appointed curators of his private estate. The loans were never wholly repaid, and in a heavy storm of rain which lasted from the 28th of June to the 7th of July 1837 the chapel fell down, after which the ruin was sold for the benefit of the creditors.

The Roman catholics in South Africa were thus without either a clergyman or a place of worship until the 14th of April 1838, when the right reverend Patrick Raymond Griffith with the reverend Messrs. Burke and Corcoran arrived in Capetown from Europe. Dr. Burke proceeded to Grahamstown, and took up his residence there. In that town, on the 21st of July 1844, the first Roman catholic place of worship in the colony that was destined to exist permanently was opened for public service. Mr. Corcoran remained in Capetown, and the bishop made his headquarters there also, though he spent much time in travelling and establishing congregations elsewhere, which were speedily supplied with clergymen who arrived from Europe.

The extension of other Christian societies has been mentioned in connection with the introduction of the new system of schools.

The money received from the imperial government as part compensation for the freedom of the slaves rapidly found its way into the hands of a small number of people, chiefly in Capetown, who saw no chance of investing it profitably in agricultural pursuits. To this circumstance is owing the formation of many of the joint stock companies which were established at this time. Chief among these were the Cape of Good Hope fire assurance company, with a capital of 20,000*l.* in four hundred shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 1st of December 1835; the Board of Executors for administering estates, with a capital of 10,000*l.*

in fifty shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 22nd of August 1838; the Cape of Good Hope marine assurance company, with a capital of 75,000*l.* in fifteen hundred shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 30th of August 1838; the Protecteur fire and life assurance company, with a capital of 40,000*l.* in two thousand shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 29th of September 1838; the South African bank, with a capital of 100,000*l.* in two thousand shares, which commenced business in Capetown on the 1st of October 1838; the Eastern Province bank, with a capital of 40,000*l.* in sixteen hundred shares, which commenced business in Grahamstown on the 1st of January 1839; and the Eastern Province fire and life assurance company, with a capital of 20,000*l.* in four hundred shares, which commenced business in Grahamstown on the 2nd of September 1839.

An association termed the Cape of Good Hope steam navigation company got out from England a small vessel for coasting purposes. She was named the *Hope*, and was of three hundred tons burden, with two engines of fifty horse power each. On the 8th of December 1838 she arrived in Table Bay, and thereafter plied regularly between Capetown and Port Elizabeth. She was bound to Algoa Bay with seventy-two souls on board, including the crew, and was seventy-six hours out, when at half past two o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th of March 1840 in a thick mist she ran on a ridge of rocks about two hundred yards from the shore ten miles west of Cape St. Francis, while the captain thought he was twenty-five miles from land. Among her passengers were Advocates Ebden and Denysen, who afterwards became judges of the supreme court, Advocate William Hiddingh, whose valuable donations to the South African public library entitle him to the gratitude of all colonists, and Mr. John Owen Smith, one of the leading merchants of Port Elizabeth. An attempt was made to lighten and float the vessel by staving in the heads of a number of brandy casks, but this only created another danger, for the spirits

caught fire, and it was some time before the flames could be got under. There were only two small boats, and one of these got so damaged that it was useless. By half past seven in the evening a raft was made, and the women, children, most of the male passengers, and some of the crew—forty-one souls in all—embarked on it. The mist had by this time cleared away, and it was seen that the coast was rocky and that a heavy surf was breaking upon it. It was feared, however, that the wreck would break up, so the raft was taken in tow by the sole remaining boat, and fortunately all on it got to land alive, though many were bruised and most were half naked. The boat was stove in against the rocks, but it was found possible next morning to repair it sufficiently to rescue the people still on the wreck. This was hardly accomplished when the *Hope* went to pieces.

After this disaster, the company got out a steamer of four hundred and five tons, named the *Phœnix*, which arrived in Table Bay on the 19th of December 1842. This vessel was regarded as a superb specimen of naval architecture, and when she made the passage from Algoa Bay to Table Bay in forty-seven hours without hoisting a sail, it was considered almost marvellous.

In Capetown several prominent public buildings were erected while Sir George Napier was governor. In June 1836 the side walls of the old Dutch reformed church were broken down in order that the building might be enlarged. The new structure cost 18,000*l*. It was opened for public worship on the 31st of January 1841, but the monuments and memorial tablets which linked the old building to the past, and which should have been respected, were not replaced in the new. The Roman catholic cathedral, on the upper side of Roeland-street, was commenced, and the large military hospital, on the beach between the castle and Fort Knokke, was built at this time. A magnetic observatory was established by the imperial government, and was attached to the astronomical observatory a short distance from Capetown.

On the 23rd of January 1839 an ordinance was issued creating four new magisterial districts: Wynberg, Malmesbury, Paarl, and Caledon. Under the emancipation act, in 1834 the same areas were provided with special magistrates, whose duties were confined to looking after the interests of the apprentices. When the apprenticeship ceased on the 1st of December 1838, the governor considered it advisable to retain the services of the special magistrates of these four areas, which he thought should be created magisterial districts for all purposes. The legislative council concurred in this opinion, and an ordinance was passed, which was confirmed by the secretary of state. Major George Longmore then became resident magistrate of Wynberg, Major Henry Piers resident magistrate of Paarl, Captain John Montgomery Hill resident magistrate of Malmesbury, and Major James Barnes resident magistrate of Caledon.

On the 5th of February 1839 a proclamation was issued by Sir George Napier, requiring the word district to be used officially to designate the area under the jurisdiction of a resident magistrate, and the word division to designate the area under the administration of a civil commissioner.

An institution which was in existence from the early days of the colony was swept away by an order in council on the 7th of September 1839, which provided that when banns of marriage were published in churches, the bridegroom and bride need not obtain a certificate from a matrimonial court that there were no legitimate obstacles to the union.

The year 1842 was more disastrous to shipping than any since the British occupation of the colony.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th of August the Spanish ship *Sabina*, of five hundred tons burden, bound from Manilla to Cadiz, struck on Cape Recife, and quickly went to pieces. The ship was leaky, and her master was trying to reach Algoa Bay, but at the moment of the disaster believed himself to be several miles from land. Forty-five

men were saved, twenty were drowned or crushed to death in the wreckage.

On Saturday the 27th of August 1842 a gale from the northwest set into Table Bay. During the night it increased in violence, and just before dawn on Sunday the transport *Abercrombie Robinson* parted her cables. She was a strong well-built ship, of fourteen hundred and fifteen tons burden, and only arrived from Dublin Bay on the 25th with a battalion of the 91st regiment. The troops were still on board, as it was intended that the transport should proceed with them to Algoa Bay. The ship struck near the mouth of Salt River, and filled with water at once, but she held together, and the discipline of the soldiers and sailors was so perfect that there was not the slightest confusion. To this it was owing that not a single life was lost, for in the course of the morning every one got to land in safety.

At eleven o'clock on Sunday morning the convict ship *Waterloo* parted. She had put into Table Bay for refreshments on the 24th, and was bound to Van Diemen's Land. The *Waterloo* struck close to the wreck of the *Abercrombie Robinson*, but being old and rotten, fell into fragments in less than half an hour. A few persons were got ashore in boats, but there was not time to save many. When the ship broke up, all on board were precipitated into the heavy surf, amidst fragments of wreckage. Altogether ninety persons got to land alive, some very sorely bruised. Four women, thirteen children, and fifteen men belonging to the guard of the 99th regiment which was on board, fourteen of the crew, and one hundred and forty-three convicts lost their lives.

In this gale some other vessels drifted, and were damaged by coming into collision, but only the two here mentioned were wrecked.

On the 9th of September another gale from the northwest set into Table Bay, when the British barque *John Bagshaw*, the American barque *Fairfield*, the British brigs *Reform* and *Henry Hoyle*, and the coasting schooner *Ghika*

were driven on shore. No lives were lost on this occasion, and eighteen vessels rode out the storm at their anchors.

In 1843 a system of constructing public roads was commenced, which has been of enormous benefit to the colony. Previous to that date convict labour was employed in making roads, but without proper supervision, and the parties were too small and too scattered to be of much service. Major Michell, the surveyor-general, first conceived the design of massing convicts upon difficult mountain passes. In May 1839 he was in England, and with Sir George Napier's concurrence urged the secretary of state to permit the construction by this means of good roads over Cradock's pass, in the range of mountains bounding the coast belt near the village of George, and up Mosterd's hoek, connecting the valley of the Breede river with the Warm Bokkeveld. But as at the same time he was urging the construction of lighthouses on the capes Recife, Agulhas, and Good Hope, the secretary of state came to regard him as an enthusiast bent upon squandering money, and declined to sanction his projects.

Shortly after Mr. John Montagu's arrival as secretary to government, he turned his attention to this subject, and drew up a plan which received the approval of the governor, the legislative council, and the secretary of state. It provided for the creation of a central board of commissioners of public roads, to consist of three official and three unofficial members, to be appointed by the governor. This board was to have power to levy rates not exceeding a penny in the pound of the value of landed property, it was to have the right of making use of any public lands required for main roads, it was to have control of such convict labour as the governor should see fit to transfer to it, it was to have the proceeds of tolls and ferries, and was to employ upon roadmaking such grants of money as the legislative council might make. Divisional boards, subordinate to the central board, and composed of the civil commissioner and four members elected triennially by owners of landed property

worth one hundred pounds, were to have power to levy rates for the construction and maintenance of branch roads.

An ordinance to this effect was issued on the 22nd of November 1843, and on the following day Messrs. John Montagu, Harry Rivers, Charles Cornwallis Michell, John Bardwell Ebdon, Frederick Stephanus Watermeyer, and Joseph Busk were appointed commissioners of the central board. The divisional boards came into existence shortly afterwards.

All able-bodied convicts, except those sentenced to very short terms of imprisonment, were now massed at two stations, one convenient of access from the eastern districts, the other similarly situated as regards the west. At these stations proper discipline could be enforced, and the best means be carried out for improving the moral and physical condition of the convicts. The cost to the country of each convict was found to be less under this system than under the old, and their labour was of very much greater value.

A large amount of free labour was also employed by the board, as liberal grants were made in course of time from the public treasury. The first works taken in hand were the construction of a good road over Cradock's pass, and of a hard road over the rolling waste of sand called the Cape flats. This necessitated the planting of the flats with the mesembryanthemum, which fixed the sand, and enabled trees and shrubs afterwards to grow.

It had now come to be a fixed principle with the imperial authorities to limit the term of administration of governors of colonies to six years, unless under special circumstances. Sir George Napier was anxious to retire, and on the 19th of December 1843 a commission was issued to Sir Peregrine Maitland as his successor.

The new governor arrived with his wife, three sons, and three daughters, in the ship *Zenobia* on the 16th of March 1844, and on the 18th took the oaths of office.

On the 1st of April 1844 Sir George Napier and his

family embarked in the *Maidstone*, and sailed for England. In retiring from the Cape Colony, the late governor retired altogether from public life. He died suddenly at Geneva on the 8th of September 1855, when he was a few weeks over seventy-one years of age.

While he was governor three men who had previously held the same office ended their days. On the 8th of April 1839 the earl of Caledon died suddenly at his residence Caledon Hall, in the county of Tyrone. He was then in the sixty-second year of his age. On the 4th of October 1842 Sir Lowry Cole died after only an hour's illness at Highfield Park. Very much sadder was the ending of Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin. A long and cruel illness was attended by great mental depression, and on the 1st of May 1841 during temporary insanity he committed suicide at Southampton.

CHAPTER XLII.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, GOVERNOR,
 INSTALLED 18TH MARCH 1844 ; SUPERSEDED 27TH
 JANUARY 1847.

SIR HENRY POTTINGER, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER,
 INSTALLED 27TH JANUARY 1847 ; RETIRED
 1ST DECEMBER 1847.

Account of Sir Peregrine Maitland's earlier life—Condition of the colonial finances—Discovery of the guano islands—Exportation of guano—Delay in the annexation of the guano islands to the Cape Colony—Sale of drostdy buildings—Introduction of British immigrants—Changes in the legislative council—Desire of the people of the eastern districts for a government of their own—Formation of locations for coloured people in eastern towns—Abolition of the office of lieutenant-governor—Improvements in the Cape Colony—Erection of lighthouses—Removal of the leper asylum to Robben Island—Foundation of the villages of Richmond, Burghersdorp, and Victoria West—Establishment of churches at French Hoek and Mossel Bay—Statistics of schools—Manner of living of the country people—Opening of Port St. John's—Shipwrecks in Table Bay—Increasing facility of communication with Europe—Dealings with the Kosa tribe—Proposals of Sir George Napier—Views of Lord Stanley—Occurrences connected with the murder of Jan de Lange by some Kaffirs—Revival of obsolete vicious customs by the Gaikas—Erection of Post Victoria east of the Fish river—Terms of a treaty between Sir Peregrine Maitland and the Galeka chief Kreli—Modifications of the treaties with the Rarabe and Fingo captains—Treaty with the Tembu chief Umtirara and a number of Tembu captains—Events connected with a design to build a fort at Blockdrift—Murder of a missionary by Pato's people—Hostile conduct of Sandile—Proceedings of the government—Condition of the Kosas—Warnings of impending trouble received by the British authorities.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, like his predecessor, was an officer of high reputation. He entered the army in 1792, served in Flanders, was at Coruña and many other battles in the Spanish peninsula, and commanded a brigade at Waterloo. For distinguished valour during that famous battle he received the thanks of the house of commons. Recently he had been commander-in-

chief in Madras, but resigned that appointment rather than show respect to an idolatrous custom believed by the East India Company to be necessary to secure the loyalty of the natives.

He had some experience in civil business also, having been lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada and afterwards of Nova Scotia.

Though a thoroughly honest, upright, and deeply religious man, his virtues were not evenly balanced, and the very excess of some prevented him from being a good ruler. His benevolence was so great that he overlooked the failings of subordinates who should have been dealt with more severely than by a reprimand. His patience would have been creditable to an investigator such as Newton or Darwin, but was often the cause of needless delay in the transaction of business that required to be dealt with promptly. He placed little confidence in his own judgment, and allowed himself to be guided by others even in matters of the first importance. As long as there were only the ordinary duties of administration to be attended to this was of little consequence, because the secretary to government—Mr. Montagu—and the attorney-general—Mr. Porter,—the men whose advice he followed, were possessed of great ability and integrity. But when troublous times came on, and these officials were not at his side, he made many mistakes.

When he arrived in South Africa he was in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His second wife, who accompanied him, was a daughter of the duke of Richmond. Two of his sons, the reverend Brownlow Maitland and Captain Charles Lennox Maitland, of the grenadier guards, acted as his private and military secretaries.

He found the public debt of the colony very nearly paid off, important public works being carried out, and the revenue in excess of the ordinary expenditure. The prospect was altogether pleasant, except on the eastern frontier.

At the beginning of his government a considerable sum

of money came into the public treasury from an unexpected source.

In 1828 an American schooner named the *Antarctic* was engaged collecting seal skins and oil on the western coast. Her master, Morrell by name, some time afterwards published an account of this voyage and three others, and incidentally mentioned that on a certain island there was a deposit of guano twenty-five feet in depth. The book had a very small circulation, and the value of guano being then unknown either in the United States or in Europe, the remark attracted no notice; but in 1842 a copy happened to come into the hands of one Andrew Livingston, who communicated the information to Mr. John Rae, a broker in Liverpool. Rae's son induced several persons to form a company with a small capital, and three vessels were sent out to look for the island.

One of these vessels met with an accident, and put back; another, after reaching the African coast and finding no fresh water, sailed away without further search. The third, a brig named the *Ann*, of Bristol, arrived in Table Bay on the 15th of February 1845, where her master, Captain Parr, learned from the crew of an American whaler the exact position of the island.

The *Ann* then sailed from Table Bay, and reached without difficulty an islet to which the Hottentots on the mainland a mile and a half distant had given a name resembling Itshabo. That being as near an approach to the sound of the word as the European tongue was capable of making, the rock has ever since retained the name, which is usually written Ichaboe by Englishmen. There the brig took in three-fourths of a cargo of guano, when in a gale she parted her cables, so she bore away for England, and reached Bristol in safety. Litigation followed, and the existence and position of the guano deposit became known to the public.

Before this date the islands off the coast of Peru were the sole sources of supply of this valuable manure, which

had recently been introduced into Europe, and was then worth 9*l.* 5*s.* a ton in the English market. A firm in Glasgow and another in Liverpool at once sent out a number of vessels, most of which reached the African coast before the close of 1843. The first to arrive was the barque *Douglas*, whose master, Benjamin Wade, on the 11th of November took possession of Ichaboe for the queen of England.

The islet is a rock less than a mile in circumference, the highest point of which is only thirty feet above the level of the sea. It was found covered with myriads of penguins and other seabirds, and had upon it a deposit of guano varying from forty feet in depth at the northern to ten feet at the southern end. Large deposits were also found on other islets in the neighbourhood, but on none was the bulk so great as on Ichaboe.

Shipping stages were erected, and the fleet was laden. The speculation proved so successful that many people embarked in the enterprise, and before the close of 1844 three hundred vessels were lying at once in the channel between the islet and the mainland. By February 1845 the whole deposit was removed. During the busiest period, when some thousands of labourers were engaged on shore, there was a tendency on the part of the unruly to create disturbances; but a frigate was sent from Simon's Bay to support a committee of shipmasters and agents in enforcing order.

The quantity of guano that entered the English market from these islands during 1844 and 1845 was about three hundred thousand tons, which, being sold at an average price of 7*l.* a ton, was equal in value to 2,100,000*l.* The importers cleared about 2*l.* a ton, freight being 4*l.* and the cost of shipping and landing about 1*l.* Only a few shiploads were taken to foreign countries. The guano did not contain as large a proportion of ammoniacal salts as that from Peru, and was consequently of less value.

The only benefit the Cape Colony derived from the original mass on the islands off the coast of Namaqualand was through

the sale of provisions, but after the rocks were cleared the business fell into the hands of merchants of Capetown, who caused the fresh deposits to be removed whenever the birds were not breeding.

Except by the unauthorised act of Captain Wade already mentioned, Ichaboe was not annexed to the British dominions until the 21st of June 1861, when it was taken in possession for the crown of England by authority of the government. In the same manner, on the 5th of May 1866 the islets named Holland's Bird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plumpudding, and Roastbeef or Sinclair's Island were declared to be part of the British dominions. On the 16th of July 1866 Governor Sir Philip Wodehouse proclaimed them all annexed to the Cape Colony. This proclamation was confirmed by an act of the colonial legislature, which was assented to on behalf of the queen on the 26th of June 1873. Since that date the islets have been leased to individuals by auction, the rental going to the treasury.

While Ichaboe was a scene of the busiest industry a careful search was made along the coast, with the result that deposits of guano were found on Malagas Island at the entrance of Saldanha Bay, Dassen Island, and several other rocks in colonial waters. The government claimed the guano, and on the 5th of November 1844 a notice was issued that it could be removed on payment of twenty shillings for every registered ton of the vessel employed for the purpose. Applicants on these terms were plentiful, and a sum of about 50,000*l.* was received by the treasury for it.

Another item that at a little later date swelled the receipts of the treasury by rather more than 10,000*l.* was derived from the sale of several of the drostdy buildings. Mr. Montagu was of opinion that it would be cheaper to allow the resident magistrates a certain sum yearly for rent than to provide them with residences, as repairs and alterations were very frequently asked for. Some

of the old drostdies had already been sold to aid the redemption of the public debt, but there still remained those of Stellenbösch, Swellendam, Clanwilliam, Graaff-Reinet, and Worcester. The last of these was retained by the government, those at Stellenbosch and Swellendam were disposed of on the 12th of April 1846, that at Clanwilliam on the 19th of December in the same year, and that at Graaff-Reinet on the 16th of January 1847.

The great improvement in the financial condition of the colony enabled the government to apply a considerable amount of money to the introduction of industrious European settlers. In June 1844 the council without a dissentient voice voted 10,000*l.* for this purpose, with the understanding that a similar or larger sum should be so applied every succeeding year. At that time the road board was unable to obtain as many labourers as it needed, though offering two shillings a day with lodging and rations superior to those supplied to British soldiers.

It was at first intended that persons in the colony requiring mechanics or labourers of any kind should make application for them, stating the term of service, nature of the work, and amount of wages. If the proposal was approved of, bounty orders were to be issued by the government to the applicant, under which the persons needed could be brought from Great Britain at the public cost.

Only thirty-four individuals came out under this system, however, because in a few months it was altered by the imperial authorities. The emigration commissioners in England then contracted with Messrs. John Marshall & Co., of London and Southampton, to select and convey agricultural labourers, mechanics, and domestic servants to Capetown and Port Elizabeth, where they were to be at liberty to make any arrangements they chose after arrival. An approved vessel was to sail from Southampton or Plymouth every two months during the English autumn and winter seasons, and the contractors were to receive 10*l.* 8*s.* for each statute adult selected and sent out.

This plan was an improvement upon the other, as the demand for labour was so great that no industrious healthy person had any difficulty in obtaining employment, and the more enterprising among the immigrants were able at once to make much better arrangements for themselves than if they had come out under contract.

On the 27th of January 1846 the barque *Susan* arrived in Table Bay from Plymouth with the first party of immigrants under the amended system, and she was followed within the next five years by nineteen other ships conveying similar passengers. Altogether four thousand one hundred and eighty-five individuals of both sexes and all ages were added to the European population of the colony by this system of immigration. They were the very best class of people that could be introduced, and with hardly an exception were soon in thriving circumstances. They did not supply the want of labourers, because they rapidly rose to the position of employers, but in a very few years the country benefited by their presence to an extent far beyond the amount expended for their introduction.

A party of ninety-three British immigrants also arrived at Port Elizabeth on the 23rd of January 1846 from Monte Video, having left that country on account of its disturbed condition at the time.

The legislative council now began to hold sessions at stated periods. Previously it met whenever the governor chose, upon a week's notice being given. On the 15th of May 1844 a rule was adopted, and was afterwards confirmed, that there should be a regular session every year commencing in the month of April, of which twenty-one days' notice was to be given in the *Government Gazette*.

This body was not regarded by the colonists as in any way representative of their views or interests. The council expired with the retirement of each governor, and was created anew by his successor's commission. The individuals composing it were, however, retained by name in the new commission, so that there was no absolute break of continuity.

The unofficial members were practically powerless. On one occasion Sir George Napier, in his blunt contemptuous manner when annoyed, told Mr. Ebdon that he might spare his breath in discussing a question, as matters of importance were settled before they were brought up there.

Upon the death or retirement of an unofficial member, the successor nominated by the governor was sometimes required to undergo a long trial before the appointment was confirmed by the secretary of state. For instance, Advocate Henry Cloete having left the colony, Mr. Thomas Butterworth Charles Bayley, an English gentleman then residing at Caledon, was nominated by Sir Peregrine Maitland to succeed him as member of the council, 10th of December 1845. The nomination was reported to Lord Stanley, but Mr. Gladstone, who on the 23rd of December 1845 succeeded that minister as secretary of state for the colonies, did not see fit to confirm it. In the next commission, that of Sir Henry Pottinger, dated 1st of October 1846, Mr. Bayley was not named, but he was again nominated provisionally. He, however, declined any longer to submit to such treatment, and refused to take the seat, which remained vacant until the 26th of October 1847, when Mr. William Cock, of Port Frances, was sworn in as Advocate Cloete's successor. He was the first unofficial member selected from the eastern districts. Sir Henry Pottinger offered another seat to Dr. Atherstone, district surgeon of Albany, but that gentleman declined to resign his appointment in the civil service, and the offer was therefore withdrawn.

The next vacancy arose from the death of Mr. Michie van Breda on the 12th of August 1847. A western man, Mr. Pieter Voltelen van der Byl, was chosen to succeed him, and took the oaths on the 11th of September of the same year. At this time there were six official members, exclusive of the governor, against five unofficial members, the senior military officer in the garrison of Capetown having been added by the secretary of state on the 1st of October 1846.

The people of the eastern districts were not very desirous of being represented in a council such as this. What they wanted was a government of their own, nearly or quite independent of that at Capetown. It was on the eastern frontier, they said, that all the danger from an enemy existed. There then should be a strong head and hand ever ready to act, instead of which they had merely a nominal lieutenant-governor in the person of Colonel Hare. In December 1845 they sent a strong petition to England to this effect.

Sir Peregrine Maitland and his advisers were of a different opinion. On the 24th of October, while the petition was being signed, the governor wrote to Lord Stanley that he thought if a frontier commissioner was appointed to see that the treaties with the Kosas were carried out, the lieutenant-governor's establishment might with advantage be done away with. He knew of no benefit to be derived from retaining it after a bi-weekly post was established between Capetown and the frontier.

Lord Stanley was undecided as to what was best. He approved of the appointment of a commissioner as proposed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, but he did not dispense with Colonel Hare's services. Anything like independent government for the eastern districts, however, he decidedly objected to. If that were granted, the western districts would be absolved from affording assistance in the event of a rupture with the Kaffirs, and the whole burden would fall upon England. His successor, Mr. Gladstone, in a despatch dated the 13th of January 1846 authorised Sir Peregrine Maitland to accept Colonel Hare's resignation of the office of lieutenant-governor, which he had frequently tendered. The minister intimated that the situation would remain vacant, at least for a time. Upon Colonel Hare's retirement therefore the business of the eastern districts was transferred to the secretary to government at Capetown.

A little later it was resolved in England to re-establish the office, and Sir Henry Edward Fox Young, previously government secretary in British Guiana, was sent out to fill

it. He arrived on the 9th of April 1847. In June he issued a circular to various individuals requesting them to furnish him with their opinions as to whether more liberal institutions should be granted to the eastern province. A mass of manuscript was collected, including correspondence between the lieutenant-governor and Sir Henry Pottinger on the subject, and after being printed was referred to England, but nothing came of it, as in consequence of events to be related in the next chapter British authority was established beyond the colonial border, and the office of lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts was then regarded by the secretary of state as quite unnecessary.

The only other event of importance connected with Sir Henry Young's tenure of office was the formation of locations for coloured people within the boundaries of eastern province municipalities. On the 7th of July 1847 he issued a notice concerning these locations. They were to be within one or two miles of the centre of the town, and were to be divided into building and garden lots with regular streets. Married blacks with recommendations from a magistrate, a clergyman, or a commissioner of the municipality, were then to be received as probationary settlers for two years. Within that time they were to enclose their ground and erect houses at least twenty-four by twelve feet in size, when they could claim titles upon condition of giving one day's work in a month for the general benefit; but they were not to be at liberty to sell the ground to Europeans without special sanction by the government. The locations were to be under the control of superintendents.

This system of providing for coloured people has since undergone several modifications, but in its principal features it is still carried out in eastern towns. The difference in cleanliness between these towns and those in the western districts is therefore all in favour of the former, because in the east Europeans live by themselves and there is no difficulty in requiring the observance of sanitary arrangements, whereas in the west Europeans and coloured people

are intermingled and it is almost impossible for any municipal authority to enforce rules that are regarded by the blacks as troublesome and unnecessary. To one class a foul atmosphere is of little or no importance, to the other it is a matter involving wretchedness, sickness, and death.

Sir Henry Young's tenure of office was very short. Having received the appointment of lieutenant-governor of South Australia, he left Grahamstown for that country on the 4th of November 1847, and the situation which he had held in the Cape Colony was not again filled.

Among the marks of progress during the time Sir Peregrine Maitland was governor may be mentioned the opening in Capetown on the 1st of October 1844 of the Colonial bank, with a capital of 100,000*l.*; the formation of the Mutual life assurance society, which opened its office in Capetown on the 26th of May 1845; and the opening of the Port Elizabeth bank, with a capital of 40,000*l.*, on the 1st of January 1847. During the short tenure of office of Sir Henry Pottinger the Frontier Commercial and Agricultural bank was opened in Grahamstown, 15th of June 1847, with a capital of 75,000*l.*; the Union bank was opened in Capetown, 17th of July 1847, with a capital of 150,000*l.*; and the Western Province bank was opened at the Paarl, 2nd of August 1847, with a capital of 20,000*l.*

For the safety of ships of war making use of Simon's Bay, Lord Stanley directed that a lighthouse should be built upon Miller's Point; but he was induced by the naval officers on the station to abandon that design, and instead of it on the 10th of January 1845 a light was first shown from a hulk moored off the Roman rock. It was a bright revolving light, thirty-seven feet above sea-level, and was the third exhibited on the South African coast, the others being at Green Point and Mouille Point on the shore of Table Bay.

In 1845 the legislative council voted 10,000*l.* towards the construction of lighthouses on the capes Agulhas and Recife. A light at the last named place was urgently needed, owing to the growing importance of Algoa Bay. Vessels that

could not come to anchor before dark were obliged to stand out to sea, and were often three or four days beating back. As for Cape Agulhas, so anxious were shipowners that a lighthouse should be erected there that they raised by subscription a sum of 1,738*l.* which they offered to contribute towards it. The loss of life and property on and near this dangerous point had often been very considerable. Not including small craft, within ten years the following vessels were wrecked there :—

Sometime during the night of the 17th of July 1836 the barque *Doncaster*, bound from Mauritius to London with troops and other passengers on board, struck a few miles west of Agulhas, and before daybreak crumbled into fragments. Every one on board perished. The bodies of thirty-eight men and boys and of nineteen women and girls were washed ashore and buried, but how many others were lost was never ascertained. Even the name of the vessel and her destination remained long unknown. In the night of the 25th of August 1838 the fine Indiaman *Northumberland*, homeward bound from Madras, struck on the point which still bears her name, and went to pieces. The people on board were saved, but the cargo was lost. During the night of the 9th of March 1840 the French ship *Lise*, bound from Mauritius to Bourdeaux with a valuable cargo, struck on Agulhas reef and went to pieces, when twenty lives were lost. At five o'clock in the morning of the 20th of September 1844 the barque *St. Mungo*, from Calcutta bound to Newcastle, was wrecked at the same place, and ten of her crew were drowned. At eleven o'clock in the night of the 29th of April 1846 the American ship *Gentoo*, bound from Calcutta to Boston, was wrecked at Struys Bay, when seven lives were lost.

The construction of the lighthouses took more time than was at first anticipated, owing to a long correspondence with the secretary of state, which resulted, however, in half the cost being borne by the British treasury, as the matter was regarded as of importance to the whole empire. The

lanterns were specially made in France. Owing to these delays, the light at Cape Agulhas was not exhibited until the 1st of March 1849. It was a steady white light of the first order, one hundred and thirty-one feet above sea-level. That on Cape Recife was a clear white light with brilliant flashes at intervals of one minute, ninety feet above the level of the sea, and was first exhibited on the 1st of April 1851. The total cost of the two was 24,100*l*.

The hard road over the Cape flats was opened in sections as fast as they could be completed. Montagu bridge, over the Salt river, began to be used for general traffic on the 1st of July 1844; the last section through the sand towards Klapmuts on the 24th of December 1845; and the branch to Stellenbosch on the 1st of September 1846. Exclusive of convict labour, this road cost about 50,000*l*. The money was raised partly by rates, partly by tolls, and partly by special grants from the public treasury. In 1846 the grants amounted to 27,422*l*. and the tolls to 2,755*l*.

Besides the road over the Cape flats, the construction of a good carriage way through the mountain range close to the village of George was being carried on. This range was a formidable barrier to intercourse between the eastern and western districts near the coast. The place where it was crossed was known as Cradock's pass. It was thickly strewn with broken vehicles and the skeletons of oxen that perished in the attempt to get over it, for it was a succession of crags and precipices on one side or the other. A smooth road winding through ravines and along mountain sides was being made here, but it was not opened for traffic until the 18th of January 1848, when it received the name Montagu Pass. The most delicate carriage could then be driven along it at a gallop. The construction of these roads was regarded as of immense importance in opening up the country, as much so indeed as the laying down of a trunk line of railway is in our days.

Capetown was now partly lit at night by gas, a company having constructed gasworks and laid down mains in 1846.

Early in 1846 the asylum for lepers at Hemel en Aarde was broken up, and the patients were removed to Robben Island, where the convict quarters were available for their use, as the former occupants were transferred to road stations. It was believed that the lepers could be better provided for on the island, and that by their removal from the mainland danger from their intercourse with healthy people would be avoided. The reverend Mr. Lehman, Moravian missionary, accompanied the sufferers to their new home. An arrangement, however, was shortly afterwards made by which the spiritual care of the lepers was undertaken by the English episcopal church, and under the charge of that body of Christians they still remain.

In honour of members of Sir Peregrine Maitland's family only two places in South Africa are named. One is the hamlet Maitland on the Cape flats, the other is the village of Richmond. This village, like many others in the colony, was founded as a church place. On the 11th of October 1843 elders and deacons for a new congregation in that locality were chosen by the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet, and on the 2nd of November were approved by the lieutenant-governor. A tract of land between eight and nine thousand morgen in extent, being part of the farm Driefontein, was purchased, and a village was laid out, of which the first building allotments were sold on the 19th of April 1844. Early in January services were held by a consul, and shortly afterwards the reverend Jan Frederik Berrange became clergyman of the new congregation. For a few months he was without other salary than the offerings of the people, but on the 18th of June 1844 he was placed upon the clerical establishment of the colony. The members of the consistory proposed to call the village Maitland, but the governor would not give his consent. They then requested that it might be called Richmond, in honour of Lady Sarah Maitland's father, and by notice in the *Gazette* on the 29th of November 1844 that name was substituted for Driefontein.

To another newly formed village, on the Stormberg spruit, then the north-eastern boundary of the colony, the governor also declined to allow his name to be given. The territory between the border and the Kraai river was occupied by about three hundred families of farmers, who had moved from the colony into it when it was without any occupants except a few Bushmen. The roving Basuto captain Moyakisani, who was found there in 1835, had long since abandoned the country south of the Orange and had gone to live at the Koesberg. The farmers were desirous of being under a settled government, and early in 1845 sent a petition to Colonel Hare requesting that the territory might be annexed to the Cape Colony. On the 22nd of August Sir Peregrine Maitland forwarded the petition to Lord Stanley, with his opinion that it should be complied with; but the secretary of state declined to sanction an enlargement of the British possessions in South Africa.

Before a reply was received from England the people of the territory resolved to build a church, and on the 22nd and 23rd of January 1846 a meeting was held on the farm of Jan Steenkamp to decide as to the course to be followed. The reverend Messrs. Murray, of Graaff-Reinet, Reid, of Colesberg, and Taylor, of Cradock, were present, and took part in the proceedings. It was resolved to purchase a farm and lay out a village upon it, so that with the proceeds of the sale of building plots and voluntary subscriptions a church and parsonage could be erected. A committee—consisting of Messrs. J. C. Greyling, P. van der Walt, M. Kruger, P. H. Henning, Jan Steenkamp, A. J. Coetsee, J. P. Smit, and John Montgomery—was appointed to carry out this resolution. Having carefully inspected several places, a choice was made, and on the 9th of February 1846 the committee purchased the farm Klipfontein, three thousand six hundred and seven morgen in extent, on the Stormberg spruit, from Mr. Gerrit Buytendag. A request was then sent to the governor that he would allow the village which was about to be formed to be called Maitland, but he would not consent.

The committee thereupon gave the place the democratic name Burghersdorp.

On the 18th of January 1847 a regularly appointed consistory held its first meeting, and the committee was dissolved. On the 16th of March of the same year a number of erven were disposed of. Mr. Taylor, of Cradock, acted as consul until the 27th of May 1849, when the reverend John Murray was installed as first resident minister. The site of Burghersdorp was not as well chosen as that of most villages founded under similar circumstances, being a narrow valley between bare steep hills, exposed to great heat in summer, and without room for much expansion. But its founders' principal design was to secure a convenient centre for establishing a church, and they never anticipated that within the lifetime of some of their number a railway would pass through the place.

In the same manner the village of Victoria West had its origin at this time as a church place. On the 11th of October 1843 the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet appointed elders and deacons for a new congregation in the division of Beaufort West, but as the governor had not previously given his consent some delay took place, and they were not inducted until the 17th of April 1844. The farm Zeekoegat and part of the farm Kapokfontein were then acquired, and a village was laid out. By desire of the consistory these names were changed to Victoria West by government notice on the 25th of September 1844. The first clergyman of this congregation was the reverend Willem Adolf Krige, who was appointed by the governor on the 1st of August 1844, and was inducted on the 27th of the following October.

In a different manner churches of the Dutch reformed communion were established at this time at French Hoek and at Mossel Bay.

The church at French Hoek grew out of a mission that dated as far back as 1834, when several farmers contributed funds to erect a chapel and dwelling house, and engaged

the services of an evangelist to instruct the coloured people in the neighbourhood. In 1844 the evangelist left, and they then determined to form themselves into a congregation distinct from that of the Paarl, with a clergyman who would also carry on mission work. For this purpose they set about building a church in which the Europeans and coloured people could meet together for worship, so that the chapel might be used as a schoolhouse; and they then applied to the presbytery of the Cape to carry out their wishes.

Some people in the parish of Caledon who lived nearer to French Hoek than to their own church desired to join them, and sent a petition to that effect to the presbytery of Swellendam. Both presbyteries approved of the design, and conjointly appointed a commission to define boundaries for the proposed parish. On the 10th of February 1845 these boundaries were submitted for the governor's approval, and were confirmed. On the 8th of May in the same year the names of the first elders and deacons were forwarded to the governor as a matter of courtesy by the secretary of the presbytery of the Cape, and being approved on the following day, the congregation was established. The reverend Pieter Nicolaas Ham had then for several months been labouring at French Hoek among both Europeans and coloured people. His salary was paid by the congregation until the 2nd of October 1845, when he was placed by the governor upon the clerical staff of the colony.

In 1843 the people of Mossel Bay obtained a grant of a small plot of ground, and set about building a church by subscription. Their request to be formed into a distinct congregation came before the presbytery of Swellendam in October 1844, and being received with approval, a commission was appointed by that body to define the boundaries of the new parish and to appoint a consistory. On the 30th of April 1845 the reverend Tobias Johannes van der Riet received from the governor the appointment of clergyman of Mossel Bay, and was inducted on the 11th of the following

month, on the same day that the church building was first used for public worship.

In 1845 clergymen of the English episcopal church were stationed at Graaff-Reinet and at George, and in 1847 one was stationed at Uitenhage. A second place of worship in connection with this body—Trinity church in Harrington-street—was opened in Capetown on the 12th of July 1845.

The extension of churches by other Christian bodies was proceeding at an equal rate, but it is not necessary to record the particulars as in the case of the Dutch communion, because they were not connected with the formation of new villages, nor had they that influence upon the great mass of the people except in purely mission work. In this respect also the Dutch church was making rapid advances, as at this time there were forty-eight mission centres directly or indirectly connected with it.

In 1846 there were in the colony twenty-five public schools supported exclusively by the public treasury, and fifty-six receiving grants in aid. The subsidy to the South African college had just been doubled, bringing it up to 400*l.* a year. The normal school in Capetown was providing teachers of a better class than could previously be obtained for elementary schools.

The country people still lived in a very simple style. On the farms it was usual to rise at early dawn, and after partaking of a cup of coffee to sing a psalm before commencing the labours of the day. Strangers were always welcome to a seat at the table, and indeed looked upon hospitable entertainment as a matter of course. The food was plain, but plentiful, and consisted largely of flesh. In many of the frontier houses dried venison—called in this country biltong—was used as vegetables and bread are by English people. Dried fruit was also used more largely than in Europe. Milk was the ordinary beverage at dinner, and coffee at daybreak, at breakfast, and again in the afternoon. It was customary to sleep for an hour when the midday meal was over, especially in the hot summer days, when the

hour was often lengthened to two. A hearty meal in the early evening was followed by listening to the reading of a chapter of the bible and family prayers, when after a short conversation all retired to rest. Remedies for various ailments were known to most women advanced in years, and in nearly every house was to be seen a small tin box containing bottles of well-known medicines and labelled *Huis Apotheek*.

The country people were firm believers in ghosts and apparitions, and stories of haunted places were told with bated breath. Though they ridiculed the grosser ideas of the Bantu and Hottentots with regard to witchcraft, many of them were by no means free of fear of powers of evil brought into action by human agency. Their favourite tales were such as required a large amount of credulity in the listener. To make a simpleton believe something that to themselves was utterly absurd—usually some feat of their own or their friends—was commonly regarded with great satisfaction, and they never reflected that such tales might be repeated to their prejudice in books in Europe.

In the villages the course of life was almost as prosaic. The great event was the gathering of the farmers with their families every three months for the celebration of the Lord's supper. They usually arrived on Friday, and remained until the following Monday evening or Tuesday morning. Many of the country people had cottages in the village, which were nearly always built of red brick with green shutters to the windows, and in these they lived during their stay. Others slept in great tent waggons, and had their meals in the open air. To these gatherings came traders and speculators, and though the clergyman was sure to remonstrate, auction sales of cattle took place and goods of various kinds changed hands. When the last waggon left to return home the village resumed its ordinary quiet appearance. The green shutters were closed in the little red cottages, and grass or weeds soon began to grow in front of the doors. Now and then a stranger would arrive and stay

overnight at the inn, which was almost invariably kept by a German. Further than this there was little except the weekly post to relieve the monotony. A few old people had their grandchildren staying with them in order to attend school, and a few others lived in the village to be near the church. The customs of the farms were observed in such houses. Then there were shopkeepers and mechanics of various kinds, mostly English, Scotch, Irish, or German, who carried their national habits with them. As the village grew, a church, or perhaps more than one, of some other denomination than the Dutch reformed would be established. A medical practitioner would take up his residence in the place, and there would certainly be several land and law agents and auctioneers. Finally a magistrate would be appointed, and a municipal council would be elected.

The old style of clothing had nearly gone out of date, though tanned leather trousers and fur waistcoats were still occasionally seen. On the farms home-made shoes with raw hide soles were still generally worn, except by the wealthiest people. Soap and candles of home make were also to be seen in all the country houses. With these exceptions, English manufactured goods, clothing, crockery, and ironware, had come into general use.

In the towns people lived as they do in Europe and America under similar conditions.

A new port on the South African coast was opened in October 1846 by the entrance of the little schooner *Rosebud*, commanded by Captain Duthie, into the mouth of the Umzimvubu, 'the place of residence of the hippopotamus.' This stream rises in the Kathlamba mountains, and with its numerous tributaries which flow through some of the richest lands and most picturesque scenery in South Africa, drains a great extent of country. The mouth, in common with those of all the streams along the coast, is often nearly closed by a bar of sand. When heavy rains fall in the uplands, a channel is sometimes opened across the bar thirty feet and upwards in depth ; but on other occasions it is often not more than

three feet deep. Above the bar a sheet of water, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty yards across and from twenty to thirty feet in depth, extends some eleven or twelve miles, when a ford is reached. For the last two miles of its course the river passes through an enormous rent in the elevated coast, called the Gates of St. John. From the water rises on each side a steep bank covered with dark evergreen forest trees, above which frown sheer precipices of naked rock a thousand feet and upwards in height. Above the Gates the river winds between rugged banks clothed with trees and grass, but less grand than the stupendous cleft below.

The entrance to the Umzimvubu was thus difficult and dangerous. The *Rosebud*, however, met with no accident. A schooner named the *Ann* was then chartered by some traders, and sailed from Algoa Bay for the newly-opened port. On the 18th of January 1847 she anchored in the offing, when the traders and some sailors went in two boats to look for the channel, but were overturned in the surf and ten men were drowned. The *Ann* then returned to Algoa Bay. Notwithstanding this disaster and the wreck of the schooner *Conch* on the 7th of November of the same year—fortunately without loss of life—the mouth of the river continued to be used by small craft. For a short time it was called Rosebud Bay, but thereafter it became better known as Port St. John's. The greatest drawback to this port was not the difficulty of landing and shipping, but of communicating with the back country, owing to the ruggedness of the land near the coast and the absence of anything like a waggon road.

On the 7th of January 1846 Table Bay was visited by a violent north-west gale, a very unusual event in midsummer. Two vessels were driven ashore. One—the *Diana*, a Portuguese slaver—was a prize to the British cruiser *Mutine*. No lives were lost in her wreck. The other was a barque of three hundred and sixty-eight tons, named the *Francis Spaight*, and was bound from Manilla to London.

with a cargo valued at 32,000*l*. When she struck, a whale-boat belonging to Mr. Jearey, of Capetown, put off from the south jetty to run a line from the wreck to the shore. As soon as the boat got alongside, officers and sailors alike rushed into her, which caused her to swamp, and twenty-one men were drowned. Only two boatmen and two of the wrecked ship's crew reached the land alive.

Owing to improvements in the building and rigging of sailing vessels, and especially to the rapidly increasing use of steam as a propelling power, communication with Europe was now much more easy and rapid than it had been in the early years of the century. Letters from England were often received in from forty to fifty days after being written. A passage of then unequalled rapidity was made by the Peninsular and Oriental Company's iron paddle-wheel steamship *Pottinger*, of one thousand four hundred and two tons burden, which put into Table Bay on the 9th of April 1847. Her steaming time from Southampton, touching at Yarmouth, Gibraltar, Ascension, and St. Helena, exclusive of detentions at those places, was thirty-four days and three hours. But she had the most powerful engines known to naval architects of that time, and was considered the swiftest vessel afloat.

The all-important question at this period was the relationship between the Europeans and the Bantu beyond the frontier. It is not a pleasant subject to write of, because its incidents have little or no variety except in the changed attitudes of the European authorities, and everything connected with it is petty and dull. But it is the subject that makes the history of the Cape Colony different from that of other British possessions, it is still, and must continue to be, a matter of vital importance to South Africans, and it is only by a knowledge of its past events that such great mistakes as were then made can be avoided in future. For these reasons the minutest details of the dealings of the English authorities with the Bantu tribes must find a place in the history of the country.

Sir Peregrine Maitland found that the Kosas would likely give him as much trouble as they had given his predecessors. The object of the Stockenstrom treaties was 'to raise the Kaffirs in the scale of civilisation by appealing to their sense of justice for restitution of stolen property, rather than extorting it by force of arms.' Sir George Napier, who wrote that sentence, found by experience that the original treaties did nothing of the kind. He therefore arranged certain modifications with the chiefs, and hoped for a better result. He was disappointed, and then the truth came forcibly home to him that the system had completely failed. But what was to be substituted in its place, as long as the imperial government declined to deal with the border clans except as independent powers?

On the 4th of December 1843 he submitted a scheme to Lord Stanley, which was in effect to pay tribute in order to be released from plunder. He proposed that salaries should be given to the chiefs along the border, upon condition of the good conduct of their people and the surrender of thieves for punishment. He was of opinion that the thieves, upon conviction, should be severely flogged in public, so as to inflict upon them a mark of disgrace in the eyes of their countrymen. And further he suggested that institutions should be established in Kaffirland at the cost of the colonial revenue, for the purpose of promoting habits of industry and imparting religious instruction to the people.

To this despatch Lord Stanley replied on the 11th of March 1844, instructing Sir Peregrine Maitland to omit no safe and proper measure which it might be in his power to adopt for increasing the security of the persons and property of the queen's subjects in the frontier districts. Sir Benjamin D'Urban's system might indeed be better than the one existing, but it would be necessary to go to war in order to revert to it, and that was not to be thought of. In his opinion the infractions of the treaties by the Kaffirs absolved the queen's government from the obligation of a strict adherence to them, and he claimed the right of insisting on

their modification. He approved of Sir George Napier's proposals, but feared that the prospect of improving the character of the Kosas by education was too uncertain and remote to be relied on as a means of escape from the dangers to which the colony was exposed by their vicinity. He gave the governor permission to change the duties of the diplomatic agents to promoting the lawful claims of their fellow colonists, instead of acting as the protectors and advocates of the Kaffirs; and in very urgent cases he sanctioned reprisals from the chiefs, but only as a last resource. In conclusion he left the whole matter to Sir Peregrine Maitland's judgment, but reminded him that there were limits beyond which the military force of Great Britain could not be employed.

On the 1st of July 1844, before the governor had time to make any new arrangements, seven robbers of Sandile's clan, while being pursued by a party of farmers in the district of Albany, mortally wounded a burgher named Jan de Lange. One of the robbers was afterwards shot by De Lange's companions, but six made good their escape.

Lieutenant-Governor Hare then demanded of Sandile that they should be surrendered for trial, and met with a refusal. Upon this he marched with a body of troops to Blockdrift—now the village of Alice,—and announced that the soldiers would not leave the territory until the murderers were given up. After some delay Sandile surrendered two, but either allowed the others to escape or actually concealed them.

Meantime Sir Peregrine Maitland had proceeded to the frontier, and was busy making inquiries. He speedily came to the conclusion that the line of defence on the right bank of the Fish river was a great mistake in a military point of view, and that no salutary moral influence was produced on the minds of the Kaffirs by troops stationed there such as would arise from the presence of a considerable force in their midst. He found that the Kosas were sinking deeper in barbarism, owing to the policy pursued towards them,

and the Scotch and Wesleyan missionaries gave some information which shocked him. They stated that an ancient custom which permitted the chiefs to ravish any girls they took a fancy to had recently been revived, though Lord Charles Somerset in 1819 had induced Gaika to abolish it. But that was not by any means the only evil result of the Stockenstrom treaties that they had to tell of.

In order to overawe the most turbulent clans the governor selected a site for a fort on the watershed between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, at the head of the Sheshegu streamlet. The fort was to be nothing better than a simple bank of earth enclosing military huts for the accommodation of four hundred men. It was named Post Victoria. Botumane's people lived in the neighbourhood, and some of Sandile's kraals were only a few miles distant. For a time the establishment of this post seemed to answer the purpose intended, as for the next eight months hardly any cattle were stolen from the colony.

On the 3rd of October a notice was issued offering a reward of 50*l.* each for the apprehension of the four murderers of De Lange who were still at large. They were not secured, however, but Sandile, upon Colonel Hare's demand, paid fifty head of cattle to the murdered man's widow.

At Fort Peddie Sir Peregrine Maitland met the captains of the Ndlambe, Gunukwebe, Amambala, and Fingo clans, and arranged with them the terms of new treaties, which were prepared after his return to Capetown. As the Fingos could be depended upon in case of need, and as they were exposed to raids by the Kosas, he left two hundred muskets with Mr. Shepstone for their use.

Travelling rapidly, on the 5th of October he was at Fort Beaufort, where Umtirara, Mapasa, and other Tembu chiefs were waiting to meet him. Sandile, Makoma, and Botumane were also there. The terms of new treaties with all of these were arranged, but the documents were not drawn up until a later date.

The governor tried to overawe the Rarabe chiefs by informing them that he was entering into treaties of alliance with Faku and Kreli, and would therefore have friends in their rear; but he deceived himself if he thought his communication had any such effect.

The treaty with Faku will be described in another chapter, that with Kreli was signed by Sir Peregrine Maitland at Fort Beaufort on the 7th of October, and Mr. Theophilus Shepstone was then sent with it to Butterworth to obtain the chief's mark.

Its principal provisions were that Kreli would protect missionaries, traders, and other British subjects residing in his territory as well as travellers and the post passing through it, that he would deliver up for trial all persons committing crimes in the colony and taking refuge with his people, that he would cause any witnesses whose evidence should be required to appear before the colonial courts, that he would restore stolen cattle traced to his territory or make compensation for them, that he would prevent the landing of goods on his part of the coast without a license from the colonial government, that he would keep peace with his neighbours, and that he would respect the British agent living with him. As long as he should carry out all these conditions the governor undertook to pay him yearly fifty pounds sterling in money or in useful articles.

To this treaty Kreli affixed his mark on the 4th of November 1844, in presence of Mr. Shepstone and the agent residing with him, Mr. William Macdowell Fynn. The governor seems to have hoped that the yearly payment of 50*l.* would be an inducement to the Galeka chief to keep his agreement, though he must have had some doubt about it, for in writing to the secretary of state he observed that 'the efficacy of any treaties with the Kaffir tribes must depend chiefly on the machinery for carrying their provisions into operation.' Another year's experience was needed to convince him that treaties with the Kaffirs were useless under any circumstances.

The arrangements made by the governor with the Rarabe captains were embodied in documents which were forwarded to the frontier officials after his return to Capetown.

They provided that all former treaties should be annulled, and these be substituted in their places. The boundary of 1819, as agreed to by Gaika, was recognised as dividing British territory from Kaffirland, and the captains accepted as a special favour the loan of the district they were occupying west of that line, which the governor guaranteed to them in perpetuity, except in case of their committing acts of hostility or breaking the terms of the agreement. The right of the British government to build forts and station troops anywhere west of the line of 1819 was recognised. The ground to be occupied by British subjects and Kaffirs remained the same as in the Stockenstrom treaties, as did also the articles concerning diplomatic agents and the necessity for passes. The captains recognised the right of the colonial police and the Cape mounted riflemen to enter any part of the territory west of the line of 1819, and promised to assist them in apprehending criminals and seizing stolen property ; they promised to deliver up persons committing crimes in the colony for trial before colonial courts, and to compel the attendance of witnesses ; also to restore any stolen property found on the land occupied by their people, and to pay the cost of recovering it. They promised further to make compensation for any stolen cattle traced to their grounds, but which could not be discovered. The remaining clauses provided for the protection of missionaries and British subjects in general, the encouragement of schools, the preservation of peace with their neighbours, and other matters of the kind.

At Fort Peddie on the 2nd of January 1845 the captains Umkayi, Umhala, Siwani, and Gasela attached their marks to a treaty to this effect, in presence of Colonel Hare, Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, and Captain John Maclean of the 27th regiment, who was in command of the fort. As long

as they should observe its conditions, the governor undertook to pay to them jointly 200*l.* a year in money or useful articles.

At the same time and place Eno and his son Stokwe attached their marks to a copy of the treaty, and were promised 50*l.* a year between them if they kept it. Pato and Kobe were parties to another of the same tenor, and were promised 100*l.* a year ; and the Fingo captains Jokweni, Mabandla, Kwenkwezi, Matomela, Kawulela, Pahla, and Jama attached their marks to a copy, and obtained 100*l.* a year among them.

These four treaties were then returned to Sir Peregrine Maitland, and were signed by him in Capetown on the 30th of January 1845.

Sandile, Makoma, Botumane, and Koko attached their marks to their copy on the 21st of January 1845, but were promised nothing in return, and as they raised objections to the constitution of a border court of appeal, some time was spent in negotiations, and the governor did not sign it until the 22nd of November. Very little value was attached to it by him, as by that time he had learned much from experience. He had no hope, wrote the secretary to government to the diplomatic agent Stretch, 'that these or any other treaties would be found effective, unless the chiefs and heads of kraals were determined to act faithfully and honestly towards the British government.'

One of similar import received the marks of the Tembu chiefs Umtirara, Mapasa, and six others on the 25th of March 1845, and was signed by the governor in Capetown on the 11th of April.

As Sandile declared that the robbery of the farmers was carried on against his wish, and that he had not sufficient authority over his followers to suppress it, Mr. Stretch was instructed to ask him if he would like a fort near his kraal to strengthen his hands. The chief replied that he would, and he seemed so earnest that the agent really believed him.

Under the treaties the governor had a right to build forts wherever he chose west of the line of 1819, but the proposal now before Sandile was that one should be erected on the eastern bank of the Tyumie at Blockdrift, close to the Lovedale school and Mr. Stretch's residence. The governor thought the site much better than that of Post Victoria, because the latter place was poorly supplied with water; but he could not make use of it without Sandile's consent.

The terms proposed by the chief—on the 19th of November 1845—were that he should receive a yearly rent for the ground, that no traders should settle there without his permission, and that each should pay him 20*l.* a year for a license. There were also a few stipulations of less importance.

On the 29th of the same month the border was thrown into excitement by the murder of a missionary near Fort Peddie. The reverend Mr. Dohne, of the Berlin society, had recently formed a station called Bethel with Gasela's people, at the site of the present village of Stutterheim. Three missionaries were on the way from Port Elizabeth to join Mr. Dohne, and were resting for the night about seven miles from Fort Peddie. The waggons in which they were travelling were conducted by Mr. Richard Tainton, and one of them was the property of Mr. Theophilus Shepstone.

Mr. Shepstone had been replaced as diplomatic agent by Captain John Maclean only sixteen days before. He was out of favour with Pato's people, and as he was supposed at the time to be travelling towards Fort Peddie, a plan was made to murder him on the way. He was, however, not with the missionary party, though his Hottentot servant was. About two o'clock in the morning the waggons were attacked by a band of Gunukwebes. The Hottentot servant, who was asleep by a fire, was stabbed to death. Mr. Tainton and another slipped out of one of the waggons and concealed themselves. Into the one in which the missionaries were sleeping an assagai was thrown, and the reverend Ernest Scholtz received a wound from

which he died a few hours afterwards. The Kaffirs then decamped.

The surrender of the murderers was demanded from Pato, and he promised to comply; but from the first it was evident he had no intention of doing so, and they were never given up.

During the excitement caused by this event, the governor sent a message to Captain Walpole, of the royal engineers, to inspect the ground at Blockdrift and report upon it. By some mistake Lieutenant Stokes and four sappers were sent by Captain Walpole to make a regular survey of both banks of the Tyumie at Blockdrift, and pitched a tent on the eastern side of the river for their accommodation while doing so.

Sandile, who never seemed of the same mind two months in succession, was just then acting in a most aggravating manner towards the Europeans in his country. Although every trader paid him four pounds yearly for a license, he was in the habit of begging from them, and if they did not give what he asked for, he demanded it in such a manner that they were afraid to refuse. On the 13th of January 1846 he was seen approaching a shop at the Tyumie mission station, when the trader, a man named Thomas M'Lachlan, to avoid being compelled to give his goods away, went out and locked the door. Sandile ordered him to open it again, and upon his refusing to do so, struck him in the face, took the key, entered the shop, and helped himself to a bridle, a blanket, two packets of brass chain, and a roll of tobacco.

Eight days after this event some of his men who were looking for stolen cattle traced the spoor to Bethel. There they found their cows mixed with those belonging to the station people, and without waiting for an explanation they wounded the reverend Mr. Dohne's herd and took away two of his calves. Thereupon Mr. Dohne made a complaint to the diplomatic agent.

Mr. Stretch sent a message to Sandile demanding redress for both these offences, and on the 24th of January received

the chief's reply. Let the governor come for payment of the trader's goods, it ran, his warriors were ready. The traders and their goods were under his feet, and he would do with them as he liked. The matter of the mission station was nothing. Lieutenant Stokes and the four men surveying at Blockdrift must leave the next day, and Post Victoria must also be removed.

Major Thomas Charlton Smith, of the 27th regiment, had in the preceding month been appointed agent-general and frontier commissioner, purposely to see that the treaties were carried out. He was stationed at Fort Beaufort. Upon receiving Sandile's message, Mr. Stretch reported it to him, and he considered it so threatening that he at once sent a hundred men of the 91st to Blockdrift to protect the residency. He then despatched an express to the lieutenant-governor at Grahamstown, who sent every available soldier from that place to reinforce Fort Beaufort and Post Victoria, and proceeded to the front himself.

On receipt of the intelligence at Capetown, two hundred rank and file of the 27th were ordered to Simonstown, were embarked there in the war-steamer *Thunderbolt*, and on the 2nd of February left for Algoa Bay.

Colonel Hare had a meeting with Sandile at Blockdrift on the 29th of January. The chief was attended by about three thousand armed men, and though he toned down his message of the 24th and expressed regret for having used hasty words on that occasion, he stated his determination not to permit the erection of a fort at the residency and urged that Post Victoria should be removed. It was evident to Colonel Hare that Sandile was in the hands of those who were ready for war, but that he was fainthearted himself, for privately he sent a penitent message for what had occurred. The matter was then allowed to pass without further notice.

The condition of the Kosas at this time was very aptly described by the governor in his despatches. The treaties were useless to repress their marauding habits, as the chiefs

were under no moral restraint. If a moderate amount of robbery could be committed without their being called to account, the chiefs would prefer such peace to open war; but rather than suppress it altogether they would resort to hostilities. The young warriors were ready to make a dash into the colony to sweep off the cattle, and Sandile was too weakminded to check their inclinations.

Setting robberies aside, since the signing of the Stockenstrom treaties one hundred and six individuals had been murdered by Kosas at different places on the frontier, though not a single act of violence could be traced to a colonist. Makoma was the only chief who even pretended to have been injured by white people, but when his complaints were investigated they dwindled down to a statement that some deserters from the 7th dragoon guards had once hired a couple of horses from him and he had never seen them again. As a matter of policy the governor gave him 30*l.* to cover the loss of the horses, when the chief expressed himself perfectly satisfied.

Makoma's jealousy of Sandile was so great that he could not heartily join the war party, because the other was regarded as its head. A very miserable life he was leading, even for a barbarian. Missionary effort had been concentrated on him to no purpose, for though his words to the teachers were always good, his acts were those of a heathen. The same man that said to a missionary in reference to his work among the Kaffirs, 'the rock is hard: you may not be able to break it to pieces, but you must pound away and you will get bits off it,' in a moment of passion compelled one of his wives to bury her new-born infant alive, and frequently caused wealthy followers to be murdered on a charge of sorcery that he might confiscate their property. He had become a slave to brandy, and much of his time was spent in drunkenness in the canteens of Fort Beaufort. When in this condition, he was a source of terror to his wives and attendants, whom he assaulted at will, as it would have been deemed a dreadful crime to resist a chief of his rank.

On the 23rd of February Makoma applied to Major Smith for a location in the colony for himself and his people, as he wished to be out of the way in case of war. It was doubtful whether he was in earnest, and under any circumstance the request was one that could not be granted.

This was not the only warning the government had of what was coming. On the 29th of January Toyise, who succeeded to the chieftainship of an important clan upon the death of his father Gasela in March 1845, informed Captain Maclean that Sandile was trying to induce the Ndlambes to enter into alliance with him against the colony. On the 16th of February Mr. Stretch received reliable information that Sandile had sent to Mapasa and other Tembu chiefs to ask for assistance in the coming strife; and on the 14th of March Umkayi for the second time applied to Captain Maclean to allow him to retire to the colony, as he was sure there would shortly be war.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE SEVENTH KAFFIR WAR, CALLED BY THE KOSAS THE WAR
OF THE AXE.

Rescue of a prisoner and murder of a British subject by Kaffirs within the colonial border—Refusal of the chiefs Tola, Botumane, and Sandile to surrender the criminals—Resolution of the lieutenant-governor to occupy Sandile's kraal—Disastrous result of the expedition against Sandile—Destructive raid by the Kosas into the colony—Enumeration of hostile and friendly clans—Untoward event at Fort Peddie—Assumption by Sir Peregrine Maitland of the command of the forces in the field—Appointment of Sir Andries Stockenstrom as commandant-general of some of the burgher forces—Operations of the board of relief—Loss of a waggon train at Trompetter's drift—Unsuccessful attempt of the Kaffirs to get possession of Fort Peddie—Heavy loss inflicted upon the Kaffirs at the Gwanga—Union of all classes of colonists—Strength of the forces raised to repel the enemy—Opening of Waterloo Bay for landing purposes—Expedition against Pato—Unsuccessful movements in the Amatola fastnesses—Fruitless expedition against Kreli—Successful attack upon Mapasa—Resignation of the commandant-general—Enforced inaction of the troops—Arrival of more soldiers from England—Unsuccessful negotiations for peace—Application from the Tembu chief Umtirara to be received as a British subject—Operations against the clans near the coast—Tactics adopted by the Kaffirs—Apparent settlement of some of the clans—Expedition against Kreli and Pato—Recall of Sir Peregrine Maitland—Arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger as governor and high commissioner—Condition of the frontier at the time of his arrival—Formation of a Kaffir police force—Unsuccessful operations against Pato—Detention of troops returning from India to England—Construction of a line of forts along the Buffalo river—Opening of the mouth of the Buffalo as a port for shipping—Different views of Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir Henry Pottinger—Resumption of hostilities with Sandile and Anta—Plan of operations against Sandile—Surrender of Sandile and Anta—Operations against Pato—Murder of five officers near the Komgha—Surrender of Pato—Removal of Sir Henry Pottinger to Madras—Arrival of Sir Harry Smith as governor and high commissioner—Extension of the colonial boundary—Proclamation of the queen's sovereignty over British Kaffraria—Arrangements for the government of British Kaffraria—Great meeting at King-Williamstown—Conclusion of peace with Kreli and Buku—Settlement of those Kaffirs who had been friendly during the war.

ON the 16th of March 1846 a Kaffir who was known by the Dutch name Kleintje, having been detected in the act of stealing an axe at Fort Beaufort, was sent from that place

by Mr. Meent Borchers, the resident justice of the peace, to be tried by the magistrate at Grahamstown. Two Hottentot offenders and a dragoon who had committed some crime accompanied him, and for security they were handcuffed in pairs. Four armed Hottentots were sent with them as a guard.

Just after the prisoners left, the chief Tola appeared at Fort Beaufort, and desired the agent-general to have Kleintje brought back and released; but his request was refused. He then sent one of his attendants to the nearest kraal with instructions that his follower was to be rescued.

From Fort Beaufort the road to Grahamstown runs for some distance along the right bank of the Kat river. The prisoners with their guard proceeded on it about seven miles, when they sat down by the river side to rest and eat some food. Suddenly about forty Kaffirs rushed from a thicket close by, and seized two of the guns which were lying on the ground before the guard could get hold of them. One of the Hottentots, seeing a companion beneath a Kaffir, fired at the assailant and killed him on the spot. The four men of the guard then sought safety in flight, and by good fortune managed to reach a wayside inn at no great distance. The Kaffirs murdered the Hottentot to whom Kleintje was manacled, and having cut off his hand to release their friend, they started off as quickly as they appeared, taking the two guns belonging to the guard with them. The other prisoners were left unharmed.

Kleintje's crime was committed in the colony, his release was effected on colonial ground, and the murdered Hottentot was a British subject, so the matter could not be overlooked. The lieutenant-governor demanded the surrender of the rescued prisoner and the murderer of the Hottentot. Tola, their immediate head, declined to give them up, though he sent the two guns to Mr. Stretch. The old chief Botumane, of the Imidange clan, to which Tola belonged, also refused to deliver them to justice. He gave as his view of the case that the death of the Hottentot was compensated by

the death of Kleintje's brother, the Kaffir who was shot, so that the matter should be allowed to drop. If the governor was grieving for the Hottentot, he said, he was grieving for his man. Sandile, with whose people the criminals were known to be, was also called upon to surrender them, and acted in the same manner as the others.

Colonel Hare was thus obliged to seek redress by force of arms. He directed the colonists near the border to be on their guard, distributed arms to those who needed them, strengthened the garrisons of the forts Peddie and Beaufort, and then prepared to send a body of troops to occupy Sandile's kraal. While these arrangements were being made, the traders and some of the missionaries in Kaffirland were plundered, and therefore considered it advisable to leave the country as fast as they could. Other missionaries placed such confidence in the people with whom they were living that they remained at their stations until an order from Colonel Hare required them to remove to the colony.

An extraordinary instance of the power of the Kaffirs to deceive was shown in the case of the reverend John Brownlee, of the London society, missionary at Jan Tshatshu's kraal. He was one of the most sensible men in South Africa, yet he actually applied for arms to be served out to Tshatshu's followers, and asserted that those people would be as useful as soldiers to the government. He had not many days to wait before he was of a very different opinion.

On the 31st of March the lieutenant-governor issued a proclamation, calling the burghers of the eastern districts to arms, his object being to establish a line of posts to protect the colony from invasion while the troops were at Sandile's kraal.

When the intelligence reached Capetown Sir Peregrine Maitland recognised at once that the crisis had arrived, for such a condition of things on the frontier could be tolerated no longer. On the 27th of March he sent the war-steamer *Thunderbolt* to Algoa Bay with all the soldiers that could be spared: eighty men of the 27th regiment, under Lieutenant-

Colonel Montague Johnstone, and two field-pieces with Captain Eardley Wilmot, of the royal artillery. On the 31st he published a manifesto, in which he stated the necessity of redressing the wrongs from which the colony was suffering, and on the 1st of April he embarked at Simon's Bay in the ship-of-war *President* to proceed to the frontier.

The military force on the border at this time consisted of detachments of two battalions of the 91st and one of the 27th, mustering in all nine hundred and ninety-four effective rank and file, the 7th dragoon guards, three hundred and thirty-seven strong, four hundred Cape mounted riflemen, and a few artillerymen and engineers.

It was necessary to leave the greater number of the infantry to guard the various posts, but fifteen hundred men were got ready to take the field by calling out the Hottentots of Stockenstrom, as the settlement at the Kat river was named by a government notice on the 15th of August 1844.

Without waiting until the burghers could assemble to prevent the Kaffirs from rushing into the colony, Colonel Hare directed this force to march to Burnshill. He was an upright and amiable man, but he had neither the ability, nor the energy, nor the tact necessary for the post which he then filled. He was in ill health, and was hoping to leave for England in a few days when hostilities were forced upon him. The position of lieutenant-governor irritated him, because there was no real power attached to it, and on many points his views were at variance with those of Sir Peregrine Maitland. On this occasion he made almost incredible blunders. He greatly underrated the power of the Kaffirs for resistance, and believed that by taking possession of Sandile's kraal he would at once bring the hostile clans to submission. And so he commenced operations before a sufficient force was assembled to prevent the invasion of the colony, and with less than a month's provisions in his stores.

From Post Victoria to Sandile's kraal at Burnshill is only a good ride on horseback, a Hottentot or a Fingo can march from one place to the other on foot without resting on the way. No necessity therefore existed for encumbering a column with a great quantity of baggage or provisions, when a secure base of supplies was so close at hand. Waggons were not needed to form a lager, for no one had the slightest fear of Kosas attacking a strong body of troops except in an ambush.

Yet no fewer than one hundred and twenty-five waggons, conveying baggage of all kinds, provisions, and ammunition, accompanied the force. In place of making a sudden dash, which alone could succeed, notice of what was about to be attempted was given to all Kaffirland by the collection of such a number of vehicles at Post Victoria. One hundred and twenty-five waggons, each drawn by fourteen oxen, form a line at least three miles in length, for in a broken bushy country, without bridges or proper roads, such as that between Post Victoria and Burnshill in 1846, they could only proceed one after another.

The force was composed of three divisions, which were to march from different points and unite at Burnshill. Colonel Henry Somerset, of the Cape mounted rifles, was then to assume the chief command. On the 11th of April 1846 Colonel Somerset marched from Post Victoria with his own regiment and four companies of the 91st; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Richardson marched from Fort Peddie with the 7th dragoon guards, and Captain William Sutton, of the Cape mounted rifles, from Eland's post at the Kat river with the Hottentot levies.

On the 15th the columns united at Burnshill and formed a camp. The country they marched through appeared quite deserted, as was also Sandile's kraal when they reached it, the whole of the Gaika and Imidange clans having retired to the forests of the Amatola. On the 16th Colonel Somerset moved against Sandile, leaving Major John Hope Gibsons, of the 7th dragoons, in charge of the camp. As soon as the

troops got into the bushy defiles the Kosas appeared in great numbers. Some sharp skirmishing took place, but one division managed to capture eighteen hundred head of cattle, after which the soldiers and Hottentots kindled huge fires and rested by their arms for the night. Meantime the camp was attacked, but the assailants were beaten off.

At daybreak on the 17th Colonel Somerset, believing that the whole of the hostile Kaffirs were on his front, sent an order to Major Gibsone to break up the camp at Burnshill and join him. At half past ten o'clock the first waggons began to move off. The train was so long that only an advance and rear guard could be provided, and the soldiers employed on this duty were chiefly dragoons, who were almost useless in such a country.

When passing through a narrow gorge one of the central waggons stuck fast, and all behind were brought to a stand. In a moment a horde of Gaikas rushed down from a bushy height and cut the oxen loose, there being no one but the drivers and leaders to resist them. The dragoons in the rear were unable even to get near the place, and thus between eight and nine hundred oxen and sixty-one waggons laden with baggage and stores fell into the hands of the Kaffirs. Those laden with ammunition were the last in the train, and they also must have been lost if the drivers and leaders of the others had not hurried back to defend them. While the Kaffirs were engaged in the pillage of the stores Major Gibsone retreated to Burnshill with the ammunition, and was shortly afterwards joined by a company of the 91st under Major Campbell, who had been sent to meet the train, but arrived too late.

The waggons that were in front of the one which stuck in the gorge reached their destination in safety, and by making a detour Major Gibsone was able to join the main party some hours later with what was left of the camp. Colonel Somerset now resolved to retreat, as he felt certain that the Kaffirs, elated with their success, would pour into the defenceless colony. The column was followed closely

by the exulting Kosas, but on the next day succeeded in reaching Blockdrift on the Tyumie without further disaster. A large stone building belonging to the Lovedale mission was taken possession of there, and was converted into a temporary barrack and fort.

In this disastrous expedition Captain Bambrick, of the 7th dragoon guards, a young colonist named M'Cormick, ten men of the 91st, one Hottentot from the Kat river, and four Cape mounted riflemen were killed, fourteen soldiers were severely wounded, and a number of others were more or less hurt. The eighteen hundred captured cattle were brought out, but their value was a trifle compared with what was lost.

The Gaikas and their allies now rushed into the colony, and commenced to drive off the cattle and to burn the buildings and cornstacks. The country people had assembled in little parties for mutual protection, and were not taken by surprise as in the last war, so that very few were murdered. Nearly all the camps were attacked, but none were overpowered, though several—including the village of Riebeek East—were afterwards abandoned. From the pastures close to the military posts the raiders drove off the commissariat cattle, and taunted the soldiers with challenges to come out.

The colonists who lost their lives in this raid were twelve in number: Messrs. Joshua Norden, Christiaan Nel, Elias Nel, J. Murray, R. Webb, C. Brass, P. van der Westhuizen, Towell, Clark, Kromhout, Middleton, and Skirrow. Mr. Norden, a leading member of the Jewish congregation, was captain of the Grahamstown yeomanry corps, and was killed while leading a patrol. A young man named Pike, who was in charge of some transport waggons, and who was murdered by Kaffirs near Botha's Hill, is included in the list of victims of the raid by several writers of the time, but he lost his life on the 11th of April, some days before the great body of the Kaffirs entered the colony. Captain Sandes, of the Cape mounted riflemen, and five or six soldiers were also killed.

The bodies of all those who fell into the hands of the Kaffirs were horribly mutilated.

The loss of property was immense, and the government, in addition to a war, now had to provide for several thousand destitute people.

For either contingency the authorities were utterly unprepared. The country was parched by a long drought, so that transport was exceedingly difficult, and there were no supplies of food either for men or horses in the frontier posts. Those posts, situated along the Fish river, proved—as Sir Peregrine Maitland wrote—of no more use to prevent an invasion of the colony than the piers of a bridge to prevent the rush of a swollen torrent through its arches.

It was supposed at first that only the Imidange and Gaika clans were hostile, but very shortly nearly the whole Kosa tribe was in arms against the Europeans. On the 1st of April 1846 the old chief Eno, of the Amambala clan, died, after enjoining his sons Stokwe and Sonto on his deathbed not to go to war with the white people. They pledged their word to Captain Maclean that they would observe their father's last wishes, and within six weeks sent their followers into the colony to plunder and lay waste. Umhala made a promise to keep the peace, and observed it in the same way as Stokwe and Sonto. Pato, Kobe, Siwani, Siyolo, and Nonibe acted in like manner. The Galekas of Kreli as in the preceding war professed to be neutral, but really aided the Rarabe clans to the full extent of their power.

The only Kosas who took no part against the colony were a few families from mission stations, the small clan under the captain Kama, the captain Umkayi and his family, and the followers of a man named Hermanus, who had been some years in the service of the government as an interpreter and who had recently collected some people together on a tract of land close to Fort Brown. One name more must be added, that of a youth who accompanied the reverend William Govan to Scotland after the Tyumie mission station

was destroyed by his countrymen, and who in later years returned to South Africa as the reverend Tiyo Soga, an earnest, enlightened, zealous, and self-denying Christian missionary, such a man as any nation in the world might be proud of. Kama had embraced Christianity, and he and his followers fought on the colonial side, not indeed against their tribesmen, but against the emigrant Tembus. Umkayi's followers were among the most active enemies of the colony, but the captain himself and his family, thirty-one individuals in all, claimed the protection of the troops at Fort Peddie. In July these persons were sent to Grahamstown, where they were afterwards maintained at the expense of the government. Umkayi's character was utterly worthless. He was strongly suspected of being a spy, but if he really tried to act as one his abilities were not equal to the task.

Of the Tembu tribe, that section which was under the chief Umtirara professed to be neutral, but some of them aided Mapasa's people in ravaging the districts of Somerset and Cradock, and the chief himself was strongly suspected of acting deceitfully. Owing to the extent to which he had been plundered by the Pondos and the Bacas, he had long since abandoned the lower part of the territory between the Bashee and the Umtata, and was now living on the Zwart Kei, though some of his people were still to be found as far east as Clarkebury. The feud between this chief and Kreli was so strong that their followers could not act together, and Umtirara, though very willing to secrete cattle driven from the colony, was ready at any moment to join a European force against his neighbour. The clans known as the emigrant Tembus were all in arms against the white people. Umtirara was only in name their paramount chief, for they were quite independent of his authority.

The Fingos were bitter enemies of the Kosas, and consequently fought on the side of the Europeans. A few of their old men, women, and children who fell into Pato's hands at the beginning of the war were burned to death, and thereafter neither Fingo nor Kosa showed mercy to an opponent.

The strongest garrison on the frontier was that of Fort Peddie, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Lindsay, of the first battalion of the 91st. This officer was not held in much esteem either in military circles or by the colonists, and he certainly did nothing that would entitle him to regard. Great herds of cattle driven from the colony passed almost in sight of Fort Peddie towards Krelis's country, without any effort on his part to save them.

On the 30th of April about a thousand Kaffir warriors attacked the Fingos at the Beka mission station, about four miles from Fort Peddie. At twelve o'clock the request of the Fingos for aid reached Colonel Lindsay, and two hours later Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson, with a squadron of dragoons, some Cape mounted riflemen, fifty men of the 91st, and two guns, went to their assistance. On arriving in sight of the Beka station, it was observed that the Fingos were still holding their own. Yet, after firing a few shots from his field-pieces without the slightest effect, Colonel Richardson returned to the fort. The mission station was set on fire under his eyes, and with two hundred British soldiers he abandoned the field, leaving the Fingos to their fate. He afterwards gave as reasons that it was late in the afternoon, that his horses were jaded, that the ground was not adapted for a charge of the dragoons, and that his retreat was only a feint to draw the Kaffirs after him.

The Fingos succeeded in beating the enemy back, but the bad effect of the military movement of that day was greater even than that of the loss of the waggons at Burnshill. It inspired the Kaffirs with confidence in their strength, and diminished their fear of the soldiers, so that those who were wavering before now joined the war party.

On the 16th of April Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived at Post Victoria, and two days later heard of the disaster at Burnshill. Then came tidings of the destructive rush of the Kaffirs over the border. On the 22nd he proclaimed the whole colony under martial law, and called out the entire burgher force. Still he did not interfere with Colonel Hare's

control of field operations until the 1st of May, when a rumour of what had occurred at Peddie reached him. He then assumed the chief command.

Before leaving Capetown he gave instructions that if any troops should happen to call they were to be detained and sent to the frontier with all possible speed. On the 3rd of April the transport *Mariner*, from Colombo bound to Portsmouth, put into Simon's Bay for refreshment. She had on board nine officers and two hundred and eighty-three rank and file of the 90th regiment, who were immediately forwarded to the front. Every effective soldier was sent up from Capetown, a volunteer guard taking their place at the castle and forts.

On the 2nd of May, at the request of a number of colonists, the governor appointed Sir Andries Stockenstrom commandant-general of the burgher forces of the eastern districts, with the rank of a colonel on the staff. The colonists desired that the entire burgher force of the country should be placed under his command, but the governor chose to limit his authority to the eastern province, and a few days later to exclude from it the men of Lower Albany and Uitenhage. There could no longer be any discussion concerning the merits or demerits of the Glenelg policy towards the Kaffirs which he had carried out, any more than there could be a discussion about the strength or weakness of a wall which has tumbled down and lies in ruins. He was full of energy, anxious to recover that place in the affections of his countrymen which he had lost for a time, and it was believed that he knew perfectly well what was to be done and how to do it. A declaration which he made, that in his opinion the Kosas should be expelled for ever from the fastnesses of the Amatola, and that British authority ought to be extended to the Kei, was received as an indication that he had abandoned all defence of his conduct as lieutenant-governor. His staunchest opponents in 1837 and 1838 were now the foremost to express confidence in him as a leader of irregular forces in war. They did not fear that his disposition, which

made it impossible for him to work cordially with an equal in power, would affect his usefulness as commandant-general, subject only to the governor. Nor was it thought that his habit of abusing imaginary opponents in the strongest language would lead to any evil consequences.

While Sir Andries Stockenstrom was engaged in organising burgher forces, collecting supplies of food, and clearing the country north of the Winterberg of invaders, Colonel Somerset with the Cape corps was busy following up the Kaffirs in Albany and Uitenhage, relieving little parties in lager, and endeavouring to preserve property. The mission station Theopolis, as well as other places, was saved from destruction by his exertions. Early in May he routed some considerable bodies of Kosas in the valley of the Kowie, and he then proceeded to scour the country about Olifant's Hoek. He succeeded so well that by the close of the month nearly all the invaders had left the colony.

Beyond the border it had been considered necessary to abandon Post Victoria, but the Lovedale mission premises at Blockdrift were occupied as a fort, and a strong military force was encamped there under canvas. This was the only position held by white men in the Kosa country. Every other mission station and every trading post had been destroyed. From the Galeka country the diplomatic agent and the missionary with their families fled first to Clarkebury, and finding that station insecure, went next to Buntingville in Pondoland, where they arrived on the 19th of May.

One of the greatest difficulties which the government had to meet was to provide food and clothing for those who had lost all their property. Sir Peregrine Maitland adopted the plan of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and on the 8th of May appointed a board of relief in Grahamstown, with corresponding branches in other places. The central board consisted of the reverend Messrs. John Heavyside, William Shaw, and John Locke, together with Messrs. A. B. Morgan, T. Nelson, C. Lucas, and H. B. Rutherfoord, leading men in

the place. All applications for relief were made to the central board either by individuals or by the corresponding branches, and it had power to draw upon the commissariat for the necessities of life. From private subscriptions a sum of 1,928*l.* was received during the war, and was used to meet cases of distress that could not be relieved from the commissariat stores. By the 1st of August there were nearly eight thousand individuals drawing rations through the board of relief, over four thousand of whom were Hottentots and other coloured people of Stockenström. This settlement, instead of being a defence to the frontier, as its founders once fondly imagined it would become, was in some respects the weakest point in the whole line.

Supplies of all kinds being needed at Fort Peddie, on the 18th of May a train of forty-three waggons left Grahams-town, with a small escort consisting partly of soldiers and partly of burghers. There was a military post at Trompetter's drift, on the right bank of the Fish river, and it was arranged that a body of troops from Fort Peddie should meet the train somewhere in that neighbourhood to protect it while passing through the jungle. Accordingly on the 21st the waggons moved on from a little stream about three miles beyond the post, with an advance guard under Lieutenant E. J. Dickson, of the 91st, and a rear guard under Captain Colin Campbell, of the same regiment. Altogether the escort now consisted of forty burghers and eighty soldiers.

In the thickest part of the jungle the oxen of the foremost waggons were shot down by concealed Kaffirs, and with hardly any exertion the whole train fell into their hands. The escort retreated to the post at Trompetter's drift, leaving two colonists named Davis and Bower with a Hottentot and a Fingo dead on the ground. The Kaffirs plundered the stores and drove off the oxen, after setting fire to the waggons.

This success so elated them that they aspired to get possession of Fort Peddie, which was a mere earthen embankment surrounded by a dry ditch, and might be

taken by a rush. But it was on an open height between two branches of a streamlet that falls into the Fish river, and from a watchtower there was an extensive view, so that it could not be surprised. Besides, both the infantry and cavalry barracks were strong buildings, with high loop-holed walls, practically impregnable to Kaffirs.

On the 27th of May a large body of warriors appeared in the neighbourhood, when some troops went out and skirmished with them, but neither party gained any advantage. This movement of the enemy was a mere feint. Fortunately, a Fingo overheard a remark of one of the Kaffir leaders which betrayed the real object, and he at once made Captain Maclean acquainted with it.

At half past ten on the following morning a considerable force again appeared in sight, with the design of drawing the garrison out, but as the object was known the troops were kept within the walls. Shortly afterwards a great horde came over a hill, with the intention of rushing upon the fort while the soldiers were absent from it. The Fingos of the neighbouring location had placed their wives and children in the ditch, and had driven their cattle under the guns.

At noon some eight thousand warriors were in sight, but they were disconcerted by the failure of their stratagem, and only a few ventured within reach of the cannon balls. They got possession of a trader's store on the outskirts of the place, however, and pillaged it. The cattle, being frightened, now broke loose, and the Kaffirs succeeded in driving off four or five thousand head, though the Fingos fought gallantly to save them. For two full hours the Kaffirs remained in sight of the fort, but did not venture to attempt to take it by storm. In the afternoon they retired, having lost in killed some twenty to thirty men. Of the Fingos two were killed and three were wounded. Of the garrison none were hurt.

In this attempt to get possession of Fort Peddie the Tinde captain Jan Tshatshu took part. After his return

from England with the reverend Dr. Philip he was puffed up with pride and self-importance, and as he had acquired a fondness for strong drink, his career thenceforward was most unsatisfactory. For ten or twelve days after the commencement of the war he remained with Mr. Stretch, and professed to be a firm friend of the Europeans, while in fact he was a spy. His defection was of little importance in a military point of view, as his clan was small, but it tended greatly to discourage those who were anxious for the civilisation of his countrymen.

To get supplies to Fort Peddie was now the first object of Sir Peregrine Maitland. A train of eighty-two waggons was laden, and all the forces, regular and irregular, that could be detached from garrison duty were placed under Colonel Somerset's command to act as an escort. They exceeded twelve hundred men. On the 31st of May the train passed the Fish river at Committee's drift, and in the jungle beyond was attacked by the Kaffirs. Three drivers were killed, and six others were wounded, but the enemy was beaten back, and on the following day the train reached its destination in safety.

During the night of the 7th of June a strong party was sent from Fort Peddie to attack the kraal of the chief Stokwe near the Gwanga rivulet, and thereby to occupy the attention of the Kaffirs while the empty waggons with an escort of two hundred and fifty men passed through the jungle at Trompetter's drift on the way to Grahamstown. The party consisted of three hundred Hottentots under Captain Size, one hundred Fingos under Captain Symons, and a party of the same people under one of their own chiefs. At six o'clock in the morning of the 8th Colonel Somerset followed with one hundred Cape mounted riflemen under Captain Napier, a troop of dragoons under Captain Sir Harry Darrell, a troop of volunteer cavalry under Captain Lucas, one hundred of the George burghers under Commandant Muller, and two guns under Captain Brown of the royal artillery.

At half past seven the two divisions united and had a smart engagement with a body of Kaffirs, who were defeated with some loss, when Stokwe's kraal was taken and burned. A little after midday, as the enemy had retired, Colonel Somerset resolved to proceed with the cavalry to the Gwanga in order to rest the horses, which were showing signs of fatigue. There was only a little rise in the ground between the place where he then was and that where he proposed to rest. Just before reaching the top of this rise, Lieutenant Bisset, who was mounted on an unruly horse that carried him far to the front, galloped back and reported to Colonel Somerset that a body of five or six hundred Kaffirs was just beyond, in an open country where cavalry could act to advantage.

With a loud hurrah, the whole body rushed forward, dashing right in among the Kaffirs, and cutting them down. They tried to escape to a jungle five or six miles away, and some of them succeeded in reaching it, as most of the troopers' horses were too fagged to keep up the chase. A few saved their lives by lying flat on the ground and pretending to be dead. But over two hundred bodies were counted next morning, and almost as many more perished of wounds received that day. On the European side one Cape mounted rifleman and one Fingo were killed, and sixteen men were wounded. A hundred guns and over a thousand assagais were picked up on the field of slaughter.

Two prisoners were taken, who informed Colonel Somerset that the Kaffirs were of the clans of Umhala and Siyolo, and that they were on the way to Trompetter's drift, where they intended to establish themselves in the jungle so as to cut off communication between Fort Peddie and Grahams-town.

It was against all rules of Kaffir warfare for a large body of warriors to cross an open country in daylight, but their successes had led them to disregard ordinary customs. They never did so again, for they learned a lesson at the Gwanga that needed no repetition.

In this war there was no serious division among the colonists, as there had been in the preceding. No one in South Africa ventured to assert that the white people were in the smallest degree to blame for the rupture. Mr. Fairbairn wrote in the *Commercial Advertiser* in the same spirit as the editors of other colonial newspapers, and advocated the same measures. The reverend Dr. Philip was silent. He had gone through much domestic trouble, and had borne up against it, but the utter collapse of his plans for the elevation of the coloured races seemed to crush him. On the 1st of July 1845 his eldest son, the reverend William Philip, an amiable and eminently useful man, and his grandson, John Philip Fairbairn, a boy eleven years of age, were drowned at Hankey. Mr. Philip was having a tunnel cut through the upper end of a long narrow hill, round which the Gamtoos river ran with a considerable fall, so that a large extent of land belonging to the station might be irrigated. With his nephew he went to inspect the work, when by an accident the boat in which they were crossing the river was overturned, and both were drowned. The blow was a severe one to Dr. Philip, but his religious principles enabled him to bear up under it. Yet when he was told that the man whom he had exhibited in England as a model Christian Kaffir was in arms against the colony and taking part with the murderers of helpless Fingo women and children he fairly broke down. From that time onward he was as much marked by meekness and gentleness as he had previously been by the opposite qualities. In the following year Mrs. Philip, who was a lady of great talent and zeal in the cause of missions, went to Hankey to die. There Dr. Philip spent his own last days, in complete abstention from everything connected with politics, but endeavouring to the utmost of his ability to promote the moral welfare of the coloured people.

By the end of June there was in the field a force surpassing in strength any army that had ever before been assembled on the frontier. The returns of the regular troops

showed that there were then in South Africa three thousand eight hundred and forty-nine officers and men, of whom five hundred and twenty-six were in Natal, sixty-eight in Cape-town, forty-eight in Port Elizabeth, and the remainder on the border. These last consisted of the 7th dragoon guards, three hundred and twenty-five all told; one hundred and fourteen officers and men of the royal artillery; one hundred and fifty-five officers and men of the royal engineers; two battalions of the 91st regiment of the line, together nine hundred and eighty-three all told; the 27th regiment of the line, four hundred and sixteen officers and men; one hundred and fifty-one officers and men of the first battalion of the 45th; the 90th regiment of the line—the remainder of which arrived at Port Elizabeth in the barque *Maria Somes* on the 8th of July, and was detained by order of the governor—four hundred and thirty-nine strong; and the Cape corps—to which two provisional companies had been attached—six hundred and twenty-four officers and men.

Of irregular forces there were five thousand five hundred and sixty-four burghers and volunteers on the frontier, in addition to two thousand nine hundred and forty-four in Uitenhage and Lower Albany not actually in the field, but ready if necessary to form a second line of defence under Major-General Cuyler, having been withdrawn from Sir Andries Stockenstrom's command for that purpose. There were eight hundred half-breeds and Hottentots serving without pay, under Captain Sutton and Commandant Groepe, and two hundred and sixty-four European officers with four thousand and forty-nine paid Malays, Fingos, Hottentots, and liberated slaves.

The government had thus to provide food on the frontier for thirteen thousand eight hundred and eighty-four fighting men, in addition to a host of waggon drivers and leaders and some eight thousand individuals who had been reduced to destitution by the inroad of the Kaffirs.

The eastern districts and the Kaffir country were at the time suffering from prolonged drought, so that transport on

a large scale was next to impossible. Fortunately, it was ascertained that stores could be landed at an indentation on the coast about a mile east of the mouth of the Fish river, though the holding ground was not good and a heavy swell often set on the shore. Fort Peddie was distant only twenty-two miles, and the road was easy for cattle and unobstructed by jungle. Early in July the first cargo of supplies was landed from the schooner *Waterloo*, of one hundred and fifty-eight tons burden, belonging to Captain Salmond, and thereafter the indentation was known as Waterloo Bay.

On the western side of the mouth of the Fish river a fort was built, which was named Dacres after the admiral on the station. It was first occupied by the marines and a number of sailors from the ship-of-war *President*. A raft was placed upon the river, so that communication with Fort Peddie and the camp at Waterloo Bay was now open from Grahamstown, without the necessity of passing through the extensive jungle at the fords higher up.

A line of defence having been formed to protect the colony, active operations were commenced against the enemy. On the 13th of June Sir Peregrine Maitland left Grahamstown, and established his headquarters at Waterloo Bay. Exclusive of the burghers under Sir Andries Stockenstrom, the army of operations was formed in two divisions, the first or left under Colonel Hare, the second or right under Colonel Somerset. The commander-in-chief was with the last division. Colonel Hare was at Blockdrift.

An attack upon the Kaffirs in the Amatola fastnesses having been resolved upon, the second division moved from Waterloo Bay, and formed a camp on the site of the long abandoned fort Beresford, in the upper valley of the Buffalo river. There Sir Peregrine Maitland remained, while Colonel Somerset with eight hundred and eighty cavalry and seven hundred and sixty infantry went in pursuit of Pato, who had gone eastward with a great number of cattle swept off from the colony. The march was a very difficult one, owing to the grass having been burned by the

Kaffirs, and the horses of the Cape corps and of the Swellendam and George burghers, under Commandants Linde and Muller, became so exhausted that many of them had to be shot. The infantry was composed of Hottentots under Captain Size and Fingos under Mr. William Shepstone, who could traverse the country even more expeditiously than cavalry.

On the 21st of July the infantry crossed the Kei, and that evening and the following morning divisions returned with about five thousand head of cattle recovered from Pato's followers. Colonel Somerset then hastened back to save his horses, and leaving the greater part of the patrol at Fort Beresford, with the remainder he formed a camp on the Gwanga. His loss during the expedition was one Fingo killed and a European and a Fingo wounded.

The plan of attack upon the Kaffirs in the Amatola was that the second division of the army, with its centre at Fort Beresford and its wings spread out in a curve, should block up every outlet to the eastward. The remainder of the available force was then to press them from the remaining sides, when it was supposed that they could not escape.

On the 29th of July two strong divisions commenced to scour the country along the range. One of them, led by Sir Andries Stockenstrom, consisted of the burghers of Somerset, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg, and Beaufort, and the Hottentots of the Kat river. Starting from the upper Tyumie valley, a body of cavalry ascended to the Bontebok flats and spread out to the eastward to prevent the escape of the enemy, while the infantry crossed the steep ridge along which the Hogsback road now runs, and plunged into the ravines and forests beyond. The commandant-general, who allowed himself no comfort or convenience that his humblest follower did not share, inspired the whole division with his courage and energy.

At the same time Colonel Hare with a strong body of regular troops, Fingos, and Hottentot levies, moved from

Blockdrift along the lower margin of the same belt of country, scouring the ravines and thickets before him.

The forces of a civilised nation could not have escaped from such a series of attacks, and must either have beaten back their assailants or been destroyed. It was not so with the Kaffirs. They had such a perfect system of scouting that they knew every movement made against them, their scanty stores of grain were concealed in underground pits, they used no baggage, and a temporary supply of food could be driven about with them. They had no intention of exposing themselves to loss of life in action when they knew they must be defeated, and so they moved away through an open space which by unaccountable neglect of Colonel Hare was left between the extremities of his right wing and Colonel Somerset's left.

By neither division, therefore, were the Kaffirs met in any force. Here and there small bodies were encountered in almost impregnable positions, but they made a very feeble resistance, and were easily dislodged. From prisoners and from women who were met, information was obtained that the main body of the warriors with the cattle had escaped. To pursue them was impossible, as the horses were too weak, and thus the operations, which were conducted with an enormous amount of fatigue and discomfort, ended in failure. The loss on the European side was ten men killed and seven wounded. No cattle were recovered, nor could anything be devised to prevent the Kaffirs returning to the fastnesses, except the occupation of the site of Fort Cox.

After a few days' consideration of what was next to be done, Sir Peregrine Maitland resolved to send a flying column against Krelî to endeavour to obtain satisfaction for the injuries which that chief had inflicted upon the colony and security for his future good behaviour. The column was in two divisions, respectively under Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone. It consisted in all of two thousand five hundred men, chiefly burghers, as Colonel Johnstone's division was partly com-

posed of men of the Cape, Worcester, and Swellendam districts, under the commandants Eksteen, Du Toit, and Linde. Colonel Hare remained at Fort Cox, Colonel Somerset at the camp on the Gwanga, and the governor at Fort Beresford.

On the 14th of August, while the expedition was on the march, it was met by a messenger from Kreli, who sent to ask why he was to be attacked, as he was at peace with the white people, and as the cattle driven from the colony by the Rarabes were not in his country but in the territory occupied by the Tembus. The messenger was sent back to say that Sir Andries Stockenstrom would speak to Kreli and hear his statements at his kraal. The column continued its march, and met with no opposition on the way, the only mishap being that a number of horses broke down from want of food.

Upon the approach of the column Kreli abandoned his kraal and hid himself on a mountain, but left some of his councillors behind, who met the head of the force with a white flag. After a little discussion the councillors conducted Sir Andries Stockenstrom and his interpreter, Mr. Charles Brownlee, to the chief's retreat, but no other white men were permitted to accompany them, though the chief had a strong body-guard. Two or three hours later, however, Kreli consented to ten more joining them. The conference took place on the 21st of August. There were present towards its close, in addition to the two Europeans named, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, the commandants Gideon Joubert, of Colesberg, Andries du Toit, of Worcester, John C. Molteno, of Beaufort West, W. Dodds Pringle, of Somerset East, and Christiaan Groepe, of the Kat river, Captain Vereker, of the 27th regiment, and Messrs. Richard Paver, Henry Hutton, and Joseph Read.

On behalf of the British government Sir Andries demanded from Kreli satisfaction on four points:—

1. On his having permitted the border clans under his control as their paramount chief to make war upon the colony.

2. On his having imprisoned the agent appointed by the governor to reside in his country, and having put him as well as several missionaries in fear of their lives by burning their houses and destroying their properties.

3. On having joined in the war himself, inasmuch as his warriors fought against British troops.

4. On having admitted into his territory the cattle driven from the colony.

Kreli's reply to each of these charges was :—

1. Did the British government make treaties with the border chiefs, and if so, how could he be held responsible for their acts?

2. When there was a cry for war he told Fynn for the sake of safety not to move beyond a certain distance, but Fynn and the missionaries were frightened and fled. He had not ceased sending friendly messages inviting them to return.

3. He ordered his followers to keep peace, and when he found out that one of his captains had taken part against the colonial government, he caused that disobedient one to be punished.

4. He denied having admitted cattle from the colony into his territory.

Sir Andries then offered to accept these explanations if Kreli would consent to the following terms :—

1. To be responsible to the British government for the acts of the Gaikas and other border clans as their paramount chief, provided he should be acknowledged as such by the white people.

2. To compensate Mr. Fynn and the other British subjects in full for all their property taken or destroyed, to solicit their return, and to protect them in their persons and property.

3. To restore all cattle taken from the colony that he could find in his territory, or that could be proved to be there.

4. To acknowledge the right of the British government to all the land west of the Kei.

To these conditions Kreli at once agreed.

When the conference was over the army retired, having obtained nothing but the utterly valueless promises of the chief. As afterwards ascertained, there were then many thousands of cattle taken from the colonists in charge of his retainers on the Bashee, and there was visible proof that sheep must have been driven into his territory, for wool torn from them was still sticking in the mimosas.

When returning, the army attacked Mapasa on the Zwart Kei, and took from him between six and seven thousand head of horned cattle.

On the 16th of August, shortly after Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone left Fort Beresford to proceed to Kreli's country, Captain William Hogg, of the 7th dragoon guards, was sent from Fort Cox with the Hottentots of the western province and some Fingos, one thousand in all, to attack Mapasa. He succeeded in capturing four thousand head of cattle, many of them with colonial brandmarks.

This expedition gave great offence to Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who even went so far as to assert that it was designed and carried out purposely to thwart him. His grievance was that he regarded its field of operations as peculiarly his own, and could brook no rival in it. He had asked that some of the Hottentots who went with Captain Hogg should be attached to his command, but had met with a refusal, though without being informed that it was in contemplation to send them against Mapasa. He asserted also that Captain Hogg interfered with some burgher and Hottentot posts stationed by him on the emigrant Tembu border, and that the expedition had been mismanaged in many ways. This event led to much unpleasantness, which was greatly increased by a dispute between Sir Andries and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone as to certain circumstances which occurred during the conference with Kreli.

It is needless to enter fully into the nature of the dispute, though it caused a great deal of correspondence, which Sir

Peregrine Maitland justly characterised as contentious and acrimonious on the part of Sir Andries. After a short time the governor himself became involved in it, as he held the same opinions as Colonel Johnstone, that Kreli was insincere, while Sir Andries maintained the reverse. Then there arose a question as to the object of the expedition across the Kei. The governor asserted that it was to obtain satisfaction for injuries and security for the future, and that he could not view it as having accomplished much more than 'bringing back some barren words from a crafty chief, whose whole bearing belied his sincerity.' At the same time he acknowledged that it could not have accomplished more than it did, owing to the condition of the horses.

Sir Andries Stockenstrom, on the contrary, maintained that there was a clear understanding before he left Fort Beresford that it was sent to produce a good moral effect, by proving to Kreli that a colonial force could enter his territory under the most unfavourable circumstances. He asserted that this had been accomplished, and that the terms agreed to gave the government a distinct advantage, because if Kreli did not observe them he could be attacked with justice, whereas it would not have been just to attack him before. He questioned the accuracy of the governor's statements and the correctness of Colonel Johnstone's testimony, and accused Colonel Somerset and Captain Hogg of being animated with vindictive feelings towards him. At length, on the 25th of November he tendered the resignation of his office as commandant-general, owing to want of confidence on both sides, and on the 27th the governor replied, relieving him of his duties.

There was at this time, unfortunately, a strong feeling of dislike between a very large section of the burghers and an equally large proportion of the regular forces. The burghers asserted that they were required to perform all the most difficult and dangerous duties, and were half starved in the field, while the regular troops were fully rationed. Sir Andries Stockenstrom had taken care to collect an ample

supply of provisions for the men under his command, and their condition was contrasted with that of the burghers attached to Colonel Hare's division, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. The real cause was that the commissariat department was unequal to the strain upon it, and the queen's forces were regarded as haying the first claim. Then several of the military officers acted in such a manner as to incur the hatred of the colonists. Chief among these was Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, who was in command at Fort Peddie. Among other arbitrary acts of this officer, on the 26th of May he caused a waggon driver named John Smith to be tied up and severely flogged without trial, for refusing to collect fuel for the garrison. It was not an uncommon circumstance for soldiers and burghers to make most taunting remarks to and of each other. Thus Sir Andries Stockenstrom's quarrel with military officers did not tend to make him less popular with the colonists, though the governor was highly esteemed, and both Colonel Somerset and Colonel Johnstone were personally well liked.

Sir Peregrine Maitland refused to ratify the convention with Kreli, and sent him word that the cattle driven from the colony into his territory must be restored as a preliminary to any negotiations for peace. This was something that the chief could not make up his mind to do, and so he continued to be regarded as an enemy.

After the return of the expedition from his country it was impossible to keep a large force in the field, as the horses were dying of hunger and the men were suffering from scarcity of food, so the governor retired with the second division of the army to a camp at Waterloo Bay, and on the 16th of September issued a general order thanking the burghers for their services and allowing them to return to their homes. They dispersed at once, and made their way on foot, or as best they could, to their respective districts.

Colonel Hare was broken down in health, so he was permitted to leave for England. Part of the first division of

the army joined Sir Peregrine Maitland at Waterloo Bay, and the other part was placed under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, who was directed to occupy the posts at Lovedale and Fort Cox, and to patrol the country between Fort Cox and Fort Beaufort.

The office of lieutenant-governor was left without an occupant until the arrival of Sir Henry Young, as related in the last chapter. Sir Peregrine Maitland recommended that it should be abolished, as from the beginning of 1846 there were two posts weekly from Capetown to the frontier, so that it did not seem to him to be needed.

A despatch announcing that Colonel Hare was promoted to be a major-general was on the way from England when he retired. He never saw it, for he died at sea four days after leaving South Africa. His body was taken to St. Helena and buried there.

The force on the frontier remained paralysed for a time through want of food at a distance from Waterloo Bay and the absence of sufficient means of transport. The government had pressed all the waggons and oxen that could be found, and the consequence was that people were afraid to take provisions to the markets at Grahamstown or Fort Beaufort. The drought continued until September, and the commonest necessities of life reached prices never known before. It was only by keeping the great mass of the troops on the coast that actual starvation was averted.

So matters remained until October, when grass sprang up, making it possible to convey supplies overland. Deputy-Commissary-General Palmer, a very active and capable man, was then placed in charge of the transport service, and speedily put matters right. Light waggons with mules to draw them were brought by sea from Capetown to Port Elizabeth. The system of impressment was discontinued, and an offer of 2*l.* a day was made for every bullock waggon and span of fourteen oxen fit for service. By these means a sufficient number of conveyances was obtained.

On the 5th of October a disaster took place in the wreck

of the barque *Catherine* at Waterloo Bay, and the loss of a full cargo of provisions with which she had just arrived.

By this time the troops in the country were largely reinforced. When the war commenced, two battalions of the line which were intended to relieve regiments in South Africa were at Monte Video, and they were hurried on as soon as the intelligence reached that place. On the 30th of July the ship-of-war *Resistance* arrived in Simon's Bay with the second battalion of the 45th, five hundred and twenty-five officers and men, and on the 11th of August the ship-of-war *Apollo* brought to the same place the 73rd regiment, five hundred and thirty-eight all told. On the 26th of the same month the *Cornwall* arrived from Cork with ninety-seven recruits for regiments already here, so that over eleven hundred effective men were added to the army under Sir Peregrine Maitland.

Further reinforcements were on the way out. On the 29th of June 1846 Sir Robert Peel's ministry resigned, and a new cabinet was thereupon formed by Lord John Russell. In it Earl Grey was secretary of state for the colonies, succeeding Mr. Gladstone on the 7th of July. On the 3rd of August he wrote to Sir Peregrine Maitland that more troops would at once be sent out, and a number of half-pay officers—the lieutenant-colonels George Henry Mackinnon, George Green Nicholls, Edward H. D. E. Napier, and Auchmuty Montresor, and three majors—had been selected to proceed to the Cape for service in irregular forces. So little was known in England of the conditions of warfare in this country that these officers really believed they could be of service in organising burgher forces, and were half indignant when the governor—to whom they were a great embarrassment—got rid of them by giving them supernumerary appointments.

On the 28th of October nine officers and two hundred and eighty-five rank and file of the first battalion of the rifle brigade arrived in Table Bay in the barque *Fairlie* from Gibraltar. On the following day the ship *Stebonheath*

arrived from Cork with thirteen officers and four hundred rank and file of the 6th. On the 5th of November the barque *Westminster* reached Table Bay from Cork with the remainder of the 6th, nine officers and two hundred and two rank and file. And on the same day the ship *Equestrian* arrived from Gibraltar with the remainder of the first battalion of the rifle brigade, ten officers and three hundred and twenty-eight rank and file.

Since the first great raid little bands of Kaffirs had frequently entered the districts of Albany and Somerset, where they could conceal themselves in thickets and watch for opportunities to murder defenceless people and plunder and destroy anything that came in their way. Many colonists lost their lives by the hands of these marauders. On the 9th of August a patrol of nineteen Stellenbosch burghers was surrounded in a kloof in Albany, when five of them were killed: Pieter and Hermanus de Villiers, Jan Basson, Pieter Haushamer, and Daniel Russouw. One of the De Villiers could have escaped, but would not leave his wounded brother, who was a mere lad, and both perished together. The bodies were afterwards recovered, and were taken to Grahamstown for burial, the people of that place having requested Commandant Onkruidt to allow them to defray the expense of the funeral. There was no Dutch church in Grahamstown, but the reverend Dr. Roux had taken shelter there when the village of Riebeek East was abandoned. The reverend Mr. Heavyside offered the use of the English church, and the funeral proceeded from it, he and Dr. Roux conducting the service together.

In different places in the frontier districts there were murdered between July and October Messrs. Gordon Nourse, Barend Vosloo, William Cumming, Carel van Heerden, Jabez Aldum, James Pankhurst, Williams, Shields, Wiggins, Mildenhall, Feckery, Gamble, and Smith, and almost as many Hottentots and other coloured servants.

Several circumstances concurred at this time to make most of the chiefs profess a desire for peace. They had no

hope of getting possession of any more cattle, for the country as far as they knew it had been nearly cleared of stock. The severe drought of the previous year had left them almost without corn, and in September heavy rains fell, so that they were desirous of getting their gardens in order.

On the 21st of August Stokwe abandoned the contest, and surrendered to Colonel Somerset. The great majority of his clan, however, continued in the field, and though he promised to restore the colonists' cattle which were in charge of some of his followers beyond the Buffalo, he did not keep his word. Fifty muskets were given up by the men who surrendered with him.

Makoma was the next to tender submission. He was suffering from a severe attack of dysentery, and it was with difficulty that he could move about. He sent a message in the name of the whole of the Gaika and Imidange chiefs, requesting to be informed whether hostilities might not cease. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone was entrusted with the governor's reply. On the 30th of September this officer, accompanied by Major Smith, the reverend Henry Calderwood, and the reverend Frederick Kayser, who acted as interpreter, met the chiefs Sandile, Makoma, Botumane, Tola, and a number of others of less note. The chiefs were attended by several thousand followers, nearly half of whom were armed with muskets. On the slope of a hill now called Sandile's Kop, about a mile from the present village of Alice, the conference took place. The conditions offered by the governor were that the Kaffirs must give up their guns, restore their booty, and accept locations wherever he should choose to place them. The chiefs were informed that he took possession of the country as far as the Kei for the queen of England, and that they would be located in it as British subjects. These conditions they rejected without hesitation.

In offering them, Sir Peregrine Maitland had in view a settlement in many respects similar to that of Sir Benjamin

D'Urban. He intended to deprive the hostile clans of the fastnesses of the Amatola, but to leave them the remaining land east of the Tyumie and Keiskama rivers, where they were to be governed by British officers. The vacant land between the Fish and Kat rivers on one side and the Tyumie and Keiskama on the other was to be given to Hottentots, freed slaves, and other coloured people, who were to be placed under the care of a magistrate, and the Amatola fastnesses were to be allotted to Fingos. Already the reverend William Shaw, superintendent of the Wesleyan missions, was endeavouring under the governor's direction to obtain coloured people from the colony to form villages between the Tyumie and Kat rivers.

The Tembu chief Umtirara had sent to request the governor to receive him as a British subject and to declare the land between the colonial boundary and the Indwe river British territory. This land he laid claim to as being to a large extent occupied by the emigrant Tembus, of whom he was nominally paramount chief, though he stated that he was too weak to enforce order or to prevent Mapasa making war upon the colony. The Galekas, the Bacas, and the Pondos were his enemies, and he asserted that he would be ruined if the governor did not protect him. In the last days of August his people around Clarkebury had been plundered by the Pondos, and nearly the whole of them had been driven over the Indwe. He was then living west of that river, as far from his enemies as possible.

His conduct was, however, exceedingly suspicious. He wanted British protection, but he was known to be secreting cattle driven from the colony. He did not offer an inch of territory to which he had any valid claim, but he proposed to secure a retreat and reserve his rights over all beyond. Early in November Mr. Joseph Read with the Hottentots of Stockenstrom attacked Mapasa, and took fifteen hundred head of cattle from him. Umtirara then, seeing Mapasa being gradually deprived of the immense spoil which he had secured, came down upon him, seized the remainder,

and utterly ruined the emigrant Tembu chief for the time.

With two of his councillors Umtirara now proceeded to Blockdrift, and on the 3rd of December had an interview with the governor. The reverend J. C. Warner, Wesleyan missionary with the Tembus, acted as interpreter. Umtirara repeated his statement of fear of his enemies, and renewed his request for British protection. As an earnest of his sincerity he presented to the governor three hundred of the oxen driven from the colony and taken by him from Mapasa.

Sir Peregrine Maitland could not promise the chief British protection without the consent of the imperial authorities, but he recommended the application to the secretary of state. His plan for the settlement of the frontier was then to place the territory between the colonial boundary on one side and the Indwe¹ and Kei rivers on the other under three British magistrates, one north of the Amatola range with the Tembus, one south of that range with the Gaikas, and one near the sea with the remaining Rarabe clans. To Umtirara he intended to leave a large amount of authority, but the chiefs of the emigrant Tembu and Rarabe clans were to be deposed.

This was the plan of settlement which was being developed in the governor's mind when the negotiations were carried on with the Gaika chiefs in September. Those negotiations ended unsuccessfully, as has been related, and the clans near the coast had not even asked for terms.

On the 16th of September operations were directed against the latter, and Colonel Somerset with part of the second division of the army commenced to scour the country between the Keiskama and Gonubie rivers. The weather was very inclement, so that the troops and levies were subject to much discomfort, but by the 4th of October

¹ Termed the White Kei in the official documents of the day, but from the charts attached to them and from later papers it is seen that the Indwe branch was intended.

from four to five thousand head of cattle were secured, principally from Umhala's people.

The rains enabled the governor to put a strong force in the field again, but now the Kosas adopted a plan which completely baffled him. The men would not fight, they would not even run away. They simply sat down in front of approaching troops, knowing that they would not be fired at under such circumstances, and that a whole tribe could not be detained as prisoners. The women were everywhere found busy making gardens, but as soon as an armed force appeared they thronged round it with their children begging for food. Patrols were sent out to scour the country for cattle, but found very few, as nearly all had been driven far away to the eastward.

What was the governor to do? He could not shoot unresisting men, he could not maintain prisoners, he would not destroy the gardens upon which children depended for food. Makoma came in, and threw himself upon the compassion of the white people. What was the governor to do with him? Sandile sent word that he also wished to surrender. How could his submission be rejected?

The governor took as his chief adviser the reverend Henry Calderwood, a missionary of the London society, who had resided before the war at a station named Birklands, at no great distance from Fort Beaufort. Mr. Calderwood was an able man, but on this occasion his judgment was at fault. He persuaded the governor to modify the plan of settlement, by leaving the Gaikas in the fastnesses of the Amatola, a measure he afterwards greatly regretted. These clans were deprived, however, of the part of the upper Tyumie valley west of the Tyumie river, that stream and the Keiskama being now declared the western boundary of the Kaffir country. From this boundary to the Kei the territory was named British Kaffirland.

To Makoma and his family an outbuilding at Lovedale was assigned, where the chief remained more as a guest than as a prisoner, though his treatment of his wives and

attendants was so violent that it was considered necessary to deprive him of weapons, and on one occasion even to place him in confinement for a short period. Mr. Calderwood was appointed commissioner for the settlement of the Gaika, Imidange, and Tinde clans, and was directed to receive the submission of all who would surrender their arms. Mr. Charles Brownlee was selected as his clerk. The people who submitted were to have ground allotted to them anywhere east of the Tyumie and the Keiskama.

The commissioner established himself at Blockdrift, in the premises once occupied by Mr. C. L. Stretch, the diplomatic agent. The appointments held before the war by Mr. Stretch with the Gaikas and Mr. Henry Fynn with the emigrant Tembus, as well as that of agent-general and frontier commissioner, held by Major Smith, were abolished.

On the 3rd of November the governor granted to Sandile a truce of fourteen days, and offered him permanent peace if he would restore twenty thousand head of cattle and give up his arms. Sandile professed to agree to these terms, and on the day after the truce expired made his appearance at Blockdrift with from two to three hundred horses and about the same number of horned cattle, which he handed over. He also brought in the axestealer Kleintje and a man who he said was the murderer of the Hottentot on the 16th of March, but who died in prison before an examination could be held. A place of residence was then pointed out to the chief by Mr. Calderwood. After this every Kaffir who chose to surrender a musket or six assagais was registered as a British subject, and was permitted to settle down quietly. Between two and three hundred muskets were given up, but the best weapons were concealed. An announcement was made that all guns and all cattle taken from the colony would be seized wherever found, but the Kaffirs were not alarmed by it, as their only object was to gain time.

Captain John Maclean was appointed commissioner for the settlement of the clans near the sea. These were more

tardy than the Gaikas in falling into the arrangement, but in November Colonel Somerset attacked them on the Tshalumna, and took from them between sixteen and seventeen hundred head of cattle, after which their registration proceeded more rapidly. By the beginning of December only Pato, Kobe, and Toyise were left west of the Kei in open warfare with the colony. Their following, however, was greatly increased by warriors from the other clans, and thus the Rarabes at a trifling cost obtained what they desired, a truce to enable them to plant extensively and at the same time a party at war to enable them to keep the troops occupied and to plunder if an opportunity offered.

No one disputed the integrity of the governor or his desire to protect the colony, but those who were best acquainted with the Kaffirs knew that their submission was only feigned. The registration was of no value whatever. As soon as a few individuals were received as British subjects and settled at any place, their friends joined them without reporting to the commissioners, and kraals that should have contained only fifty men often contained four or five hundred. The demeanour of these people towards Europeans was sullen, and cattle in their possession could not be inspected except by a large armed force.

The governor was not aware of the extent of the fraud that was being practised. The discomfort of living in the field and above all the anxiety and worry to which he was subject were very trying to one of his advanced age, and therefore those about him concealed a great deal that it would have been unpleasant for him to know. His bodily strength was failing and his memory was defective, though otherwise his mental faculties were clear and strong.

As Pato with his associates was known to be somewhere between the lower Gonubie and the Kei, a strong force of burghers, soldiers, and coloured levies was made ready to proceed eastward and, as was hoped, bring the war to an end. The burghers, who had recently been called to take up arms again, were placed under command of Captain

Sutton, of the Cape mounted rifles. The levies were under Captain Hogg, of the 7th dragoons. The governor accompanied the expedition, and next to him in authority was Colonel Somerset. The plan was to surround and crush Pato, to demand fifteen thousand head of cattle from Kreli under penalty of attack, and to rescue about three thousand Fingos who were at Butterworth.

On the 27th of December the whole force was assembled at the site of Fort Warden, where a camp was formed. Lieutenant-Colonel Van der Meulen, of the 73rd regiment, with six hundred men then marched towards the nearest ford of the Kei as a feint to deceive the Kaffirs, whose scouts were carefully watching the movements. During the night Captain George Napier, of the Cape mounted rifles, with a division of equal strength crossed the river at a ford nine miles farther down, and Colonel Somerset left with the cavalry to sweep round by the Gonubie to the sea. On the 30th these divisions returned with droves of cattle, but Pato, though seen, managed to escape.

On the 1st of January 1847 the whole force proceeded to Butterworth. Kreli having declined to comply with the demand made upon him, Colonel Somerset proceeded towards the coast, and in the Manubi forest, about eighteen miles east of the mouth of the Kei, as well as along the river Kogha (correct Kaffir spelling Qora), succeeded in securing a considerable number of cattle. A patrol along the Tsomo also met with some success.

A few days later the army returned to King-Williamstown with ten thousand head of cattle. The Fingos were brought from Butterworth, and were located in the valley of the Gaga and in the neighbourhood of the abandoned post Victoria, west of the Tyumie. The loss during the movement across the Kei was seventeen men, among whom were three officers, Captain Gibson, of the rifle brigade, Dr. Howell, of the same regiment, and Lieutenant Chetwynd, of the 73rd. They were galloping in advance of a patrol, and with two Hottentot soldiers were surrounded on the border

of a thicket and were killed. The bodies, frightfully mutilated, were recovered on the following day.

On the 6th of January, at Butterworth, Sir Peregrine Maitland received a despatch from Earl Grey, dated the 16th of September, announcing that Sir Henry Pottinger had been appointed to succeed him as governor, and as that officer did not hold a commission in the national army, Lieutenant-General Sir George Frederick Berkeley had been selected as commander of the forces. No fault was found with any of his measures, the only reason assigned for his removal being his advanced age. He had just been promoted to the rank of general.

On the following morning the governor directed Colonel Somerset to assume command of the forces until the arrival of Sir George Berkeley, and immediately afterwards left for Capetown to meet his successor. On the 13th of January, as he passed through Grahamstown, he issued a proclamation abolishing martial-law in the colony, as he believed the war was practically over. Embarking in Algoa Bay in the steamer *Thunderbolt*, he reached Simonstown on the 19th.

On the 27th of January 1847 Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir George Berkeley arrived in Table Bay in the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamship *Haddington*, which left Southampton on the 5th of December. The same afternoon the new governor took the oaths of office.

Sir Peregrine Maitland with his family sailed in the ship *Wellesley* on the 23rd of February. From the date of his reaching England he lived in retirement, though enjoying the esteem of the imperial government and of every one who knew anything of him. He died in London on the 30th of May 1854, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

The new governor was an officer of distinction in the service of the East India Company. He was born in 1789 at Mount Pottinger, in the county of Down, Ireland, and entered the Company's navy when only fourteen years of age. Shortly afterwards he exchanged into the Indian army,

and though he never saw much military service he attained in it the honorary rank of major-general. In 1809 he first showed his ability as a diplomatist, when accompanying a mission to Scinde. The two following years were spent in company with Captain Christie in exploring the country between India and Persia, of which very little was previously known. Of this expedition he published an account. In the Mahratta war of 1816 and 1817 he was political assistant to Mr. Elphinstone, and was afterwards for some years superintendent of part of the conquered country. In 1831 he was sent to Scinde, and negotiated a treaty that opened the navigation of the Indus. In 1838 he was again sent to Scinde, and was so successful in his mission that he was rewarded by being made a baronet. In 1841 he went to China as the queen's plenipotentiary, and brought the war with that country to a conclusion by negotiating terms of peace that were regarded as alike honourable and advantageous. For this service a pension of 1,500*l.* a year was voted to him by the house of commons without a dissentient voice. He was married in 1820 to Miss Cooke, of Dublin, and had two sons and a daughter living; but his family did not accompany him to South Africa.

In addition to being governor, Sir Henry Pottinger was appointed 'high commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the territories in Southern Africa adjacent or contiguous to the eastern and north-eastern frontier of the colony,' in order that he might make some arrangement with the hostile tribes that would bring the war to a close and tend thereafter to preserve peace. In this capacity Mr. Richard Woosnam was appointed his secretary.

The mode of settlement was left largely for him to devise, but he was informed of Earl Grey's views, which show that the minister could have known very little of South African affairs. The Kaffirs west of the Keiskama, he thought, should be required to acknowledge the queen as their protector and to receive a British officer as the

commander-in-chief of all their forces. The authority of the chiefs should be maintained, but in civil as well as in military matters they should be subject to the European commander. Kaffir troops under European officers should be raised and sent to the western districts of the colony, where they would be hostages for the good conduct of their kindred and friends.

Sir Henry Pottinger's stay at the seat of government was short. Leaving Capetown on the 10th of February, he reached Grahamstown on the 28th, and at once instituted an inquiry into the condition of matters. Pato, Kobe, and Toyise were still openly at war, and had full possession of the country between the lower Buffalo and the Kei. Kreli had not surrendered the cattle demanded of him. The other chiefs professed submission, but it was apparent that few of them were in earnest. Bands of marauders were prowling about the districts of Albany and Somerset, where most of the farmers were still in lager or in the villages.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, believing that the war was nearly over, had abolished martial law, permitted most of the burghers and levies to return to their homes, and sent the 90th regiment to Port Elizabeth in order that it might embark for England. To make up for this loss of force he had done nothing more than order a hundred Kaffirs to be enrolled as policemen and stationed close to Mr. Calderwood's office, at a place to which the name Alice was then given in honour of the second daughter of the queen. The ground thereabouts had been granted provisionally by Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the close of the preceding war to Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain, as a recompense for special services; but was restored to the Kaffirs under the Stockenstrom treaties. Mr. Stretch, the late diplomatic agent, now laid claim to it as having been given to him by the Gaika chiefs. The governor, however, refused to admit his claim as valid; but allowed him to retain the house which he had built—which is still standing and now belongs to the Lovedale institution,—and grant y,

him title deeds to forty acres of land about it. On the 20th of January 1847 Lieutenant David Davies, late of the 90th regiment, was appointed superintendent of the Kaffir police then being raised, and became the first European resident in Alice.

The new governor countermanded the order for the 90th to embark, made great efforts to collect a large body of Hottentots, and appealed to the colonists to furnish seven or eight hundred volunteers to meet at Fort Peddie on the 18th of March, promising not to detain them longer than a month.

Lieutenant Charles Forsyth, of the royal navy, was sent to inspect the mouth of the Buffalo river and report upon it, as Sir George Berkeley desired to form a chain of posts along that stream.

As the Kaffirs in open hostility were known to be well supplied with ammunition, which Sir Henry Pottinger was convinced they obtained from those who were registered and who procured it from secret traders so lost to honour and integrity as to imperil the lives and property of their countrymen for the sake of gain, on the 31st of March he issued a proclamation forbidding traffic of every kind with any of the people then or recently in arms against the colony. Persons caught trading with them were to be considered and treated as being in treasonable intercourse with the enemy, for which they could be tried by court-martial and shot if found guilty.

The number of burghers who assembled at Fort Peddie was not so great as the governor desired, but with them and the Cape mounted rifles Colonel Somerset undertook to drive the adherents of Pato from the country between the lower Keiskama and Buffalo rivers, to which they had returned. A few recently stolen cattle were recovered, but the enemy was not met with in force. There was abundant proof, however, that the Kaffirs were in occupation in large numbers, and that every movement of Colonel Somerset's party was closely watched. On the 3rd of April a small

patrol was surprised near the mouth of the Buffalo, and two burghers from Albany—Blakemore and Pester by name—were killed. Seeing that nothing was likely to result from the movement, on the 11th of April the burghers disbanded without authority, claiming that they had left their homes early in March on condition of not being detained longer than a month.

The troops in the colony at this time mustered in all five thousand four hundred and seventy rank and file, and Sir George Berkeley was authorised to add four hundred men to the Cape mounted rifles. Captain Hogg was busy raising a large irregular force of Hottentots. The governor increased the Kaffir police under Lieutenant Davies to two hundred men, with four junior officers, ten sergeants, and eight corporals, one-fourth of the whole being mounted. He also issued instructions that if any transports with soldiers on board should put into Table Bay or Simon's Bay on the way to England, half a regiment should be detained and kept at Capetown as a reserve. On the 22nd of May the *Hindustan* arrived in Table Bay from Calcutta, bound to London, with one hundred and twenty-nine men of the 62nd regiment returning home. They were quartered in the barracks, and on the 2nd of July their number was made up to four companies from another detachment of the same regiment which arrived from Calcutta in the ship *Duke of Wellington*. These soldiers were never sent to the frontier, but remained as a reserve in Capetown until the close of the war.

The report of Lieutenant Forsyth being favourable, a strong body of troops was now moved to the line of the Buffalo. On the western side of the mouth of that stream a wing of the 73rd regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Van der Meulen was stationed, and a fort—afterwards named Glamorgan—was built. Eleven miles higher up Colonel Somerset formed a camp. Six miles beyond was a smaller camp under Lieutenant Need, of the rifle brigade, whose name the site still bears. Another post was at Fort Murray, which was rebuilt, and the largest of all was King-Williams-

town, where Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, of the rifle brigade, was in command.

On the 28th of April the barque *Frederick Huth* arrived at the mouth of the Buffalo with stores, which were landed without accident, and thereafter that port was used to supply the troops at the advanced posts. It was found to afford greater facilities than Waterloo Bay for conveying goods from ships to the shore. Once within the bar boats were perfectly sheltered. Still there was soon proof that the roadstead was dangerous, for on the 17th of October a surfboat was overturned, when seven men were drowned, and a few hours later the schooner *Ghika* was driven ashore and the twelve men on board were all lost. The *Thunderbolt*, the first steam ship-of-war on the station, unfortunately struck on Cape Recife on the 3rd of February, and was so much damaged that it was necessary to run her on the beach below Port Elizabeth, where she became a total wreck. But she was quickly replaced by the *Rosamond*, so that communication between Table Bay and the mouth of the Buffalo was tolerably certain and rapid.

As soon as his crops were gathered, Sandile assumed an attitude which plainly indicated that he was ready to resume hostilities. He was again regarded by the British authorities as the principal chief of the Gaikas, for Sir Henry Pottinger's views were in some important respects different from those of Sir Peregrine Maitland. Each determined to extend the colonial boundary to the Keiskama and Tyumie rivers, and to place the territory between those streams and the Kei under the sovereignty of the queen of England as a dependency to be occupied almost exclusively by Bantu and to be termed British Kaffirland. Here, however, their agreement ceased.

Sir Peregrine Maitland proposed to fill the land between the Keiskama and the old border with coloured people only, who should be drawn from the colony and therefore accustomed to colonial law. Sir Henry Pottinger believed that this would be nothing else than making a great settle-

ment like that at Stockenstrom, a home of an idle and unprogressive people, who on the least disaster would be thrown upon the government for support. He therefore intended to mix Europeans, colonial blacks, and Fingos upon the ground.

Sir Peregrine Maitland proposed to include in British Kaffirland the whole territory west of the Indwe, if not of the Tsomo, as claimed by the Tembu chief Umtirara, who asked for British protection. Sir Henry Pottinger was undecided as to this, and under any circumstances objected to Umtirara's claim, which was disputed and rested on no solid right. A large portion of the territory was thinly occupied by some Hottentots, Fingos, and other coloured people from the colony, who had moved into it some years before under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Read, son of the missionary at the Kat river. To give a show of right to their occupation, these people set up as a chief a Bushman named Madoor, one of ten or twelve of that race still in existence there, and called themselves Bushmen and his subjects. Their claim was quite as good as Umtirara's, and they had certainly sided with the colony during the war, whereas his professions of friendship were not to be depended upon. Kreli also claimed a large part of the territory, and beyond all dispute his right was equal to that of Umtirara.

A still greater difference in the views of the two governors was as to the manner in which the people in British Kaffirland should be ruled. Sir Peregrine Maitland would not recognise chieftainship at all, except in the person of Umtirara: Sir Henry Pottinger regarded the chiefs as heads of the clans, and intended to govern the people through them. The one would make European officers the sole executive and judicial authorities, the other would make them the guides and controllers of the chiefs. No proclamation had yet been issued extending British authority over the territory east of the Keiskama, but all the registered Kaffirs—Sandile among the number—had agreed to become British subjects, and were so regarded. While Sir Peregrine Maitland

remained governor Sandile was treated by the officials as an ordinary Kaffir, but when Sir Henry Pottinger assumed the direction of affairs the chief was informed that he would be held responsible for the good conduct of his people, though he would not be allowed to punish on charges of witchcraft, and also that certain vile and obscene practices were prohibited. He was then in possession of his old kraals in and along the Amatola fastnesses. Under either system the chief was regarded by his people as their head, whose orders and wishes they were bound to obey even to death.

This was the state of matters when early in June fourteen goats were stolen from the Kat river and traced to one of Sandile's kraals. Mr. Calderwood, the Gaika commissioner, thereupon required of the chief the restitution of the stolen property, a fine of three head of cattle, and the surrender of the thief. Sandile confiscated the property of the thief and his friends, but complied with the demand only to the extent of restoring twelve of the goats.

The governor then resolved to have the chief arrested, or, failing that, to seize his cattle and so bring him to terms. For this purpose Lieutenant Davies was despatched with two officers and seventy-four men of the Kaffir police, assisted by a hundred men of the 45th regiment, fifty dragoons, fifteen Cape mounted riflemen, and twenty Fingos, under Captain Moultrie of the 45th. On reaching Sandile's kraal near Burnshill it was found that the chief had fled, so two horses and thirty-nine head of cattle were taken possession of. The police moved towards a hill close by, upon which some Kaffirs were seen, when eight hundred or a thousand well armed men made their appearance, among whom Sandile himself was recognised. Other bodies of Kaffirs were fast assembling, so that the patrol considered it necessary to retreat. The Kaffirs followed nearly to Block-drift, firing from a distance, by which two men of the patrol were killed and four were wounded.

After some days Sandile sent twenty-one head of cattle

to Mr. Calderwood as a peace offering, but the governor decided that matters could only be settled by the chief's absolute submission or by war.

The season was favourable for military operations, as the country was covered with abundance of grass. Large quantities of stores of all kinds were sent to the front, the troops were arranged in the best manner to prevent an invasion of the colony, the cattle near the border were driven westward to be out of reach of a raid by Kaffirs, and then the governor directed Mr. Calderwood to demand from Sandile two hundred guns and the surrender of the thief who stole the goats.

On the 18th of August Mr. Alexander McDiarmid and two of the Kaffir police were sent to Sandile to make this demand. Mr. McDiarmid, who was one of the missionaries of the Glasgow society, was selected for this duty because he had been in that part of the country ever since the birth of the chief, and was not only intimately acquainted with him, but was deeply interested in his welfare. Sandile was not at his kraal when the messengers arrived. The governor's demand was therefore clearly explained to his mother Sutu and his brother Anta, coupled with Mr. McDiarmid's earnest advice that he should comply with it.

As was anticipated, Sandile treated the message with disdain, so on the 27th of August 1847 Sir Henry Pottinger proclaimed him a rebel, and called out the burghers to aid in attacking him, offering them all the cattle they could seize in his district. Very few burghers, however, responded to this call. They regarded an attack upon Sandile under the circumstances as perfectly useless, because other chiefs who had registered themselves as British subjects would profess to be neutral, but would really take care of his cattle and give him all the help in their power. They also looked upon the Kaffir police as in reality spies, so that no warfare could be successful while this force was employed.

Another, though minor, cause of the burghers declining to take the field was the excitement that just then prevailed

throughout the colony with regard to an action brought by the waggon driver Smith against Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay for causing him to be flogged, as already related. The colonists believed that upon the issue of this case their safety from outrage depended. It came first before the circuit court at Grahamstown on the 5th of April, was then transferred to the supreme court in Capetown, and was finally decided by the circuit court at Uitenhage on the 28th of September 1847. In the criminal charge for assault the judge summed up in favour of the accused, on the ground that under martial law he was justified in acting as he did, and further that legal proceedings against him were prevented by an ordinance recently enacted for indemnifying all persons for acts performed in furtherance of military duty during the war. The jury, however, brought in a verdict of guilty, but no punishment followed, as Colonel Lindsay was merely bound over under a penalty of 50*l.* to appear when summoned to have sentence passed upon him. A civil action for 1,000*l.* damages was dismissed by the judge with costs against Smith.

Another case of a similar nature brought against Lieutenant Bethune of the 91st was then withdrawn.

Owing to these causes only about two hundred burghers mustered upon the governor's call, and with them, the Hottentot levies under Captain Hogg and Captain Sutton, a band of Fingos, and as many regular soldiers as could be drawn from the forts and lines of defence, Sir George Berkeley commenced operations against Sandile. His plan was to have three depôts of supply along the line of the Amatola, from which patrols in light marching order, carrying with them a week's provisions, could harass Sandile's adherents and allow them no rest.

The first of these depôts was on the eastern bank of the Tyumie, where an enclosure of earthen banks and palisades had been made by Sir Peregrine Maitland's order, and named by him Fort Hare. The troops previously quartered in tents and in the Lovedale mission buildings on the

opposite side of the river were now moved into wattle and daub buildings within the enclosure, and a large quantity of provisions and munitions of war was stored there. Between this station and Waterloo Bay there was a good road.

The second of the depôts was on the Debe river, at Fort White, which had been rebuilt in the same style as Fort Hare. Being the centre of the line, Sir George Berkeley made this post his headquarters for the time being.

The third, or the one on the extreme left of the line of operations, was at King-Williamstown, which was within reach of the mouth of the Buffalo for supplies.

On the other side of the Amatola range a depôt of supplies was formed at Shiloh, on the Klipplaats river. Captain Sutton, who was in command of a large irregular force, principally of Hottentots, was directed to make this station his base, and to prevent the enemy's escape over the Bontebok flats.

Mr. Calderwood now moved the people under Kona, Botumane, Koko, and Stokwe into the Tyumie basin and the valley of the Gaga, to be out of the way while operations were being conducted against Sandile. Kona was the eldest son of Makoma, and was then the head of his father's clan, as Sir Henry Pottinger had sent the elder chief with his own consent to Port Elizabeth. Makoma took with him nine men, twenty-six women, and fifty-two children, as his family and attendants, all of whom were maintained at the expense of government. Koko was acting as regent of the people of the late chief Tyali, during the minority of Oba and Fini.

Anta joined his brother Sandile. The remaining chiefs, Umhala, Siwani, Siyolo, Toyise, Sonto, Tola, Jan Tshatshu, and Tabayi the son of Umkayi, were allowed to remain on the locations where they were placed when they were registered, as the ground they were occupying was out of the field of hostilities.

On the 19th of September three patrols in light marching order left the respective depôts of supply, and at daylight on

the following morning entered the Amatola fastnesses at different points. They consisted in all of about two thousand men, and were commanded by Colonel Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, of the rifle brigade, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the second battalion of the 91st. At the same time Sir George Berkeley sent out parties of cavalry from Fort White to scour the open country along the line of operations. Very few men and still fewer cattle were seen. Sandile and Anta with many of their warriors were there, but lay concealed among the crags and thickets, and were not discovered. The remainder of their followers were dispersed among the registered Kaffirs, and were carefully tending the cattle on ground beyond the defined area of hostilities.

When this was subsequently discovered, the registered Kaffirs first claimed the cattle on the plea of having acted as allies of the British forces in taking them from the hostile chiefs; and when this failed, they made a great deal of their pretended adherence to engagements by giving up some of the least valuable animals.

All that the forces could accomplish in the Amatola was to destroy the huts and prevent the Kaffirs from settling anywhere, but as the system of patrolling was continued without intermission Sandile and Anta soon grew weary of it. In less than a month Sandile sent messengers to King-Williamstown to say that he was starving and was ready to give himself up on a guarantee that his life would be spared. This assurance being sent, on the 19th of October he and Anta with their councillors and eighty followers surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, who was then patrolling in Keiskama Hoek. Sandile stated that he had been hiding among the crags on the Wolf river, and that on one occasion he was on the point of being discovered by a rifleman, who turned away when close to him. He recognised an officer who on another occasion was so near that he could distinguish his features.

Sandile, Anta, and twelve of the principal councillors

were committed to the charge of an escort under Captain Bisset of the Cape mounted rifles. On the 24th of October they arrived at Grahamstown, where they were placed in detention as prisoners of war.

Sir George Berkeley then moved forward to the Kei to carry out a similar plan against Kreli and Pato. He formed a camp at the Komgha, and then directed Colonel Somerset to search for Pato, who was known to be in that neighbourhood. By the governor's order Captain Maclean had recently sent a message to that chief, offering peace if he would tender submission and give up five thousand head of cattle; but he declined the terms. On the 30th of October Colonel Somerset found his adherents in possession of a mountain well adapted for defence, but drove them from it without much difficulty.

On the 13th of November five officers—Captain William Leinster York Baker, Lieutenant Clarevaux Faunt, Ensign William Burnop, and Surgeon Neil Stewart Campbell, all of the 73rd regiment, and Assistant-Surgeon R. J. Loch, of the 7th dragoon guards—lost their lives near the camp at the Komgha. For the purpose of inspecting the country they had ridden to the top of a hill which commanded a very extensive view, and were there cut off by a party of Galekas of the clan under Buku, Kreli's uncle. For some time it was not known at the camp what had become of them, but on the following day their spoor was followed, when the mangled bodies were found. Their remains were interred at the Komgha, but were afterwards removed, and now lie within the walls of Trinity church, King-Williamstown.

For several weeks movements were constantly made up and down both banks of the Kei, in which three or four thousand head of cattle were captured, and which allowed Pato and his followers no repose, though they managed to avoid meeting the troops. Some of their cattle were sent into Umhala's location and were sheltered there, but the best of the herds which they had driven from the colony were in the valley of the Bashee. There the Galekas were

determined to keep them, and Pato found not only that he could get no aid from Kreli, but that he would be prevented by that chief from escaping eastward. There was every indication indeed that Kreli was ready to make his peace with the governor by seizing and surrendering the Gunukwebe captain. Under these circumstances, and being constantly harassed and without a place of even temporary refuge, on the 19th of December he sent two messengers to Colonel Somerset to ask if his life would be spared in case he surrendered. On being assured that it would, a few hours afterwards he and his attendants laid down their guns and became prisoners of war. No chief was then left west of the Kei who had not given in his submission.

A notification from Sir Henry Pottinger had been sent to Kreli offering peace on condition of his acknowledging the Kei as the boundary of his territory, promising to conduct himself thereafter as a friend, and surrendering ten thousand head of cattle; but the chief could not make up his mind to the last of these conditions.

Just at this time the connection of Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir George Berkeley with South Africa ceased, and a new governor, who possessed the entire confidence of the colonists, arrived in the country. This was no other than Sir Harry Smith, who as Colonel Smith had been the head of the province of Queen Adelaide under Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

From Earl Glenelg this officer had received scanty justice. He was accused by that minister of having acted in a barbarous manner in the war of 1835, and when his innocence was proved Earl Glenelg declined to make any other amends than withdrawing the statement. It was in vain that Sir George Napier recommended the appointment of Colonel Smith as an extra aide-de-camp to the queen, in order to prove that all erroneous impressions concerning him had been removed, and to silence calumny. No man could have been better acquainted with Colonel Smith's humane disposition than Sir George Napier, for when he wrote that

despatch—26th of January 1838—they had been friends for thirty-three years, and they had bled together under Sir John Moore and the duke of Wellington.

Whether owing to Glenelg's influence or not it is impossible to say, but Colonel Smith only received promotion after the fall of that minister. He was then appointed adjutant-general of the army in India, and after a residence of over eleven years in South Africa, in June 1840 he left to fill that office. A few years later an opportunity to distinguish himself occurred, and on the 28th of January 1846 the division under his command won the memorable victory of Aliwal over the Sikhs.

Upon the conclusion of the Sikh war Colonel—then Sir Harry—Smith returned to England, where he was received by the government and the people with the warmest applause. Honours were conferred upon him, addresses to the hero of Aliwal were presented at every town he passed through, and no long time elapsed before he was appointed governor of the Cape Colony, high commissioner, and commander-in-chief of the forces.

On the 1st of December 1847 the new governor and his lady arrived in Table Bay in the East India Company's ship *Vernon*. The first intelligence that he received was of the death of the five officers near the Komgha. As the *Vernon* in the early morning was standing into the bay she came abreast of a flagstaff at Seapoint, in the grounds of Mr. Henry Solomon. In answer to the signal 'What is the latest news?' Mr. Solomon gave information of that disaster.

A few hours later Sir Harry Smith and his lady landed on the north jetty, at the foot of Bree-street, where the whole townspeople were assembled to meet him. Never had any one been received with such acclamations of welcome. Amidst the most hearty cheering, mingled with the roaring of cannon from the Imhof battery, the governor passed through the streets, at every moment recognising and saluting old acquaintances, and remarking upon alterations

made during the time he had been away. Immediately after his arrival at government house he took the oaths of office. That night the town was brilliantly illuminated, and the windows in a solitary house that was unlit were completely wrecked by the populace.

On the 11th of December Sir Harry Smith embarked at Simon's Bay in the *Rosamond*, and landing at Algoa Bay, reached Grahamstown on the 17th. Everywhere his reception was as warm as it had been in Capetown. At Port Elizabeth in the crowd he noticed Makoma, and calling that besotted individual before him, he upbraided him with the folly of having made war with the Europeans, and then placed his foot upon the neck of the chief to denote the result of the conflict. It was not a dignified act, and could have no effect upon such a man as Makoma, but it might have indicated a great deal to the bystanders, though at such a time of enthusiasm perhaps they could not realise it. It showed that the gravity of Colonel Smith had given place to impetuosity and vanity in Sir Harry Smith, and betokened ill for his administration. His frequent repetition of the phrase 'I will be governor' implied the same, and showed that he was less able to withstand the trials of prosperity than those of adversity.

On the 16th of December he had an interview with Sir Henry Pottinger at Lieutenant Daniell's farm Sidbury Park. The late governor had remained on the frontier purposely to meet him and give him all the information possible.

As soon as the meeting was over Sir Henry Pottinger hastened to Capetown to embark for Madras, of which presidency he had been appointed governor. He left this country without the esteem of a single colonist, though every one acknowledged him to be a man of rare ability and great industry. No other governor of this colony ever lived in such open licentiousness as he. His amours would have been inexcusable in a young man, in one approaching his sixtieth year they were scandalous. In other respects a cold, calculating, sneering, unsympathetic demeanour prevented

men of virtue from being attracted to him. He was much better adapted for office in India than in South Africa. He remained in Madras until 1854, when he returned to Europe, but dreaded living in England during the winter months. He died at Malta on the 18th of March 1856.

Sir George Berkeley accompanied Sir Henry Pottinger to Madras as commander of the forces. He had left Colonel Somerset with the army on the Kei, and waited in Grahams-town to transfer his duties. This was effected on the morning of the 17th of December, when Sir Harry Smith took command of the troops.

The two preceding governors had regarded the extension of the colonial boundary as a necessity, but had issued no proclamation concerning it, as the successive secretaries of state were opposed to any enlargement that could possibly be avoided. The governors had therefore expressed their views with the reasons for forming them, and awaited instructions.

Sir Harry Smith acted promptly in the matter. On the 17th of December, a few hours after his arrival at Grahams-town, he proclaimed a new boundary for the colony: from the mouth of the Keiskama along the western bank of that stream to its junction with the Tyumie, thence along the western bank of the Tyumie to its northernmost source, thence along the summit of the Katberg range to the centre of Gaika's Kop, thence to the nearest source of the Klipplaats river, thence along the western bank of the Klipplaats to its junction with the Zwart Kei, thence along the western bank of the Zwart Kei to its junction with the Klaas Smit's river, thence along the western bank of the Klaas Smit's to its source in the Stormberg, thence across the Stormberg to the source of the Kraai river, thence along the western bank of the Kraai to its junction with the Orange, and thence along the southern bank of the Orange to the Atlantic ocean.

A few days later intelligence was received of the surrender of Pato, which completed the apparent submission of the

clans west of the Kei. The governor thereupon proceeded to King-Williamstown, and on the day of his arrival there—23rd of December 1847,—in presence of the chiefs who were assembled for the purpose, he proclaimed the whole of the territory occupied by the Rarabe clans and part of that occupied by the emigrant Tembus under the queen's sovereignty. It was bounded on the west by the new colonial border from the sea to the junction of the Klipplaats river with the Zwart Kei, on the north-east by the Kei river from that point to the sea, and on the south-east by the Indian ocean. This territory, which was named British Kaffraria, was not annexed to the Cape Colony, but was to be a distinct dependency of the crown, kept in reserve for the Kaffir people over whom the high commissioner was to be great chief.

Sandile and Anta, who were brought by the high commissioner from Grahamstown with him, were present with the other chiefs, but Makoma had not yet arrived from Port Elizabeth. The troops were drawn up in lines, and the Kaffir chiefs with some thousands of attendants were seated in a great hollow circle. Into this circle Sir Harry Smith rode with his staff, and read the proclamation. He then called for a sergeant's baton, which he termed the staff of war, and a wand with a brass head, which he termed the staff of peace. Calling the chiefs forward, he desired them to touch whichever they pleased, when each of course touched the staff of peace. After an address of some length upon their prospects if they behaved themselves and threats of what would happen if they did not, he required them to kiss his foot in token of submission. This they did also without hesitation. The ceremony concluded by the high commissioner shaking hands with all the chiefs, calling them his children, and presenting them with a herd of oxen to feast upon.

Arrangements were immediately made for the government of the territory. The reverend Henry Calderwood, previously Gaika commissioner, was provided with a different

situation, and Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackinnon was appointed commandant and chief commissioner of British Kaffraria. He was directed to reside in King-Williamstown, and to exercise control over the other officials. All correspondence with the high commissioner was to pass through him. To him there was to be an appeal from the decisions of any officials. The military officers in the territory were directed to support him when required, but he was not to call upon them for assistance except in cases of great emergency. For ordinary purposes the Kaffir police force was placed at his disposal.

This police had been increased by Sir Henry Pottinger to four hundred and forty-six men. It was in two divisions, respectively under Lieutenant Davies and Mr. Charles Mostyn Owen, who were termed superintendents. In each division there were four junior European officers, three European sergeants, seven Kaffir sergeants, and eight Kaffir corporals. The principal part of this force was stationed along the colonial border, to prevent cattle stealing. Sir Harry Smith, like Sir Henry Pottinger, spoke and wrote of it in high terms of praise, but the colonists were very suspicious of its fidelity and regarded the training of the men to the use of arms as an experiment fraught with danger.

Captain Maclean, previously Ndlambe commissioner, was directed to reside at Fort Wellington, a new military post established close to the abandoned mission station Wesleyville on the Tshalumna river. He had been invested with all the powers of a civil commissioner and resident magistrate in the Cape Colony, and this authority was left to him. Pato and his followers were to be located in that neighbourhood.

Mr. Charles Brownlee, previously clerk to Mr. Calderwood, was appointed assistant commissioner, and was directed to reside at Fort Cox, in the neighbourhood of Sandile's kraal. Mr. William Macdowell Fynn, formerly diplomatic agent with Kreli, was appointed assistant commissioner, and was

directed to reside at Fort Waterloo, in Umhala's neighbourhood. Mr. Eldred Mowbray Cole, who on the 1st of May had been appointed Tembu commissioner with the full power of a civil commissioner and resident magistrate in the Cape Colony, was left at Shiloh, where he resided. This arrangement, however, was merely temporary, as the great body of the Tembus did not become British subjects, and Mr. Cole was shortly afterwards provided with a situation elsewhere.

Around each fort and each mission station a circular tract of land with a radius of two miles was reserved, upon which no Kaffirs could settle without express permission. All the remaining country was left to them exclusively, and boundaries were laid down between the different clans.

The only revenue proposed to be derived from the territory was from traders' licenses and fines for theft of cattle from beyond the border. Each trader was to pay 50*l.* yearly for a license, and could only carry on business within the reserved areas round forts and mission stations. The sale of munitions of war and spirituous liquors was prohibited under very heavy penalties.

A strong military force was to be left in British Kaffraria. It was to consist of the first battalion of the rifle brigade, five hundred and sixty-nine officers and men, the reserve battalion of the 45th, five hundred and seventy-five officers and men, the 73rd regiment, five hundred and seventy officers and men, one hundred and two artillerymen and engineers, and one hundred and ninety-two officers and men of the Cape mounted rifles. This force was to occupy eight commanding positions, namely King-Williamstown, the headquarters, on the left bank of the Buffalo, Fort Murray, close to the mission station Mount Coke, on a feeder of the Buffalo, Fort Glamorgan, on the western side of the mouth of the Buffalo, with an outpost to be called Fort Grey, on the road to King-Williamstown, Fort Hare, on the left bank of the Tyumie, Fort Cox, on the upper Keiskama, Fort

White, at the source of the Debe, new Fort Wellington, on the Tshalumna, and Fort Waterloo, near the Gonubie.

These arrangements were concluded on the 24th of December, and a meeting of the chiefs was then called for the 7th of January 1848, to hear them explained. On that day there were assembled at King-Williamstown Sandile and Anta, sons of Gaika; Kona, son of Makōma; Fini and Oba, sons of Tyali, with Koko, the regent of the clan during their minority; Umhala, son of Ndlambe; Tabayi, son of Umkayi; Siwani, Siyolo, and Umfundisi, sons of Dushane; Nonibe, widow of Dushane; Stokwe and Sonto, sons of Eno, of the Amambala clan; Toyise, son of Gasela; Tola and Botumane, of the Imidange clan; Pato, Kama, and Kobe, of the Gunukwebe clan; Jan Tshatshu, of the Tinde clan; Umtirara and Mapasa, of the Tembu tribe; and many others of less note. Kreli and Buku were not present, but they had sent representatives to express their desire for peace. A great number of councillors and attendants accompanied the chiefs.

The missionaries were returning to their old stations or to form new ones, and at the high commissioner's invitation were present at the meeting. Camp followers of all descriptions, men attached to the commissariat and transport services, traders, and others attracted by curiosity helped to swell the assembly. The troops were drawn up in lines between which the high commissioner with his staff rode towards the throng, while the bands of the regiments played the national anthem.

After a prayer by the reverend Mr. Dugmore, Wesleyan missionary, Sir Harry Smith addressed the Kaffirs upon their position. One after another the chiefs then made oath:—

1. To obey the laws and commands of the high commissioner as great chief and representative of the queen of England;
2. To compel their people to do the same;
3. To disbelieve in and cease to tolerate or practise witchcraft in any shape;

4. To prevent the violation of women ;
5. To abhor murder, and to put to death every murderer ;
6. To make their people honest and peaceable, and never to rob from the colony or from one another ;
7. To acknowledge that their lands were held from the queen of England ;
8. To acknowledge no chief but the queen of England and her representatives ;
9. To abolish the sin of buying wives ;
10. To listen to the missionaries and make their people do so ;
11. On every anniversary of that day to bring to King-Williamstown a fat ox in acknowledgment of holding their lands from the queen.

Some of these conditions were subversive of the whole framework of Kaffir society, nevertheless the chiefs took the oath in the name of the Great Spirit without any compunction. Few of them had any intention of keeping it.

Sandile and Kona represented that the ground on which their people were then living was too limited in extent for their needs, and wanted the high commissioner to give them also the territory between the Keiskama and Fish rivers. They were informed that there was plenty of vacant land towards the Kei, on which they could build kraals and make gardens. None of the others had any request to make, and all were profuse of thanks.

Sir Harry then addressed them again, telling them what would happen if they were not faithful. 'Look at that waggon,' said he, pointing to one at a distance which had been prepared for an explosion, 'and hear me give the word Fire !' The train was lit, and the waggon was sent skyward in a thousand pieces. 'That is what I will do to you,' he continued, 'if you do not behave yourselves.' Taking a sheet of paper in his hand : 'Do you see this ?' said he. Tearing it and throwing the pieces to the wind, 'There go the treaties !' he exclaimed. 'Do you hear ? no more treaties !'

The representatives of Kreli and Buku were informed that peace would be made with those chiefs on the following terms :—

1. That they should evacuate and never again attempt to occupy any ground west of the Indwe and Kei rivers ;

2. That they should acknowledge as the property of the queen of England the ground a mile in breadth on each side of the great road from Kei to Butterworth, and thence in one direction to Clarkebury and in another through Morley to Buntingville ;

3. That within six days Buku should send in the arms of the officers murdered near the Komgha.

The assembly then dispersed with loud shouts of ‘ Peace, peace.’

Buku sent in the guns within the required time, and Kreli proceeded to King-Williamstown, where on the 17th of January he had an interview with Colonel Mackinnon and agreed to the terms imposed upon him. Subsequently of his own free will he collected a number of cattle to compensate Mr. W. M. Fynn and the reverend Mr. Gladwin for the destruction of their property at Butterworth at the commencement of the war.

Kama, who had fought on the European side, was rewarded by having a valuable tract of land some distance north of the Winterberg and within the new colonial boundary assigned to him. It is still known as Kamastone. Hermanus in like manner received a fertile slip of territory on the Kat river near Fort Beaufort. The refugees from the mission stations returned to their old homes, except those who had been under the reverend Mr. Calderwood’s care at Birklands, who received grants of land close to the Lovedale institution, within what is now the municipality of Alice. Umtirara, the paramount Tembu chief, who claimed to have acted as a neutral, was promised protection against Kreli if he chose to live on the land between the colonial boundary and the Indwe river, but in his own territory between the Bashee and the Umtata he would have

to protect himself. Mapasa became a British subject in the same way as the Rarabe chiefs.

In this manner the war of the axe was brought to a close. To outward appearance the late hostile clans were now submissive, and according to their professions they were even grateful for the terms that had been granted to them; but there were few among the chiefs who really intended to accommodate themselves to the new order of things.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE REPUBLIC OF NATAL AND ITS OVERTHROW.

Boundaries of the republic of Natal—Foundation of the village of Weenen—Constitution of the republic—Form of union with the districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom—Correspondence with Sir George Napier concerning the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the republic—Account of the Pondo and Baca tribes—Attack upon the Bacas by the emigrant farmers—Application to Sir George Napier by the Wesleyan missionaries in Pondoland for the protection of Faku—Formation of a military camp on the Umgazi river—Resolution of the Natal volksraad with regard to the blacks—March of British troops from Pondoland to Natal—Account of Mr. J. A. Smellekamp's visit to Natal—Action between the farmers and the troops—Siege of the English camp at Durban—Relief of the camp by troops under Colonel Cloete—Conditions of capitulation of the republic—Views of the imperial government—Mission of Advocate Cloete to Natal—Murder by Panda of one of his brothers—Rush of Zulu refugees into Natal—Proceedings of Commissioner Cloete—Stormy meetings at Maritzburg—Submission of the volksraad—Retirement from Natal of the great body of emigrant farmers—Proposals of the volksraad as to future government—Treaties with Panda—Treaty of Sir Peregrine Maitland with Faku, giving to the Pondos the country as far north as the Umzimkulu—Constitution of the colony of Natal—Boundaries assigned to the new colony—Appointment of a staff of officials—Commerce of Natal in 1845.

THE territory under the government of the emigrant farmers between the Drakensberg and the sea, and which they termed the republic of Natal, had different boundaries from the present colony of that name. On the north the Tugela from its source to its mouth separated it from the subject Zulu state under Panda. Thus the whole of that triangular block of land now comprised in the counties of Klip River and Newcastle was in the dependency of Zululand, not in the republic proper. On the southwest the boundary was the Umzimvubu river, and embraced therefore large portions of the present districts of Pondoland and Griqualand East.

The republic was divided into three magisterial and

ecclesiastical districts, named Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, and Port Natal.

The village of Weenen was laid out in 1840. As in Maritzburg, the erven or building allotments were parallelograms one hundred and fifty by four hundred and fifty feet in size, thus providing space for each family to have its own garden and orchard, while the public grounds were so large as really to make the village the centre of an immense grazing farm. The commonage around Maritzburg was about one hundred and twenty square miles in extent.

Every burgher of full age who had settled in Natal before the beginning of 1840 was entitled to two farms of three thousand morgen each and one erf in either of the villages. Each lad above fifteen years of age was entitled to one farm and one erf. Every head of a family arriving after that date and casting in his lot with the community was to be entitled to one farm free of payment.

The public revenue was derived from:—

(a) Duties levied at the port. All wines were charged thirty shillings the aam. Spirits of any kind were charged three shillings a gallon. Tobacco in any form, timber, and all articles made of wood were charged one-fourth of their value. All other merchandise was charged three per cent. of the value.

(b) Port dues paid by vessels dropping anchor, at the rate of threepence a ton.

(c) A tax of eighteen shillings yearly on every farm not exceeding three thousand morgen in extent. Farms above that size paid in proportion.

(d) Transfer dues at the rate of two per cent. on the purchase amount of land.

(e) Fines of court.

The civil list was so small as to be unique in the history of European communities. The landdrost and the clergyman of Maritzburg were each paid at the rate of 100*l.* a year. The secretary of the volksraad received 75*l.*, and each of the landdrosts of Port Natal and of Weenen 37*l.* 10*s.* a year.

The clergyman Smit, whose health had completely failed, drew a yearly pension of 45*l*. The port captain, collector of customs, and entire police establishment cost the republic less than 100*l*. a year. The total civil list was under 500*l*.

At Port Natal and at Weenen congregations were organised, each with its own elders and deacons, but neither of these places had a resident clergyman. In June 1839 Dr. Adams and the reverend Daniel Lindley, two of the American missionaries, returned to Natal. Dr. Adams resumed his labours with the blacks at his former station on the Umlazi, but Mr. Lindley, seeing the Europeans without pastoral care, conceived it his duty to minister to them. The affection with which his name was pronounced in hundreds of South African households long after his death was a proof that his devotion to their spiritual welfare was appreciated. He became the resident clergyman of Maritzburg, but once every year he visited Port Natal and Weenen, and yearly also he went over the Drakensberg to hold services at Winburg and Potchefstroom.

In June 1840 the reverend Aldin Grout returned to Natal, and joined Dr. Adams at the Umlazi, where he devoted himself solely to the blacks. In May of the following year he removed to Zululand, and commenced mission work in the centre of some large kraals on the Umhlatusi. But Panda viewed the mission with no friendly eye, as he took offence at Mr. Grout's doctrine, and feared that such teaching would weaken his authority. At dawn on the morning of the 25th of July 1842 a band of warriors, acting under his orders, attacked the station, and wiped out of existence three of the kraals that were believed to have paid most attention to the white teacher's words. Mr. Grout himself was spared, but he deemed it prudent to return at once to Natal, where he shortly afterwards tried to found a station on the Umgeni.

The volksraad, which was the supreme legislative power in the republic, consisted of twenty-four members, and met at Maritzburg in regular session on the first Monday of

January, April, July, and October. Twelve members formed a quorum. At each session a chairman was chosen, who took the title of president, and with the aid of a few members who formed what was termed the commissie raad, carried on the government during the following three months. All appointments to office were made by the volksraad. No sentence of death could be carried into effect without its sanction. At the end of every year the fieldcornets sent in papers signed by the burghers of their wards, on each of which was the name of the individual whom the subscribing burgher desired as a representative. The twenty-four individuals having the greatest number of votes formed the volksraad for the following year. As if this form of government was not sufficiently democratic, whenever a measure of importance was to be decided a meeting of what was termed *the public*, that is of all who chose to attend, was called together to sanction or reject it.

The result was utter anarchy. Decisions of one day were frequently reversed the next, and every one held himself free to disobey any law that he did not approve of. The most violent language was used in discussing even ordinary matters. The landdrosts frequently found themselves without power to enforce their decisions, or even to compel the attendance before their courts of persons summoned for debt or accused of crime. Public opinion of the hour in each section of the community was the only force in the land. In the volksraad and in the public service, exclusive of Mr. Lindley, there were only two individuals sufficiently educated to be able to write English correctly, and not more than five or six who were acquainted with the rudiments of Dutch grammar. Mr. J. N. Boshof excepted, there was not one who had the slightest experience of office work. Under such a government any people with less stability of character than the emigrant farmers must have become thoroughly demoralised.

The political tie between the people of Natal and those who occupied the country west of the Drakensberg was

exceedingly frail, though the sympathy of blood was strong. After recrossing the Drakensberg in 1838, Commandant Hendrik Potgieter took up his residence on the Mooi river, and established an independent government. There was no Bantu tribe near enough to disturb him, for Moselekatse had fled so far away that when in July 1840 a commando assembled to follow him up and endeavour to recover the captive children, the Matabele could not be found.

In September 1840 a loose kind of alliance was formed between the government of this section of the emigrants and the volksraad of Natal. The emigrants west of the Drakensberg were thenceforth under what they termed an adjunct raad, consisting of twelve members, and claiming authority over the districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom. The district of Winburg was defined as the whole country south of the Vaal, from the Vet river to the Drakensberg, that is nearly half of the present Orange Free State. The district of Potchefstroom was held to be all the country north of the Vaal conquered from Moselekatse. Its boundaries were not accurately defined, but in the articles of agreement between Messrs. A. W. Pretorius and A. H. Potgieter the land open for settlement is described as extending from the desert on the west to Rhenoster Poort on the east, and from the Vaal river and the saltpan near Lithako on the south to Zoutpansberg on the north. At the villages of Winburg and Potchefstroom there were landdrosts and church officers without clergymen, as at Weenen and Port Natal.

In each of these districts, just as in each of the three districts of Natal, there was a commandant who had power in case of war to call out all the burghers capable of bearing arms. Mr. Potgieter, who was over these again, was styled chief commandant. In Natal Mr. A. W. Pretorius, the officer of highest military authority, was termed commandant-general. They all lived by farming as other burghers did, and received no salaries.

Under the agreement of union, the adjunct raad retained

full and independent control in minor matters over the districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom, and had the right of sitting with the volksraad at Maritzburg whenever important subjects were considered.

Between the Vet river and the Orange there were several parties of emigrants acting independently of either of the councils here named. With all of them the form of government was merely probationary. They readily acknowledged that they knew nothing of the policies of other people, ancient or modern, except from bible history, and were only experimenting until they could work out a system adapted to their needs.

The details of the administration having been settled, the volksraad deemed it advisable to enter into correspondence with the governor of the Cape Colony, with a view of obtaining recognition of their independence. Sir George Napier, a large party in South Africa, and an influential association in London, of which Mr. Abraham Borradaile was chairman and Mr. Saxe Bannister secretary, had long been urging the imperial government to take possession of Natal for colonisation purposes, but the ministry was unwilling to increase England's responsibilities in this part of the continent. Lord John Russell declared that he was not in principle adverse to the extension of colonies, unless where the occupation of territory previously held by aboriginal tribes would cause flagrant injustice, cruel wars, and protracted misery, or where it would require a large expenditure without prospect of adequate compensation. These considerations, he wrote, made him hesitate to give his sanction to the colonisation of Natal, as the settlers in all probability would be exposed to continual conflicts, and fresh troops would be often needed.

On the 18th of June 1840, however, he instructed the governor to send a detachment of soldiers to resume possession of the port, and thus re-establish the influence of the British name in the country; and on the 5th of September he wrote that he was favourable to the settlement of Natal

as a British colony, but not prepared to expend large sums of money to conquer the territory from the emigrant farmers. He desired therefore that they should be conciliated, and that for this purpose a president and council should be appointed by the governor from among themselves, and be entrusted with civil authority.

When these despatches arrived the aspect of affairs on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony was such that the governor dared not withdraw a single company of soldiers, and as he feared that the military occupation of Port Natal would be resisted, he felt himself obliged to temporise.

Matters were in this condition when on the 4th of September 1840 Mr. L. Badenhorst, then president, and Mr. J. J. Burger, secretary of the volksraad, wrote to Sir George Napier, informing him that they had established peace with the surrounding tribes, and asking through him that the queen might be graciously pleased to acknowledge and declare them a free and independent people. They proposed to send two commissioners to Capetown to treat for 'an acknowledgment of their independence, with the rights of British subjects.' Such a sentence as this is an illustration of much of the correspondence of the volksraad when the letters were not drafted by Mr. Boshof.

Sir George Napier replied on the 2nd of November, asking for an explicit statement of the terms on which they were disposed to treat, but without making any promises or admissions.

On the 14th of January 1841 the conditions which they desired to embody in a treaty were agreed to by a majority of the volksraad after long discussion, and were communicated to Sir George Napier in a letter signed by Carel Pieter Landman, then president, and twelve members.

They provided for the acknowledgment by the British government of the independence of the republic; for a close alliance; for neutrality in the event of war between Great Britain and any other power; for reciprocal customs duties at the same rates as if Natal was a British settlement,

except on wines and spirituous liquors, which were to be heavily taxed; for an engagement that the republic should not make war upon the tribes to the southward without giving due notice to the colonial government and stating the cause, and should not extend its boundaries to the disadvantage of the bordering tribes, or make any hostile movements against those people unless first attacked; for the encouragement of the spread of the gospel among the heathen and of their civilisation; for the withholding of aid of any kind to the declared enemies of Great Britain; for the free passage of British troops through the republic in case of war between the colony and the Kaffirs, should the governor desire it; for the prohibition of trade in slaves; and for the protection of British subjects residing in the country.

While this correspondence was being carried on, an event took place which altered the whole aspect of affairs, and which necessitates a reference to the Pondo tribe.

In July 1828 Major Dundas, landdrost of Albany, visited these people, and had an interview with Faku, their paramount chief, who was then living in the valley of the Umgazi river. Tshaka's army had swept the country of cattle, and after an occupation of a month and a half had left only ten days before Major Dundas's visit. Faku had sent to Hintsá and Vusani, chiefs of the Galekas and Tembus, for assistance, but had received none, and he was then about to beg Tshaka to receive him as a vassal. The messengers whom he sent for that purpose actually reached Tshaka's kraal on the very day that chief was assassinated.

In May 1829 the reverend William Shaw visited Faku at his kraal on the Umgazi. The country close around was thickly populated, and the people had gathered a plentiful harvest of corn, but had very few cattle. In this year Morley mission station was founded by the reverend Mr. Shepstone among Depa's people, who were partly descended from Europeans wrecked on the coast, but who were Pondo vassals. The station was destroyed a few months later by

the Amakwabi, when Mr. Shepstone's family narrowly escaped ; but it was subsequently rebuilt in another and better position on the western bank of the Umtata.

In 1830 the Buntingville mission was commenced by the reverend Messrs. Boyce and Tainton. Faku, who believed that the missionaries were powerful rainmakers, gave them one of the driest sites in the whole country, in hope of benefiting by the rain which he anticipated they would cause to descend for their own profit. When, however, he found that his expectations were not realised, he granted a much better site elsewhere, and the mission was removed.

At this time the Pondos were not by any means a powerful tribe, and they were entirely confined to the western bank of the Umzimvubu. It was not alone invasions of their country by Tshaka's armies that had brought them to this condition. Numerous hordes, fleeing before the Zulu spear, sought refuge in the rugged district drained by the Umzimvubu, others made a pathway through it to safer regions beyond. Every horde that came was an enemy of all the rest, and so there was for years a continual scene of pillaging and butchering throughout the land.

It would be a waste of time to search out and place on record the titles of all the clans that made their appearance on the Umzimvubu between 1820 and 1830, let alone to trace their history. Many of them have become incorporated with the Pondo tribe. Many others are now subject to the government of Natal. Several have perished utterly, among these being the Amakwabi, mentioned in another chapter. One clan only requires a brief notice. This was the remnant of the Baca tribe, which had been driven down from the north, and which was then under a regent named Ncapayi, owing to its hereditary chief being a minor. The Baca clan was the most powerful body of refugees in the valley of the Umzimvubu. Its propensities for plundering all within its reach were no greater than those of the others, but its strength enabled it to hold its ground when weaker people perished. The fame of Ncapayi extended to the Cape

Colony, where he was spoken of as pre-eminently the free-booter of Kaffirland.

Of the negotiations with Faku by the colonial government during the war of 1835, and the promise which he made to Captain Delancy in 1836, accounts have been given in previous chapters. He did not keep his promise long. In November 1836 Ncapayi attacked the Tembus, and took from them immense herds of cattle, which raised the cupidity of Faku to the highest pitch. Vadana, the Tembu regent, sent to Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom imploring aid, on the ground of his having assisted the white people in the late war, but received in response nothing more than a friendly greeting conveyed by Mr. William Fynn. Faku, observing this and being informed that the British troops were retiring over the Fish river and the Kosas were advancing westward, thought also of enriching himself with Tembu cattle. Early in 1838 he made friends with Ncapayi, and together they swept the country between the Umtata and the Bashee three times in succession. The Tembus were reduced to such a state that in October the missionary at Clarkebury reported the people around him to be dying of hunger, and subscriptions were opened in the colony to provide them with food. These events caused the great bulk of the Tembus to move away from their ancient home to the territory along the upper branches of the Kei.

One of the earliest acts of the emigrant farmers after entering Natal was to communicate with Faku, who had the reputation of being abler and better disposed towards white people than the other chiefs in the neighbourhood. To their communication he replied in a friendly manner. Nothing was said of the extent of the territory belonging to him, and he put forward no pretensions to any part of the country north of the Umzimvubu. Though desiring to be on good terms, the farmers did not consider him a chief of much power, but rated his military strength below that of Ncapayi.

A lady who for the next forty years was the unwearied champion of what she termed Pondo rights just at this

period went to reside in the country. This was Mrs. Thomas Jenkins, wife of a Wesleyan missionary, afterwards commonly called the queen of Pondoland. Her first letters describe the people as being in a condition of great poverty. They had no cattle of whose skins to make clothing, so the men went entirely naked, and the women wore nothing but a girdle of maize leaves round their waists. There were constant feuds and battles between the different clans of the Pondos, Bacas, Pondomisis, Kesibes, Hlangwenis, and others. She and her husband were residing at Buntingville. Faku was opposed to the preaching of Mr. Jenkins, for he said it would make his people cowards in fight if they were often spoken to about another world.

In February 1838 tidings reached the Pondo kraals of the massacres at Umkungunhlovu and Weenen, but the bearers of the news added that the farmers had repulsed the Zulus from every lager attacked, and that the white people were in possession of the country south of the Tugela. The intelligence was received with the greatest joy, for it gave deliverance from the dread of that terrible power before which the tribe had cowed so long. At once the valley of the Umgazi became too small in Faku's opinion for him and his people. On the 10th and 11th of March he set fire to his old kraals, and crossing the Umzimvubu, built new ones on the banks of the Umzimhlava, a streamlet a short distance to the northward. To Mr. Jenkins he gave as his reason for doing so that he feared the colonial government would send a commando to punish him for attacking Vadana, and therefore wished to get as far away as possible. It is not likely, however, that he was guided by such a motive, for he continued his raids upon Vadana just as before.

Early in 1839 the reverend Mr. Jenkins delivered a message to Faku as coming from the governor: that Sir George Napier guaranteed to him the possession of the country northward as far as the Umzimkulu river, and if that territory was violated by the emigrant farmers he

should apply for military aid. No such construction could fairly be put upon the language which the governor actually used, but thereafter the European partisans of the Pondo chief constantly laid claim to the whole of that country.

In those days many missionaries took a different view of government by Bantu chiefs from that now held by their successors, though it is but fair to the Wesleyan society to add that the opinions of most of its agents even then were those of the present day, and they would gladly have seen British dominion established over the people with whom they were labouring. The opinion, however, of most of those under the reverend Dr. Philip's supervision and of all who had recently arrived from Great Britain was in favour of Bantu states under missionary guidance, and a cry of oppression and wrong was raised and made to echo throughout England whenever anything was undertaken that tended to prevent the growth of a chief's authority. The barbarous rulers of petty tribes, who were unable to comprehend any other power than that of brute force or of magic, were in missionary documents of the time commonly styled kings.

In many instances the missionaries were violent partisans of the chiefs with whom they were living, and claimed more for them than did the hereditary councillors of the tribe. As each, however, supported his own potentate, and the interests of these were continually clashing, the government at the Cape had the means of forming a tolerably correct judgment between them. In this instance Mr. Jenkins went far beyond any Pondo, in claiming for the tribe not only the district occupied by its ancestors and lost in war, but a great extent of country beyond.

That Faku himself made no claim to such a large district is proved by a message which he sent to the commander of the troops at Port Natal in October 1839. His messengers were directed to ask Captain Jervis's consent to the occupation by Pondos of the land between the Umtentu and Umtamvuna rivers, a tract of country a long way south of the Umzimkulu. Captain Jervis avoided all responsibility,

though his language is ambiguous, by replying that the government had no wish to interfere in Faku's affairs, but that in his own territory he was at liberty to move wherever he pleased.

At the close of the year 1840 the Pondo tribe was in a much more prosperous condition than it had been at any time since 1823. The crops of 1838 and 1839 were so scanty that Mrs. Jenkins wrote of the sufferings of the people from famine as indescribable; but this season the gardens yielded abundance of food. The tribe had enjoyed three years of protection from the fear of Zulu inroads, by which its scattered members were enabled to rejoin their chief; and a considerable number of cattle had been captured from the Tembus and the Bacas. Still it was doubtful which was the more powerful of the two, Faku or Ncapayi. Fighting between them was renewed in April 1840, when Faku sent to Maritzburg to ask the farmers to allow him to receive assistance from the Hlangweni chief Fodo, who was living under their jurisdiction on land south of the Umzimkulu.

The clan under Fodo was one of the numerous branches of the large Hlangweni tribe, that had been driven by the Zulus from its original home near the Tugela. In its flight it fell upon and routed the Bacas, who were then living where Maritzburg now stands. Nombewu, Fodo's father, wandered from place to place until he reached the border of the Cape Colony, where the descendants of some of his followers are still to be found. After a time he retraced his steps, and settled on a feeder of the Umzimvubu, but there he was attacked and killed by the Bacas under Ncapayi. His son Fodo escaped, and after much roaming about had a tract of land south of the Umzimkulu assigned to his use by the emigrant farmers, where he collected the remnant of the clan, and where their descendants, under the chief Dungazwe, now reside. Thus there was a bitter feud between the Bacas and the Hlangwenis, which Faku wished to turn to account when he resumed hostilities with Ncapayi.

While affairs were in this condition a number of cattle were stolen from various farmers in Natal. The spoors were traced to the rugged country along the Umzimvubu which was occupied by Ncapayi's people, and it was ascertained that although the principal plunderers were Bushmen, the Bacas were implicated in many of the thefts. A discussion took place in the volksraad as to what steps should be taken to punish the robbers and prevent further stealing. Some were for making such an example of Ncapayi that no one in his direction would dare to molest the emigrants again. Others counselled a close alliance with Faku, and the punishment of the robbers through him. Moderate men like Mr. Boshof and Mr. Landman saw clearly that an attack upon any tribe on their southern border, without the concurrence of the Cape government, would be resented by the colony as endangering the peace of its frontier. The party of violence, however, was the more numerous, and while the negotiations were being carried on which they hoped would terminate in the acknowledgment of their independence by Great Britain, two hundred and sixty men assembled to punish Ncapayi.

This force was under the direction of Commandant-General Pretorius, but Commandant Hendrik Stephanus Lombard took the most active part in the operations. On the march it was joined by Fodo and his men. The Bacas were attacked early one morning, and were driven from their kraals without any loss on the part of the assailants. According to the information supplied by Ncapayi to the missionaries, twenty-six men, ten women, and four children were killed on his side, and the horned cattle belonging to sixty-two families, together with about two thousand sheep and goats, were driven off. He also stated that a great many women and children were taken away. Commandant Lombard's account is that the spoil was three thousand head of horned cattle, among which were some of those that had been stolen from the farmers. The sheep and goats were taken by Fodo's people, as also were the women and

children, but as soon as it was known that these had been made captive, the farmers liberated them and allowed them to return to their friends. Seventeen children, however, whose parents were ascertained to be dead, were kept to be apprenticed until they should be of age.

Faku's satisfaction on hearing of his enemy's loss was blended with fear that he also might some day meet with the same fate. In his dealings with white people he had by this time come to be guided entirely by the missionaries, and he now sent messengers to Buntingville to request Mr. Jenkins to pay him a visit. On the 1st of January 1841 the reverend Messrs. Palmer, Jenkins, and Garner assembled at the chief's residence on the Umzimhlava, where they remained until the 5th, and during that time the course to be pursued was decided upon. A letter was sent to Sir George Napier, who was then on the colonial border, begging that Faku might be taken under his protection, and containing a declaration that the chief, being in great fear of the emigrant farmers, was about to remove from the eastern side of the Umzimvubu, but claimed the whole country from that river to the Umzimkulu. On this document appeared the marks of Faku, Damasi, and Bangasili, and the signatures as witnesses of Samuel Palmer, Thomas Jenkins, and William H. Garner, Wesleyan missionaries. It was dated 5th of January 1841.

Whether the attack upon Ncapayi was morally justifiable or not, Sir George Napier was convinced that British interests in South Africa were imperilled by the attitude of the emigrants, as anything that tended to press the Bantu tribes down upon the Cape Colony increased the danger of war. On the 18th of June 1840 the secretary of state had sent him authority to use his discretion as to reoccupying Port Natal with a military force, or not; and he would have sent troops there months before only that he believed they would be resisted, and it would therefore be imprudent to employ fewer than three hundred men, a number which—as he wrote to Lord John Russell on the

20th of September—‘under the unsettled and irritated state of the farmers on the eastern frontier, occasioned by the constant and unprovoked plunder of their cattle and horses by the Kaffirs, he did not feel justified in detaching, as it would endanger the safety of the colony.’ He now resolved to form a military post in Faku’s country, where it would serve the double purpose of preventing another attack by the emigrant farmers upon a tribe south of Natal, and of placing the Kosas between two fires.

A few hours after receiving the letter from the missionaries his orders were issued, and on the 28th of January 1841 Captain Thomas Charlton Smith of the 27th left Fort Peddie at the head of two companies of his own regiment, fifty men of the Cape mounted rifles under Captain H. D. Warden, a lieutenant and eight men of the royal artillery, and a lieutenant and four men of the royal engineers. He had with him a train of fifty-four transport waggons, and was accompanied by several men whose names have since become well known in South Africa, among whom may be mentioned Major-General Bisset, then an ensign in the Cape mounted rifles, Lieutenant Charles Somerset of the same regiment, and Mr. Charles F. Potgieter, then a commissariat clerk, afterwards assistant commissary general. No difficulty was met in the march to the Umgazi river, where Captain Smith formed a camp.

Upon being apprised by Sir George Napier that he was sending troops to protect Faku, the volksraad caused a letter to be written, justifying the attack upon the Bacas, and denying that the Pondo chief was in any danger from them, as they were on the most friendly terms with him and had interchanged professions of peace and goodwill while their commando was in the field against Ncapayi. But there were many men in Natal who felt that a great blunder had been committed; and party feeling, always violent, after this occurrence became more violent still.

The tone of the correspondence concerning the position of the emigrants was now changed. The governor did not

reply to the volksraad's letter of the 14th of January until the 10th of June, when he wrote that he 'could not enter into any negotiation or further communication with them until they distinctly acknowledged their full and entire allegiance to the queen of England, and further declared their willingness to obey the lawful authority of the British government.'

The imperial ministry was still desirous not to enlarge the possessions and responsibilities of England in South Africa, and withheld from the governor authority for taking action of any kind, except to station a garrison again at Port Natal to control the trade, if he thought that by so doing the emigrants would be induced in time to return to the Cape Colony. On the 3rd of September he wrote to the president of the volksraad, in terms of his instructions, that 'her Majesty had desired him to inform the emigrant farmers that she could not acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent republic, but that on their receiving a military force from the colony, their trade would be placed on the footing of that of a British possession.'

To this letter a reply was received, dated the 11th of October and signed by Mr. Joachim Prinsloo, as president, and Mr. J. J. Burger, as secretary, in which the governor was informed that the emigrant farmers declined to be considered British subjects, and that they would 'not consent to her Majesty's proposal to receive a military force, as they had not asked for it and had no need of it for their protection.'

After the farmers settled in Natal, several thousand Bantu refugees of different tribes moved in, and the few natives who survived the Zulu invasions crept out of the forests in which they had concealed themselves. There was every likelihood of these people giving trouble if they were allowed to take possession of land wherever they pleased. In August 1841 therefore the volksraad passed a resolution that except those who might choose either to return to Zululand or to take service, they should be collected

together and be located in the district between the Umzimvubu and Umtamvuna rivers, so as to effect a separation between them and the Europeans. In that district the blacks were to be left pretty much to themselves, but an officer of the emigrant government was to be stationed with them to exercise general control, for they were to be regarded as subjects of the republic.

This resolution could not be acted upon at once, as some months were required to make the necessary arrangements, and before these were completed Sir George Napier interfered. In his view the project was one tending to crowd the tribes down towards the colonial frontier, and could not therefore be permitted.

There was yet another cause of irritation. In August 1841 an American trading brig named the *Levant* arrived at Port Natal, crossed the bar in safety, and discharged a quantity of merchandise which her supercargo offered for sale. There was so little money and such a small quantity of ivory and hides on hand that the amount of trade done was very trifling. The fact, however, was established that a port was open through which the commerce of the interior might eventually pass, and the merchants of the Cape Colony raised a cry of danger.

To the letter of the 11th of October from the volksraad no reply was made, as shortly after its receipt Sir George Napier received a despatch from Lord John Russell, dated 21st of August 1841, in which he was instructed to make arrangements for reoccupying Port Natal in such a manner as to command the harbour, but not to interfere with the emigrant farmers unless the troops or friendly Kaffir tribes were attacked. In accordance with these instructions, on the 2nd of December he issued a proclamation, in which, after stating the emigrants' claim to be considered an independent people and the resolution of the volksraad to locate the blacks on the ground between the Umtamvuna and Umzimvubu rivers, which country, he affirmed, formed part of the territories of Faku, and that from such an unjust

and illegal proceeding there was reason to apprehend that warfare and bloodshed would be occasioned, he declared that the queen would not recognise the emigrants as an independent people, nor permit them to form themselves into an independent state, and that he should resume military occupation of Port Natal by sending thither without delay a detachment of her Majesty's forces. Finally, he warned all British subjects, including the emigrants, of the consequences of resisting either her Majesty's troops or the exercise of her Majesty's authority.

To carry this proclamation into effect, Captain Lonsdale, of the 27th, was instructed to march from the colonial frontier to reinforce Captain Smith at the Umgazi with one hundred and eight men of his own regiment, and seventeen engineers, Cape mounted riflemen, and artillerymen. He was also to take two field-pieces. Captain Smith was directed upon the arrival of this reinforcement to leave a guard at the Umgazi camp, and to move on to Port Natal himself with two hundred and twenty-two of the 27th regiment, seventeen artillerymen with three guns, six engineers, and eighteen Cape mounted riflemen. Instructions were also issued as to his intercourse with the emigrants, which may be briefly summed up as follows: Pledge the government to nothing until her Majesty's pleasure is known. Do not interfere with the emigrants. Treat them courteously, but call them constantly her Majesty's subjects. Protect all from attack, black and white, and see that peace is kept.

Upon receipt of these instructions, and while awaiting Captain Lonsdale's arrival, Captain Smith opened communication with some English residents at Durban, by whom he was informed of the condition of affairs there and promised assistance. Several emigrants also forwarded assurances that they were weary of the constant strife between the different sections of the community, and would welcome his arrival with troops as the only means of relief from anarchy. These letters and messages were secretly forwarded to and fro by native runners supplied by Henry Ogle, who was then

living on the Umkomanzi, about thirty miles south of the port.

The tone of the volksraad was, however, very different. In a long letter to Sir George Napier, dated at Maritzburg on the 21st of February 1842, and signed by Joachim Prinsloo as president and eighteen of the members, a determination to resist was made known. It was not their object, they said, to defy the power of Great Britain, but they could not allow might to triumph over right, without employing all the means at their disposal to prevent it. In God and in the justice of their cause they trusted, knowing that He could protect the weak against oppressors. Their arrangements for the removal of the blacks were founded on true philanthropy. They were not aware that Faku had any claim to the land between the Umtamvuna and Umzimvubu rivers, as he had informed them that it belonged to Tshaka and afterwards to Dingan, and he had recognised their right to it. Under the British government, which gave no protection except to uncivilised people, they could not exist in Natal. They were therefore driven to choose either to move again and leave their possessions behind, or to take up arms in defence of their rights ; and they left to his Excellency's judgment which of the two was preferable. Finally, they protested against the movement threatened in the proclamation, and declared that whatever the result they would be blameless before God, their own consciences, and the world.

On the 1st of April 1842 the force destined for Natal left the camp on the Umgazi. The little army consisted of two hundred and sixty-three men of all ranks, and it was furnished with one howitzer and two light field-pieces. It was accompanied by a long waggon train, sixty of the drivers of which were Englishmen and were armed. The distance between the point left and that aimed at by the route followed was reckoned to be two hundred and sixty miles. There was no road through the country, and heavy rains had recently fallen, so that the rivers were swollen and nearly impassable.

On the thirty-third day of the march, as the expedition was drawing near to Durban, it was met by two farmers, who handed to Captain Smith a written protest from the volksraad against the troops entering Natal; but he declined to receive it. On the day following, the 4th of May, the troops reached their destination, and encamped on a plain at the base of the Berea, about half a mile from the few scattered buildings that then constituted the town of Durban. Not a single casualty had occurred during the march. While the camp was being formed the volksraad's protest was again tendered, and its acceptance again rejected. The same thing occurred on the 5th, and on this last occasion the deputation informed Captain Smith by word of mouth that the republic was in treaty with Holland and under the protection of that power.

The origin of this statement was one of the strangest episodes in the history of Natal. When information reached the Netherlands that thousands of families were leaving the Cape Colony, much interest was created, and sympathy with the emigrants in their sufferings was everywhere warmly expressed. To several individuals the occasion seemed favourable for establishing new business connections. In particular, Mr. George Gerhard Ohrig, of the firm of Klyn & Co., of Amsterdam, exerted himself to form an association purposely for trading with Natal. He published a pamphlet in which the former greatness of the Netherlands was referred to, the emigrants were applauded as worthy descendants of the men who had fought for liberty against Spain and who had founded a world-wide commerce, and the advantages of establishing a trade with them and securing a port of call for Dutch ships in time of war were dwelt upon.

This pamphlet—entitled *The Emigrants at Port Natal*—was privately distributed in the Netherlands, and so carefully was its circulation guarded that the British consular agents in that country were unable to obtain a single copy. With some difficulty the colonial authorities procured one, when it was found to be just such a production as might be expected

from an enthusiastic man with strong national feeling and a single object—that of creating sympathy—in view.

Mr. Ohrig failed to induce men of sufficient capital to take shares in his projected association, so the firm of Klyn & Co., of which he was a partner, had a small vessel built on their own account, in which they shipped an assortment of goods for Natal. This vessel, called the *Brazilia*, arrived at her destination on the 24th of March 1842. She had as supercargo a man named Johan Arnaud Smellekamp, who was full of enthusiasm for the cause of the emigrants, and who was gifted with a fair share of ability and perseverance.

The arrival of this vessel at a time when men's minds were dejected at the prospect of the renewed English occupation had an extraordinary effect upon the emigrants. They persuaded themselves that the government of the Netherlands would certainly aid them in resistance. Mr. Smellekamp and Skipper Reus of the *Brazilia* paid a visit to Maritzburg, and were met some distance from the town by a large party of young men, who unyoked the oxen and themselves drew the waggon in which the strangers were seated. All the bunting and red and blue calico in the place was turned into flags, and above scores of house tops and waggon tents waved the tricolour of the Netherlands. The volksraad formally welcomed the visitors as representatives of the fatherland. Then there were religious services, and strong men were observed to shed tears when a distribution was made of a number of bibles and books of devotion, which had been sent out as a present by Mr. Jacob Swart, lecturer and examiner at the naval college of Amsterdam. The eight days that Messrs. Smellekamp and Reus spent at Maritzburg were days of public meetings, feasting, and religious services. Mr. Ohrig's pamphlet was read by many who had seldom read anything but their bibles and hymn-books before, and by a strange perversion it was taken to convey the views of the Dutch government.

Mr. Smellekamp was furnished by the volksraad with funds, and was sent back to Holland to negotiate a treaty

and procure clergymen and schoolmasters. He left Maritzburg on the 30th of April, and was accompanied overland to Graaff-Reinet by the landdrost, Mr. J. N. Boshof. From Graaff-Reinet he proceeded to Swellendam, where he was arrested under the obsolete proclamation of the 25th of February 1806 for travelling without a pass, and was forwarded as a prisoner to Capetown. There he was kept two days in confinement, but as he did not choose to reveal anything and evidence against him was not obtainable, he was released and allowed to embark for Europe.

The greater portion of the cargo of the *Brazilia* was found unsuitable for the requirements of the emigrants. Skipper Reus therefore, after disposing of as much as he could, sailed for Batavia just before Captain Smith reached Durban.

The assertion of the deputation on the 5th of May that the republic was under the protection of Holland was thus really in accordance with what the emigrants had deluded themselves into believing would soon be the truth. Captain Smith, however, treated the statement with derision.

Messengers were now sent by Commandant-General Pretorius in all haste to Potchefstroom and Winburg to ask for aid. Chief-Commandant Potgieter refused to take part in resistance to the English troops, but Commandant Mocke called out his burghers and prepared to go down to Natal. The burghers of Pietermaritzburg and Weenen were in the meantime gathering at Kongela. On the 9th of May Captain Smith with a hundred soldiers marched towards Kongela with the intention of calling upon the farmers to disperse, but on the way he was met by Mr. Pretorius, and after a short parley he returned to his camp. Captain Smith stated afterwards that he returned because Pretorius agreed to withdraw his men from Kongela. Mr. Pretorius asserted that he had promised nothing more than to remain quiet until the volksraad should meet, unless he was molested. On the 11th a party of armed farmers paraded in sight of the English forces, in Captain Smith's opinion to provoke an attack.

On the 17th Captain Smith wrote to Mr. Pretorius, but his letter was returned unopened, on the ground of its not being addressed with the title of commandant-general. On the same day the volksraad met at Kongela, and instructed Mr. Pretorius to write to Captain Smith, demanding that he should leave the port before noon on the 19th and march back beyond the boundaries of the republic. Captain Smith declined to receive the letter. On the 20th two messengers from Pretorius visited the English camp and verbally demanded that the troops should leave at once. Captain Smith's reply was laconic: 'I shall not go, I shall stay.'

During this time two vessels had arrived at Natal and crossed the bar. One was a brig named the *Pilot*, with provisions and munitions of war from Capetown. Her cargo was discharged at the Point, and to protect it a guard of twenty-three men under a sergeant was stationed there. The other was a schooner named the *Mazeppa*, from Algoa Bay with merchandise for the traders and some private property of the military officers.

On the 23rd of May the farmers took possession of a large number of transport cattle, but whether with the intention of retaining them or not is doubtful, for as usual the statements of the two parties do not agree. On the one side it is asserted that the oxen were seized by armed men; on the other that they were mingled with the farmers' cattle on the grazing ground, and would have been sent back as soon as they could be separated, just as the farmers' cattle had been returned by the troops when driven in a similar manner to the camp. This matters little, however, for both parties were ready for an encounter.

That night at eleven o'clock Captain Smith left his camp at the head of one hundred and nine men of the 27th regiment, eighteen of the royal artillery, eight sappers, and two Cape mounted riflemen, for the purpose of attacking the farmers at Kongela, who were known from an intercepted letter to be then two hundred and sixty-four strong. A large gun was placed in a boat, with orders to the

boatmen to convey it to a spot where the troops would receive it.

The attack was badly planned. It was clear moonlight, yet it was hoped to take the farmers by surprise. The boat could reach its destination at high water only, and the troops, by the route taken, theirs only when the tide was out. The distance was a march of about three miles, and the road was along a patch of dense thicket. There is but one way of accounting for such a movement, and that is on the supposition that the commanding officer altogether underrated the vigilance and courage of his opponents.

The troops were marching fully exposed past the thicket, with two field-pieces drawn by bullocks, when a sharp fire was opened upon them. They returned the volley, but without doing the slightest damage to the farmers, who were well protected and thoroughly concealed. Another discharge from the thicket wounded some of the oxen, which broke loose from the yokes and rushed furiously about, adding to the confusion. There was no remedy but retreat. Sixteen killed and thirty-one wounded were found by the farmers on the ground next day; but when the roll was called, fifty out of the hundred and thirty-eight men who formed the expedition were not there to answer to their names. The three missing are supposed in the confusion to have got into deep water, and to have been drowned. The two guns, the oxen, and indeed everything that could be left behind, fell into the hands of the farmers.

Captain Smith was closely followed to his camp, where he prepared for defence. There was, however, no attempt to storm the position, but until dawn a desultory fire was kept up, by which one farmer—Abraham Greyling by name—was killed. At sunrise the farmers returned to their quarters. The wounded soldiers were carefully tended, and as there was no medical man at Kongela, they were all sent to the English camp in the course of the day. The dead bodies of the soldiers were also sent to the camp for burial by their late comrades.

Richard King, an old resident at Durban, now undertook to ride overland to Grahamstown with intelligence of the disaster. Mr. George Christopher Cato, who since 1839 had been agent at Natal for the mercantile establishment of John Owen Smith of Port Elizabeth, ferried him across the inlet, so as to avoid passing the farmers' quarters; and King, though fired at, got safely away.

The 25th passed without any event of importance. The troops were busily engaged strengthening their camp, in hourly expectation of an attack, but no enemy appeared.

Just before daylight on the morning of the 26th about a hundred farmers presented themselves at the Point, and called upon the sergeant in command of the guard there to surrender. This he refused to do, whereupon they opened fire, killing two soldiers and an old English resident named Charles Adams, and wounding two soldiers. The sergeant then surrendered, when an eighteen-pounder, with all the stores and ammunition brought by the *Pilot*, fell into the hands of the farmers. This was immediately followed by the seizure of the *Pilot* and the *Mazeppa*, but with the exception of the masters no one was removed from these vessels. The property of Captain Smith and of such other persons as were in arms against the republic was declared confiscated by the volksraad, and a party of men under direction of Messrs. Michiel and Servaas van Breda went on board the *Mazeppa* and removed it. Mr. Pretorius then sent to propose that the troops should leave in the *Pilot* and the *Mazeppa*; and Captain Smith agreed to a truce until the 31st of the month, under pretence of considering the matter. His real object was to gain time to strengthen his defences and increase his supply of provisions by salting down cattle which Mr. William Cowie and some other residents of Durban were conveying to the camp by night.

The negotiations for removal of course came to nothing, and at six o'clock in the morning of the 31st of May the camp was invested and fire was opened upon it from the farmers' batteries, on which were mounted the eighteen-pounder taken at the Point and the two six-pounders taken

on the night of the 23rd. Sixteen of the soldiers captured at the Point, together with ten English residents of Durban who had assisted the troops—G. C. Cato, F. Armstrong, S. Benningfield, J. Douglas, J. Hogg, H. Ogle, H. Parkins, D. Toohey, F. M'Cabe, and B. Schwikkard—were sent as prisoners to Maritzburg.

On the 1st of June the reverend Mr. Archbell, then Wesleyan missionary at Durban, was requested by Mr. Pretorius to go to the camp with a flag of truce, and propose that the women and children should be removed for safety to the *Mazeppa*. The offer was gladly accepted, and twenty-eight individuals in all, including the wives and children of several of the prisoners at Maritzburg, took refuge on board that vessel.

Captain Smith then determined to defend himself to the last extremity. He had caused deep trenches to be dug, in which the soldiers could remain in security, and he increased his stock of provisions by slaughtering his horses and drying their flesh. The men were put upon short allowance, which, as the siege advanced, became less and less, until they had nothing more than a few ounces of biscuit dust and dried horseflesh daily. Fortunately there was no want of water, which was obtained from wells sunk within the camp.

The arrival of Commandant Mocke with a large contingent raised the force under command of Pretorius to six hundred men. They fortified the entrance to the inner harbour, and pressed the siege with vigour. Their cannon balls having become exhausted, they manufactured others by casting leaden ones over links cut from a chain cable. But so well were the soldiers protected that the fire against them was almost harmless, only eight men being killed and eight wounded on the British side during the twenty-six days that the siege lasted, though six hundred and fifty-one cannon shot were fired at the camp. On the other side four men were killed, and eight or ten—the exact number cannot be given—were wounded.

On the 10th of June the crew of the *Mazeppa* managed to slip the cable and get to sea, being in hope of meeting with a British ship-of-war, from which relief could be obtained. There was very little food and no ballast on board, and the schooner had to run the gauntlet at the Point, sailing slowly along, with a light breeze, at a distance of only thirty yards from eighty farmers armed with muskets and a four-pounder. Her sails and rigging were pretty well cut up, but no one on board was hurt. She ran northward as far as Delagoa Bay, and then, having met with no assistance, put about and found the frigate *Southampton* at the outer anchorage of Natal.

Famine was beginning to tell upon the soldiers, and they could have held out only a very short time longer, when in the evening of the 24th of June rockets flashing through the air over the outer anchorage announced that relief was at hand. All that night and the next day the famished soldiers watched and waited in vain. As night fell on the 25th rockets were again seen shooting skyward, and soon after dark the booming of heavy guns far out at sea was heard.

When Richard King reached Grahamstown with intelligence of the disaster at Natal, one hundred rank and file of the 27th regiment, under Captain Durnford, were at once sent by Colonel Hare to Port Elizabeth, and were there embarked in a coasting schooner named the *Conch*, which was chartered as a transport. Captain Bell, the master of this vessel, had been to Natal before, and was well acquainted with the harbour. On the 11th of June the *Conch* sailed from Algoa Bay. She arrived at the outer anchorage of Natal on the 24th, and sent up the rockets that evening which were seen from the camp.

As soon as the news reached Capetown, a wing of the 25th regiment, then under orders for India, was embarked in the frigate *Southampton*. Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Josias Cloete, deputy-quartermaster-general of the forces in South Africa and a member of one of the oldest European families in the country, was directed to take command.

The *Southampton* sailed from Simon's Bay on the 14th of June. She arrived off Natal during the night of the 25th, and it was the booming of her guns in answer to the rockets from the *Conch* which was heard in the camp.

A few additional troops and some stores were sent from Table Bay on the 15th of June in a chartered brig named the *Maid of Mona*, but she did not reach Natal in time to be of any service.

On Sunday the 26th of June 1842 a light breeze was blowing from the south-east, of which Colonel Cloete determined to take advantage. The Bluff at the entrance to the inner harbour was occupied by three hundred and fifty farmers, who could pour down a torrent of musket balls upon the deck of any vessel attempting to pass. The *Southampton* was therefore brought as close to the bar as was considered prudent, and from that position she opened her broadside and dispersed all who were within reach of her guns.

To the hundred men already on board the *Conch* thirty-five were added, and eighty-five were embarked in boats and taken in tow. Colonel Cloete himself was in command of the party, and Captain Hill, of the royal navy, was in charge of the boats. A line was run along the schooner a couple of feet above her bulwarks, and was covered with the soldiers' blankets, to prevent the men on deck from being aimed at. Having taken this precaution, all sail was set on the *Conch*, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, with the wind and tide in her favour, she crossed the bar, passing under the farmers' fire with the loss of three soldiers killed and three soldiers and two sailors wounded.

The troops were landed without further resistance, for the farmers were already retreating. At four o'clock Colonel Cloete met Captain Smith, and the camp was relieved.

Commandant Mocke and the burghers from beyond the mountains now abandoned the cause, and returned to their homes. The farmers of Natal also deserted in such numbers

that Pretorius was soon left without power of resistance. He therefore formed a camp a few miles inland, and awaited the course of events.

Colonel Cloete, as senior in rank, assumed command of the whole of the troops in Natal. And now another difficulty arose. The *Conch* had hardly any provisions on board, the *Maid of Mona* had not yet arrived, and a sudden gale sprang up which compelled the *Southampton* to put to sea before anything of consequence could be landed. Under these circumstances the fresh troops were in danger of suffering from hunger as much as those they had been the means of relieving.

Some hundreds of blacks were hovering about the neighbourhood. Their condition had greatly improved since the occupation of the country by the white people, and they were now in possession of small herds of cattle and plenty of maize, pumpkins, and tobacco, the products of their gardens. Certainly they had no reason to take part against the farmers, but on this, as on every other occasion of the kind of which South African history furnishes a record, the Bantu were ready to join the winning cause. Panda even, the vassal of the emigrants, showed himself no exception to this rule. When Captain Smith was in almost desperate circumstances he managed to communicate with the Zulu chief, whom he vainly entreated to come to his aid. 'No,' was the reply, 'you are now fighting for the upper hand, and whichever wins must be my master.' So he refused to assist either party. But as soon as the troops proved the strongest, he sent messengers to Colonel Cloete to say that he was about to march against the farmers, and it was only when he was informed that he must not do so that he abandoned the project.

In his necessity Colonel Cloete called upon the blacks in the neighbourhood of Durban to bring him all the horses and cattle they could get, and they, interpreting this order into a general plundering license, commenced to ravage the nearest farms. Three emigrants, named Dirk van Rooyen,

Theunis Oosthuizen, and Cornelis van Schalkwyk, were murdered in cold blood. Mr. Pretorius sent a letter of remonstrance against these proceedings to Colonel Cloete, who replied that he would endeavour to prevent excesses, but that he could not withdraw the order. 'You,' wrote he, 'have caused this state of things by rebelling, and you must bear the consequences.'

Colonel Cloete then called upon the farmers to acknowledge that they were the queen's subjects, and to break up their military organisation. Mr. Pretorius replied by letter on the 4th of July, that it was impossible to accede to conditions which required as a preliminary step a declaration of submission to the queen's authority. He stated that the emigrants had already made over the country to the king of the Netherlands, and had called upon that power to protect them, so that they had every reason to expect that their cause would be supported in Europe.

The farmers now retired to Maritzburg, where a meeting of the volksraad took place at which the discussions were so stormy and the language of party recrimination was so violent that the best men lost all hope of being able to defend the country. Messrs. Pretorius, Boshof, Landman, and others thereupon sent an invitation to Colonel Cloete to visit Maritzburg for the purpose of talking matters over, and they guaranteed perfect safety and full freedom in going and returning.

The colonel accepted the invitation, and on the 14th of July, accompanied by Major D'Urban and Lieutenants Napier, Maclean, and Fuller, he entered the emigrant capital. Confusion is but a weak word to describe the condition of affairs there. One little group after another had gone to their farms, declaring they would take no part in any arrangement whatever. Mr. J. N. Boshof, who was then elected president, Mr. Pretorius, and Mr. Landman were using all their influence to induce the farmers to come to terms, but the argument that had most effect was that by doing so time would be gained for Holland to interfere in

their behalf. On the 15th of July half the members of the volksraad consented to the following conditions:—

1. The immediate release of all prisoners, whether soldiers or civilians.

2. The giving up of all cannon, those taken from the troops as well as others, with the ammunition and stores belonging to them.

3. The restitution of all public and private property that had been seized and was then in their possession.

These conditions were signed by Mr. Boshof and eleven other members of the volksraad, and with a declaration of their submission to the authority of the queen, comprised all that they engaged to do.

On the other hand Colonel Cloete agreed to a general amnesty, excepting only the persons of Joachim Prinsloo, late president, Jacobus Johannes Burger, late secretary of the volksraad, and Michiel and Servaas van Breda, who had removed the goods from the *Mazeppa*; to respect all private property; to permit the farmers to return to their homes with their guns and horses, and to protect them against the blacks; not to interfere with the existing administration or civil institutions until the pleasure of the queen should be made known, except in the district bounded on the east by the Umgeni, on the west by the Umlazi, and on the north by a line along the crest of the Berea hills and the ridges between those rivers, which district was to be under the exclusive control of the commander of the troops; to leave all revenue at the disposal of the volksraad, except the port and customs dues, which were to belong to the crown; and not to disturb the blacks on any lands then occupied by them.

Matters having been arranged in this manner, Colonel Cloete returned to Capetown with four companies of the 25th, to be in readiness to embark for India. An old tender named the *Fawn*, under command of Lieutenant Joseph Nourse, was sent to Natal with a strong armed crew, and was anchored in the inner harbour, where she served as a

floating fort until June 1844, when she was sold as a hulk. Upon her arrival the remaining company of the 25th was withdrawn, and the late commanding officer, now entitled Major Smith, was left with a garrison consisting of two hundred and seventy-five men of the 27th, twelve Cape mounted riflemen, twenty-four artillerymen, and twenty engineers.

These arrangements seem incapable of being misunderstood; yet the great majority of the emigrants afterwards maintained that they implied nothing more than a truce of six months. The volksraad continued its functions, and party feeling ran as high as ever. Mr. Pretorius resigned his office, and Mr. Gerrit Rudolph was appointed commandant-general in his stead, as if the country was perfectly independent. On the 11th of August Sir George Napier issued a proclamation offering a reward of 250*l.* for the apprehension of each of the four persons excepted from the amnesty, but they continued to live as publicly as before, and no one thought of disturbing them.

While these events were taking place, important despatches concerning Natal were passing between Sir George Napier and Lord Stanley.

On the 6th of December 1841 the governor wrote that he was resuming military occupation of the port, and recommending that a colony should be established there.

Lord Stanley replied on the 10th of April 1842 that many considerations concurred to dissuade the imperial government from increasing its responsibilities in South Africa. They were derived from a general survey of the extent of the British possessions in different parts of the world, from the magnitude of the naval and military forces required for their defence, and from the demands to which the national revenue was already subject. He believed that the establishment of a colony at Natal would be attended with little prospect of advantage, that for many years it would be a serious charge upon the revenues of the parent state, that it would tend to disperse the population and

impair the resources of the Cape Colony, and that it would bring Great Britain into new and hazardous relations with aboriginal tribes. He instructed the governor to inform the emigrants that their pretensions to be regarded as an independent state or community could not be admitted, that the allegiance which they owed to the British crown was an obligation which it was not in their power to disclaim or violate with impunity, that within the limits of her Majesty's dominions they would receive from their sovereign effective protection of their persons and property, and that by removing beyond the boundaries they forfeited their claim to protection, though they did not absolve themselves from responsibility to the queen for their conduct.

The governor was directed further to offer an amnesty and pardon to all who would return to the Cape Colony within a specified time, and to render every assistance in his power to facilitate their doing so. Those who should persist in residing in the territories of which they had taken possession were to be informed that her Majesty's government would adopt every practicable method of preventing commercial intercourse and communication between them and the people of the Cape Colony; that if they should presume to molest the Kaffir tribes with which her Majesty was in alliance, military aid would be afforded to the tribes; and that any of the emigrants found in arms against the forces of their sovereign, whether beyond or within the precincts of the colony, would be regarded by the queen as rebels, and be liable to be dealt with accordingly.

Finally the governor was instructed to desire the admiral on the station to intercept all supplies sent by sea to Natal, and immediately to withdraw the military detachment from the port.

On the 25th of July Sir George Napier wrote, acknowledging the receipt of this despatch, and stating that he took upon himself the responsibility of not carrying the instructions into effect until he should have a reply to what he was then communicating. At great length he explained his views.

He had come to South Africa, he said, determined to uphold the policy of the secretary of state, by refusing on every occasion to listen to schemes which contemplated an enlargement of the territorial limits of the Cape Colony; but he had changed that opinion. He then reviewed the events that led to the existing condition of affairs, and stated that he could not protect the blacks or control the inland trade as Lord Stanley desired without a much greater force than he had at his disposal. The occupation of Port Natal was necessary as a check upon unrestricted commerce. The facility with which munitions of war could be smuggled through that port, if it were not in English hands, was very great. In conclusion, he referred to the disastrous consequences to friendly whites and blacks of the withdrawal of the troops, and maintained that keeping possession and colonising the country from the Tugela to the Umzimkulu was the best course that could be followed under the circumstances.

On the 12th of October Lord Stanley replied that he considered the governor justified in not withdrawing the troops from Natal. He approved of the provisional measures taken, and would bring the question before his colleagues.

On the 13th of December he wrote again, instructing the governor to send a commissioner to Natal to investigate matters there and report upon them. He was to inform the inhabitants that the queen approved of the amnesty, that they were taken under her protection, and that they would be allowed to retain all lands actually occupied for twelve months previous to the commissioner's arrival. The revenue from land and customs would be vested in the queen and applied exclusively to the maintenance of the civil government. Her Majesty was anxious to place the institutions of the country upon such a footing as might be most acceptable to the people, consistent with her authority, and the commissioner was therefore to invite an expression of opinion. In legislation, however, the queen reserved the most entire freedom of action. The commissioner was to

understand that he was sent to collect information and opinions, and not authorised to make any definite arrangements. Whatever might be the institutions ultimately sanctioned, three conditions were absolutely essential, namely:—

1. That there should not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatever, founded on mere difference of colour, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, should be extended impartially to all alike.

2. That no aggression should be sanctioned upon the natives residing beyond the limits of the colony, under any plea whatever, by any private person or any body of men, unless acting under the immediate authority and orders of the government.

3. That slavery in any shape or under any modification should be absolutely unlawful, as in every other portion of her Majesty's dominions.

This despatch was received in Capetown on the 23rd of April 1843, and on the 12th of May Sir George Napier issued a proclamation appointing Advocate Henry Cloete her Majesty's commissioner for the district of Port Natal, and announcing that this district, 'according to such convenient limits as should be fixed upon and defined, would be recognised and adopted by the queen as a British colony.' Advocate Cloete was a brother of Colonel A. J. Cloete, and a member of the legislative council of the Cape. On the 5th of June he and his secretary, Mr. C. J. Buissinne, arrived at Natal, where the emigrants were found in a state of unusual excitement.

On the 8th of the preceding month the schooner *Brazilia* had again anchored in the roadstead. She was from Rotterdam, with a clearance for Mauritius, but her real destination was Natal. Upon Mr. Smellekamp's return to Holland, the government of the Netherlands not only declined to countenance any act that could be construed into encouraging the emigrants to resist British authority,

but threatened to enforce with stringency its laws against its subjects taking part in hostilities against a friendly power. Baron Kattendycke, then minister for foreign affairs, gave the strongest assurance to that effect to the British representative at the Hague, and a copy of his assurance was printed in South Africa and circulated by the government with a view of informing the emigrants how vain were their expectations of aid from that quarter. They, however, professed to regard the document as not authentic.

But if the government of the Netherlands disclaimed sympathy with the emigrants, many Dutch subjects were their enthusiastic advocates. A society was formed at Amsterdam, termed the 'commission for supplying the religious wants of the inhabitants at Natalia.' It was composed of persons of respectability and wealth, and was directed by a committee of clergymen of the Dutch reformed church, Mr. Swart, who has been already mentioned, being its guiding spirit. This commission engaged the services of a young licentiate named Ham and a schoolmaster named Martineau as pioneers to the emigrant republic.

A small trading company was also formed at Amsterdam, Mr. Swart and Mr. Ohrig being leading men in it. The *Brazilia* was engaged, and for the second time sent out, with Mr. Smellekamp as chief director, Mr. and Mrs. Ham and Mr. Martineau, who were to place themselves at the disposal of the volksraad, and an assistant trader, who was to set up a store at Port Natal. Upon the *Brazilia* casting anchor, Skipper Reus and Mr. Smellekamp went ashore, but were not permitted by Major Smith to communicate with any one except himself and his officers. Lieutenant Nourse, of the *Fawn*, went on board the *Brazilia* and examined her cargo with the expressed intention of detaining her if he should find any munitions of war. Nothing of the kind was discovered, and the skipper and director were allowed to return to their vessel after being informed by Major Smith that he would permit nothing

whatever to be landed unless they produced a clearance from a port of the Cape Colony.

The *Brazilia* then sailed for Delagoa Bay, where Mrs. Ham died. The schoolmaster had died on the passage out. Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham landed at Lourenço Marques with their personal property and some cases of books sent out by the Amsterdam commission, and the *Brazilia* proceeded to Java to look for a market for her cargo.

By Major Smith's action the farmers were thoroughly convinced that the document circulated by Sir George Napier was spurious, and that Mr. Smellekamp was expelled because he had something important to tell them.

Another matter causing great excitement was an influx of an enormous number of Zulus, which was then taking place. Panda, upon suspicion that some of his subjects were conspiring against him, had recently put his brother Koko (correct Kaffir spelling Xoxo) to death with the usual circumstances of barbarity, had caused his brother's wives to be ripped up and the brains of their children to be dashed out, and was proceeding to exterminate all whom he suspected, when a great rush was made into Natal. In the course of eight or ten days it was calculated that no fewer than fifty thousand individuals of both sexes and all ages crossed the Tugela to be under the white man's protection. The principal fugitive was a chieftainess of high rank, named Mawa, from whom this inroad is commonly called in the documents of that day 'the flight of Mawa.'

Panda sent messengers to Major Smith to demand that the fugitives should be compelled to return, and that the cattle they had taken with them should be given up, but the major refused to do either. He was horrified at the cruelty perpetrated upon Koko's family, and announced that he would protect Mawa and her people.

Fifty thousand strangers were wandering up and down Natal. Wherever the pasture suited them, or a locality took their fancy, there they settled for the time being. In terror many of the farmers abandoned their homes and

sought safety in Maritzburg. They wanted a commando called out to clear the country, their view being that the fugitives should be compelled to return to Zululand, but should be located there in a district by themselves, and that Panda should be given clearly to understand that if he molested them the farmers would punish him severely. But Major Smith threatened to assist the fugitives if force was used against them, so that the farmers were prevented from taking any action.

When Mr. Cloete reached Maritzburg, the machinery of the emigrant government, with the exception of the volksraad, was at a complete standstill. There was not a sixpence in the treasury. The salaries of the officials, petty as they were, were months in arrear, and there was no prospect of any of them ever being paid. Since the loss of the customs and the port dues, the receipts had been next to nothing. In all the country there was only one individual, an infirm half-breed, doing duty as a policeman. The landdrosts gave judgment when cases were brought before them, but they had no means of enforcing their decisions, consequently their sentences were in most instances disregarded.

On the 9th of June the commissioner had a meeting with four or five hundred of the inhabitants of Maritzburg, and made them a long address explaining the object of his visit and enlarging upon the advantages of a settled government under the English flag. When he had concluded, a farmer named Anthonie Fick rose up and read a resolution adopted at a mass meeting the day before, that the emigrants should not communicate with the British commissioner until they had seen Mr. Smellekamp. Immediately there was an uproar, which did not cease until the meeting dispersed. A little later in the day Mr. Cloete received a letter from the secretary Bodenstein, informing him that the volksraad had adjourned until the first Monday in August, to allow of deputies and 'the public' from beyond the Drakensberg being present.

The commissioner, however, had by this time discovered that some of the best men in the country were prepared to accept the proposed government as offering the only alternative from anarchy. There was hardly one who had been in office but who candidly admitted that the republic of Natal was a failure. Mr. Jan Philip Zietsman, then landdrost of Maritzburg, waxed eloquent when describing the utter impotency of its officials. Messrs. Joachim Prinsloo, Bernard Rudolph, A. W. Pretorius, J. N. Boshof, C. P. Landman, and L. Badenhorst all gave the commissioner information to the same effect.

Mr. Cloete thereupon returned to Durban and requested Major Smith to occupy Maritzburg with two hundred and fifty soldiers, so as to support the well affected, before the meeting of the volksraad. The major considered that it would be imprudent to march inland with a smaller force than five hundred men, and as he had not so many under his command, he could not comply. The commissioner wrote to Sir George Napier, and two hundred rank and file of the 45th regiment, being all that could be spared, were sent from Capetown in the *Thunderbolt*, which reached Natal on the 21st of July; but the governor's opinion was against the proposed military movement, so that it did not take place.

In the mean time the commissioner called upon the inhabitants of Natal to send in their claims to land, with particulars of occupation, in order that the intentions of the secretary of state might be carried out. The majority of the people ignored him, however, and very few returns were sent in. As an instance, he reported to Sir George Napier that there were four hundred and fifty erven in Maritzburg, most of them built upon or cultivated, but after ample time had elapsed claims to only one hundred and twenty had been made. Beyond the Umzimkulu he believed there were no farms occupied then or during the previous twelve months, though he ascertained that some situated there were registered in the title book kept by the volksraad.

By the end of July armed bands of farmers from beyond

the mountains began to arrive at Maritzburg. Mr. Cloete ascertained that there were no less than fourteen distinct parties, numbering altogether some ten thousand souls, who did not acknowledge the authority of either the volksraad or the adjunct raad. The two largest of these independent parties were under Commandants Mocke and Greyling. On this occasion several of these communities claimed the right of taking part in the proceedings, on account of their South African blood. Commandant Mocke arrived at Maritzburg at the head of two hundred armed men, and was followed by eight or ten others, each with a small band of adherents.

On the 30th of July the commandants who were most opposed to submission, believing that there would be perfect unanimity with their views and desiring that the commissioner should see that the whole of the emigrants were determined to stand or fall together, wrote to Mr. Cloete inviting him to be present at Maritzburg on the 7th of August, and pledging themselves for his safety. This letter was signed by Commandant-General Gerrit Rudolph, Commandants Jan Kock, J. G. Mocke, J. P. Delport, and eighteen others. Mr. A. W. Pretorius wrote separately to Mr. Cloete, assuring him of personal safety.

On Saturday the 5th of August the commissioner arrived at Maritzburg from Durban, and found six or seven hundred armed men in the town. The volksraad was to meet on the 7th. At the close of 1842 twenty-four members had been elected as usual for the ensuing year, but eight of these had never taken their seats. Among these eight were Messrs. J. N. Boshof and A. W. Pretorius. The sixteen members met on Monday the 7th, and were joined by two of those who had previously abstained from taking part in the proceedings. The commandants from beyond the Drakensberg then demanded that an entirely new volksraad of thirty-six members should be elected by the whole of the emigrants. To this the eighteen members objected, and they refused to resign; but they passed a resolution to allow the emigrants from beyond the mountains to fill up the number to thirty-six.

At this stage Commandant Mocke, finding his party less powerful than he had expected it to be, withdrew from the deliberations, heaping abuse upon his opponents. The commissioner feared every moment that blood would be shed, for several hundred armed men, violently agitated, were quarrelling with each other, some stamping their guns upon the ground amid an uproar of voices. The ferment was at length allayed by the expostulations and entreaties of Messrs. A. W. Pretorius and Joachim Prinsloo, and at a late hour of the night the crowd dispersed, after an arrangement by which the volksraad was made up to thirty-two members, namely twenty-four for Natal and eight for Winburg and Potchefstroom.

On the morning of Tuesday the 8th the enlarged volksraad met, and Mr. Stephanus Maritz was chosen president. At his instigation a discussion was brought on as to the extent in which the people beyond the mountains would be affected by any arrangement with the commissioner, and it was observed that they had not been parties to the agreement with Colonel Cloete in the preceding year. A deputation was sent to the commissioner's lodgings to ask him how far the queen intended to assert her authority, to which he replied that he could not say, but that he intended to recommend the Drakensberg as the future boundary of Natal. The members for Winburg and Potchefstroom then determined to withdraw, as they said the settlement of the question would not affect them.

The deliberations were continued with incessant clamour. At length a resolution was adopted offering to surrender absolutely and unconditionally a strip of country along the coast, if the commissioner would receive it with defined limits; but when this offer was made he stated that he had no power to accept such a cession, and that the queen's government alone could decide finally upon the question of boundaries.

The proceedings were next interrupted by a mass meeting of the women of Maritzburg. The commissioner

good-naturedly went into the court-room where they were assembled, when he found every means of getting out closed against him. For two hours he was obliged to listen to an impassioned harangue from Mrs. Smit, the wife of the infirm clergyman, in which their grievances were enumerated, and which was followed by the unanimous declaration that rather than submit to English rule again they would march barefoot over the mountains to liberty or death.

After this interruption the volksraad proceeded with its debates, and recognising the fact that resistance was out of the question, resolved upon endeavouring to obtain the best terms possible. A deputation waited upon the commissioner and informed him that the members were unanimous in their decision to submit to the queen's authority, if only the first of the three conditions laid down as essential in the secretary of state's despatch could be modified. They were quite prepared to agree to the second and third of those conditions in letter and in spirit, but they saw insurmountable difficulties in the way of carrying out the first. If nature herself had not made a great constitutional difference between white men and black, the training of the two races during countless generations had been so unlike that it seemed to the volksraad impossible that they should live harmoniously together under exactly the same laws. As well might one put the horse and the ox in the same yoke. Could not the first condition be modified and so expressed as to prevent any oppression or injustice to the blacks, without putting them upon precisely the same political footing as the whites?

Mr. Cloete replied that it was beyond his power to make the slightest departure from the letter of the conditions.

The volksraad then gave way to necessity, and with only one dissentient voice resolved to submit. As evening was setting in the members forwarded a declaration to the commissioner, in which they agreed to accept the three conditions. The declaration was signed by J. S. Maritz, president, M. G. Potgieter, P. F. R. Otto, P. H. Zietsman,

B. Poortman, W. S. Pretorius, S. A. Cilliers, G. Z. Naude, G. R. van Rooyen, C. P. Botma, L. J. Meyer, E. F. Potgieter, P. R. Nel, A. F. Spies, P. G. Human, J. A. Kriel, W. A. van Aardt, G. C. Viljoen, Gerrit Snyman, H. S. van den Berg, A. L. Visagie, M. Prinsloo, C. A. Botma, and N. J. S. Basson.

On the 9th the whole of the farmers from beyond the mountains left Maritzburg to return to their homes, denouncing in bitter language those who they said had betrayed the cause of liberty by their submission to the English government. Many of the inhabitants of Natal were in the same frame of mind, and the subscribers to the declaration and those who thought with them were subjected to so many insults and annoyances that it became necessary to move troops to Maritzburg for their protection. On the 31st of August Major Smith with two hundred men and two guns arrived and took possession of a commanding hill at the west end of the town, where he formed a camp which in course of time developed into Fort Napier. The most determined among the farmers now abandoned their homes again, and moved over the Drakensberg, so that at the close of the year there were not more than five hundred emigrant families left in Natal.¹

It was arranged that until the appointment of officials by the English government the volksraad should continue to act as before, and that it should make known the wishes of the inhabitants as to the future administration of the country. On the 4th of September the discussion on this subject closed, and Mr. Cloete was requested by letter to recommend that Natal should be constituted a colony distinct from that of the Cape of Good Hope, with the machinery of government as simple and inexpensive as possible.

¹ This is the highest computation, and is that of the reverend Abraham Faure, who made a pastoral tour through Natal at this time at the instance of the Cape government. The reverend Mr. Lindley's computation at the close of 1843 was three hundred and sixty-five families.

The volksraad desired that there should be a legislative council of twelve members, elected by the burghers for two years, six to form a quorum. That no one should be entitled to vote unless he was in possession of landed property to the value of 150*l.*, a resident in the country for six months, and able to read and write the English or the Dutch language. That the governor should have power to sanction or reject laws enacted by the council, those approved of to have immediate effect. That the landdrosts should have jurisdiction without appeal in criminal cases to the extent of sentencing to a fine of thirty shillings or fourteen days' imprisonment, and in civil cases of less value than thirty shillings. That the landdrosts with two heemraden or justices of the peace should have jurisdiction without appeal in criminal cases to the extent of sentencing to a fine of five pounds, a month's imprisonment, or twenty-five lashes, and in civil cases of less value than five pounds. That courts of landdrost and heemraden should hold monthly sessions. That a circuit court composed of two or more landdrosts and two or more heemraden, with a jury of nine persons, should sit once in six months to try more serious cases. That no sentence of death, transportation, or imprisonment for more than two years, should be executed without the governor's fiat. That the governor should have a right of mitigation or remission of punishment. That the governor with two or more members of the executive council should sit once in three months as a court of appeal in civil cases. That with the exception of local enactments the laws should be those of the Cape Colony. That the language of the courts of law should be Dutch, except where the majority of the inhabitants of a district spoke English. That the inhabitants of each district should every two years nominate eight persons, of whom the governor should select four as heemraden. That the landdrosts should be elected by the people of their districts, but be confirmed by the governor, who should have power of rejection. That all inferior officers should be appointed by the governor alone. That every town or village, at the

request of the inhabitants, should be constituted a municipality. That religion should be free, that there should be no state church, but that all should be entitled to protection. That education should be provided for by the legislature. That all grants of land made by the volksraad should remain undisturbed. That trade should be permitted with all nations, except the bordering tribes until laws could be framed to forbid the sale of guns and ammunition. That paper money should not be forced into circulation. That there should be no compulsory military service. That the inland boundary of the colony should be the Drakensberg until the people beyond were willing to come under the queen's authority. And that the immigration of paupers should be prohibited.

The all-important subject of the recent influx of refugees from Zululand came next under discussion. Every emigrant in Natal felt that the question really was whether the country was to become a white or a black settlement. Its discussion occupied the volksraad two days, and resulted in a request to the commissioner to recommend that the refugees should be removed over the Tugela and the Unzimbubu, with the exception of such as should choose to take service, no farmer, however, being permitted to engage more than five families. The volksraad then adjourned.

Mr. Cloete as his next proceeding resolved upon paying Panda a visit. On the 18th of September he left Durban with that object, accompanied by his clerk—Mr. C. J. Buissinne, an interpreter—Mr. Joseph Kirkman, a guide—Mr. D. C. Toohey, and Messrs. Gerrit Rudolph and Henry Ogle, who went out of curiosity. On the 1st of October he had an interview with Panda, and found him prepared to comply with everything proposed. The Zulu chief must have felt that his position at the time was similar to that of Dingan in the early days of 1840, and that it would be dangerous to refuse anything asked of him.

The commissioner proposed a new boundary between

Zululand and Natal, namely the Umzinyati or Buffalo river from its source to its junction with the Tugela, and thence the Tugela to the sea, instead of the Tugela along its whole course. Panda consented without demur, and on the 5th of October an agreement to this effect was drawn up in writing and was formally signed and witnessed. The new boundary gave to Natal a large and valuable tract of country, but a portion of it was occupied by natives. In making this agreement the independence of the Zulu tribe was assumed, and after this date the authorities of Natal never spoke of Panda as a vassal or treated him as one.

On the same day, and by another formal document, the shores at the mouth of the Umvolosi river and the bay of St. Lucia were ceded by Panda to the queen, but the extent of land was not defined.

The commissioner's object in obtaining this cession was to prevent any foreign power from acquiring a harbour in the neighbourhood of the new colony, as well as to keep the farmers from renewing their efforts to obtain a seaport, for after the loss of Natal many of them declared their intention of opening a communication with the outside world through St. Lucia Bay. On these grounds the cession was subsequently confirmed by the imperial government, but Panda was informed that there was no intention of forming a settlement there. The arrangement making the Tugela and Buffalo rivers the northern boundary of Natal was also confirmed by the secretary of state, who at the same time directed that the Drakensberg should be the inland boundary, and that communication with the country beyond that range should be discouraged and as far as possible prevented, as the British government could not be responsible either for the conduct or the protection of any one there.

After leaving Panda's kraal, Mr. Cloete inspected St. Lucia Bay, and then returned to Durban, where he arrived on the 21st of October.

On the 28th of September Sir George Napier issued a proclamation placing Natal in the same relationship as any

other British possession to the Cape Colony. Its exports were to be free of duty. Its imports were to pay the same duties as in the Cape Colony. This proclamation was supplemented by another issued on the 3rd of October, fixing the duty on Cape wines at half that payable on wines from foreign countries, and on spirits at two shillings a gallon. The port dues were raised from threepence to three shillings a ton, at which rate they remained until the 6th of December 1845, when they were abolished altogether.

On the 21st of November the first civil servants of the new colony were appointed by Sir George Napier. They were Mr. Samuel Woods, collector of customs, and Mr. George Prestwich, tide waiter. Mr. Woods was found dead in his room shortly afterwards, and Mr. William Swan Field was then appointed collector of customs.

The number of blacks in the colony—that is the former republic and the land between the Tugela and Buffalo rivers—was estimated by Mr. Cloete at this time to be at least between eighty and one hundred thousand. He recommended that they should be collected together in defined locations, and placed under the authority of superintendents.

Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham were all this time at Lourenço Marques. The former wrote to the volksraad at Maritzburg that they need not expect aid from Holland, but in December Messrs. Joachim Prinsloo, Gerrit Rudolph, Cornelis Coetsee, and a youth named Bezuidenhout left Weenen on horseback, and rode to Delagoa Bay to have an interview with him. Mr. Smellekamp informed them of the position taken by the government of the Netherlands, and advised them to abandon Natal and move north of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, where the company which he represented could open a trade with them either through Delagoa Bay or some port farther up the coast. At Lourenço Marques three of the party were taken ill with fever, from the effects of which Mr. Coetsee died when endeavouring to return, and Mr. Prinsloo fourteen days after reaching home.

Soon after this Mr. Ham abandoned all hope of being able to serve the emigrants, and left Lourenço Marques in a vessel bound for Table Bay. The remainder of his life was spent as a clergyman in the Cape Colony. Mr. Smellekamp remained at Delagoa Bay, where he was visited by Commandant Potgieter and several others, to whom he gave the same advice as to Mr. Prinsloo's party. In another chapter it will be seen that this counsel was followed.¹

It was not intended by the secretary of state that the colony of Natal should extend as far as the Umzimvubu river; but he left the south-western boundary to be fixed by the governor, with the single condition that it was not to embrace land occupied by any well-established tribe. Fodo and his people were living on the southern bank of the Umzimkulu, and that river was therefore selected by Sir Peregrine Maitland. In the opinion of his advisers it had also the advantage of cutting off from the colony a large tract of country without a single port through which produce could be shipped, and therefore adapted only for pastoral purposes.

As regards the tribes with which the government had intercourse, the policy of the day was still to a great extent founded on the opinions of the reverend Dr. Philip, who desired the formation of powerful native states under missionary guidance. His plan was to select the best-disposed chief within a given area, and to enter into treaty arrangements with him. With this view, Sir Peregrine Maitland resolved to surrender to Faku all the territory south of the Umzimkulu, though the Pondos certainly could not have claimed with any show of right an inch of ground north of the Umtentu.

¹The *Brazilia* on her homeward passage from Java put into Delagoa Bay, and Mr. Smellekamp returned to Holland in her. In 1848 he was back in a vessel named the *Animo*, but fever and the tsetse prevented him from carrying out his plans. Undaunted still, he returned to Holland, and two years later tried again, as the agent of a new company by which a vessel named the *Vasco da Gama* was laden and sent out. His name will often appear in connection with events after that date.

On the 7th of October 1844 a treaty was prepared and signed by Sir Peregrine Maitland at Fort Beaufort, and Messrs. Theophilus Shepstone and William Fynn were then sent to Faku with it. The reverend Thomas Jenkins explained the different clauses of the document, which Faku unhesitatingly agreed to, and on the 23rd of November the marks of the chief and his son Ndamasi were affixed to it in presence of Messrs. Shepstone, Fynn, and Jenkins, and four of the leading Pondo councillors.

In this treaty Faku was acknowledged as paramount chief over the whole country between the Umtata and Umzimkulu rivers, from the Kathlamba mountains to the sea, and this territory was secured to him against all claims and pretensions on the part of British subjects. On the other hand it bound him to be the faithful friend of the Cape Colony, to use his best exertions to seize and deliver up refugee criminals, to facilitate the production of evidence, to make restitution for stolen cattle traced to his country, to protect travellers and the post passing through and traders and missionaries residing in his country, to prevent the landing of goods from ships not provided with colonial licenses, to avoid as far as possible making war with neighbouring tribes, to submit to the mediation of the colonial government any disputes with other chiefs which he could not settle peaceably, and to aid the colony with all his forces whenever called upon to do so.

When this treaty was signed, Sir Peregrine Maitland was aware that there were other tribes within the boundaries assigned to Faku, that they were frequently fighting with the Pondos, and that Faku exercised no jurisdiction over them. Of their past history and their claims to independence he knew nothing. But to set his conscience at rest concerning them the treaty contained a provision that the rights of all petty chiefs and tribes residing within the territory should remain unaltered, and that they should be allowed to live there in the same manner as before they were disturbed by the Zulu wars.

The treaty was one of a series which gave to certain chiefs claims to vast tracts of land which were not then in their possession, and never had been. On this account it could not fail to give offence to all except the favoured tribe. So far from preventing disturbances, it tended to increase them, as Faku now put forward claims to supremacy, which the other chiefs naturally resisted. Feuds and constant strife remained as before. In July 1845 Ncapayi, the most formidable of Faku's opponents, was killed in battle; but he left his son Makaula to carry on hostilities. With the Pondomisis and the Kesibes also war with the Pondos remained the normal condition of things.

Sir Peregrine Maitland thought he was securing substantial advantages by the treaty. He informed the secretary of state that he hoped it would restrain the Kosas from rashly attempting hostile operations against the Cape Colony, by the knowledge that if they did so they would have in their rear an enemy more powerful than themselves, in alliance with the British government, and ready to fall on them with an overwhelming force. He thought also by it to secure a friendly neighbour on the south-western boundary of Natal, to keep an open road to the new colony, and to prevent ships without a license from discharging cargo along the coast.

On the 25th of May 1844 Lord Stanley announced to Sir Peregrine Maitland that the form of government of the new colony was decided upon. Natal was to be a dependency of the Cape, though separate for judicial, financial, and executive purposes. All its communications with the secretary of state were to pass through the governor. It was to be provided with a lieutenant-governor, who was to be aided by an executive council of not more than five members, and this body could *recommend* such laws as it might consider necessary. On the 31st of May letters patent were issued under the great seal providing—

1. That Natal was to be part of the Cape Colony.
2. That nevertheless no colonial law or magistrate was,

by virtue of the annexation, to have force or jurisdiction there.

3. That the governor and council of the Cape Colony, acting in the regular manner, were to have authority to make such laws as should be needed.

The long delay in providing an effective government was tending to inspire the emigrants with hopes that perhaps after all Great Britain would leave them to themselves. In August 1844 a new volksraad was elected, as the old one had then been in existence a full year. When the members came together, most of them refused to take the oath of allegiance to the queen, and declared that they did not consider themselves bound by the deed of submission of their predecessors. Thereupon Major Smith dissolved the assembly, and announced that the old volksraad should continue to act. But this body also now showed a refractory spirit. Some recent acts of atrocity by Panda had caused the flight of more blacks into Natal, and the volksraad passed a resolution to eject them from all farms. Major Smith, however, notified that he would not permit the resolution to be carried out.

Nothing further was done by the imperial government until the 30th of April 1845, when a commission under the privy seal was issued providing that the governor of the Cape Colony when in Natal should supersede the lieutenant-governor, and empowering him to appoint provisionally, until the queen's pleasure could be made known, a lieutenant-governor under any of the following circumstances: (a) the death of the officer holding that appointment; (b) his absence from the territory; (c) his incapacity; (d) in the event of there being no one commissioned by the queen. Under the last of these clauses the secretary of state instructed the governor to appoint provisionally some one with the requisite qualifications.

On the 21st of August Sir Peregrine Maitland issued two proclamations: one defining the boundaries of Natal to be the right banks of the Tugela and Umzinyati rivers, the

south-eastern base of the Drakensberg, and the principal western branch of the Umzimkulu to its junction with the main stream and thence that stream to the sea; the other announcing that 'her Majesty the queen, by graciously establishing in the district of Natal a settled form of government, was not to be understood as in the least renouncing her rightful and sovereign authority over any of her subjects residing or being beyond the limits of that district.'

The selection of a staff of officials followed. Up to this date the only civil officers were the collector of customs and tidewaiter already mentioned, a postmaster at Durban—Mr. William Cowie—appointed on the 22nd of December 1844, a harbour master—Captain William Bell, previously master of the *Conch*—also appointed on the 22nd of December 1844, and a surveyor-general—Dr. William Stanger—with an office staff appointed on the 2nd of January 1845.

The American board having decided to withdraw its agents from Natal, in April 1844 Dr. Adams and the reverend Aldin Grout were offered situations as government missionaries with salaries of 150*l.* a year each. Dr. Adams declined, but Mr. Grout acted in that capacity about a twelvemonth. Both then resumed connection with the American board, which not only reversed its previous decision, but increased the number of its agents.

On the 28th of August 1845 Lieutenant-Colonel Edward French Boys, who had just succeeded Major Smith in command of the garrison of Fort Napier, Dr. Stanger, and Mr. W. S. Field were invested with the power of local magistrates. On the 13th of November Mr. Martin West, previously civil commissioner of Albany, was appointed provisionally lieutenant-governor of Natal, and was also provided with a commission as a magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill. At the same time Advocate Henry Cloete was appointed recorder, Mr. Donald Moodie secretary to government, Mr. Walter Harding crown prosecutor, and a few days later Mr. Theophilus

Shepstone agent for natives.¹ On the 22nd of November Sir Peregrine Maitland named as members of an executive council the senior military officer, the secretary to government, the surveyor-general, the collector of customs, and the crown prosecutor. With the arrival of these officers on the 4th of December 1845 the new administration was established.

In 1845 the imports of Natal were to the value of 30,283*l.* from the Cape Colony and 1,337*l.* from foreign countries. The exports were ivory 3,557*l.*, hides 2,538*l.*, butter 2,246*l.*, maize 858*l.*, wool 232*l.*, and other produce 731*l.*, in all 10,162*l.* The vessels that put in were twenty-one from the Cape Colony, two from Boston, and one from Sweden.

¹ By the word natives was meant all Bantu, whether born on the soil or refugees from beyond the border. The term, as employed in this country, has no reference to place of birth other than the continent of Africa, and it is used only of coloured people.

CHAPTER XLV.

EVENTS IN THE TERRITORY NORTH OF THE ORANGE FROM
1837 TO 1847.

Cleverness of Moshesh—Growth of the Basuto tribe—Settlement at Mekuatl—Growth of the Bataung clan under Molitsane—Growth of the Baphuti clan under Morosi—Removal of some Barolong clans to the Mooi river—Acts of lawlessness along the lower Caledon—Project of native states under British protection—Application of Moshesh to the colonial government to be taken into treaty relationship—Proclamation of Sir George Napier concerning the emigrants and the clans north of the Orange—Views of the imperial government—History of the Griquas—Quarrels between the emigrant farmers and the Griquas of Adam Kok—Proclamation by Judge Menzies—Movement of troops to Colesberg—Application of Adam Kok to the colonial government for assistance—Creation by treaty of Griqua and Basuto states—Contentions raised by the treaties—Violent proceedings of Adam Kok—War between the emigrant farmers and the Griquas of Philippolis—Assistance supplied to Adam Kok by the governor of the Cape Colony—Skirmish at Zwart Kopjes—Visit of Sir Peregrine Maitland to the disturbed district—Alteration in the treaty with Adam Kok—Appointment of Captain H. D. Warden as British resident in the territory north of the Orange—Pretensions of Moshesh—Report of Commandant Gideon Joubert—Removal of the Basuto captain Poshuli to Vechtkop—Meeting of chiefs at Platberg—Submission by the chiefs of their disputes to the governor's decision—Foundation of Bloemfontein—Progress of the French mission—Movements of the emigrants north of the Vaal—Foundation of the villages of Ohristad and Lydenburg, and of the district of Zoutpansberg—Account of the Bapedi—Proceedings at Winburg—Mission of Messrs. A. W. Pretorius and J. Duplooy to Sir Henry Pottinger—Attitude of the governor—Results of the mission.

AMONG the first to realise the great change effected in South African affairs by the expulsion of Moselekatse and the overthrow of Dingan was the chief of the mountain, as Moshesh had come to be called, in reference to his stronghold of Thaba Bosigo. There was now a clear field to work in, and of all the men in the country he was the one most gifted with the talents necessary to take advantage of it. This is crediting him with powers of observation greater than those of all the officers of the colonial government and

of all the missionaries with the different tribes. But it is no more than his due. For ages the Bantu have been developing this peculiar kind of intelligence, and Moshesh was the cleverest man that the race has produced in modern times.

It was several years after the fall of Dingan before the stupendous consequences of that event to the blacks of South-Eastern Africa are found recorded in official documents. One would suppose that the missionaries, at any rate, must have quickly appreciated a change which enabled the remnants of broken tribes to emerge from the deserts, and which opened to them vast fields of labour from which they had before been excluded. Yet they were the very last to perceive it. Their documents for many years display an almost incredible want of power to realise the importance of events that had given life itself to the greater number of the tribes now existing. Who, for instance, would imagine that such a sentence as the following could be penned by a missionary more than five years after the expulsion of Moselekatse from the Betshuana country? 'Since the emigrant boers commenced their aggressions upon the unoffending tribes beyond the colonial boundary, they have spilled more than twice as much human blood as was shed in the war which arose out of the Kaffir invasion of the colony in the year 1835.' Yet that sentence, just as it stands here, may be seen in a memorial to Lord Stanley from the Wesleyan missionary society, dated 2nd of February 1843, the information in the document having been derived from agents of that society in South Africa. And heartless and outrageous as such language appears at the present day, it is mild when compared with expressions used by some of the London society's agents.

Moshesh had observed more than this. When news was carried to Thaba Bosigo that the white men, like the blacks, were divided into parties, and that they were fighting with each other, the chief at once realised that he could turn our quarrels to account; and he formed a decision, from which

he never afterwards swerved : to take advantage of the dissensions of the Europeans, and to profess attachment to whichever party was the stronger.

While the events which have been recorded were taking place in Natal, the power of the Basuto chief was constantly increasing. Individuals, families, even small clans belonging to broken tribes, were streaming in and allying themselves with his people. In 1837 the strong Bataung clan under Molitsane, which has already been mentioned on several occasions, and which has ever since taken a prominent part in the affairs of the country, placed itself in vassalage to Moshesh, and was located at Mekuatleng. Its chief had been for years a noted warrior, and had taken a large share in the plunder of several of the Barolong clans. By the missionaries he was known as a man capable of assuming the most varied characters, and of being equally insincere in all. He was then already in middle age, though he lived until October 1885. With this clan the reverend Mr. Daumas, of the Paris evangelical society, took up his residence.

In the opposite direction from Thaba Bosigo, along the Orange, Morosi, Moshesh's vassal, was becoming formidable. To the original clan of the Baphuti were now added refugees of various tribes, among them being a strong body of Tembus and even a number of Bushmen. During the war with the Kosas in 1835 these people committed depredations far in the colony, though the chief was shrewd enough to make it appear that he was neutral. On one occasion the resident magistrate of Somerset East with a commando followed the spoor of stolen cattle to his residence, Klein Tafelberg. Morosi was at the time absent on a foray in another direction. The magistrate seized all the cattle at the kraal, and retired with them. On Morosi's return home he was advised to appeal to the governor, as among the cattle seized only a few could be proved to have been stolen from the colony. The chief acted upon this advice, and soon afterwards proceeded to Grahamstown, where he had an interview with

Sir Benjamin D'Urban, by whom his cattle were restored to him, 21st of October 1835. This was the first direct intercourse between the Baphuti chief and the colonial government.

For many years the Basuto were subject to destructive raids from a band of Korana marauders whose fastness was on the Riet river, but in 1836 Moshesh and Moroko joined their forces, attacked the Koranas, and succeeded in destroying some and dispersing the others.

And now for several years there was comparative tranquillity in the land. Petty disputes between the different branches of the community were indeed frequent, and occasionally a few lives were lost in an obscure brawl, but there was no invasion from outside, no devastation on a large scale. The gardens were tilled again and cattle increased, so that food became plentiful, and wherever this is the case African tribes speedily recover the numbers wasted by famine and war.

Sometime in 1841 the Barolong captains Gontse, Tawane, and Matlabe moved from Thaba Ntshu northward over the Vaal, and never again returned. It is no easy matter to follow the movements of people so insignificant as these chiefs, who are not mentioned in official documents of the time, of whom no newspaper editor ever heard, and who are only casually referred to in missionary reports. The exact date of their removal therefore cannot be given. Commandant Hendrik Potgieter was then at the Mooi river, and to him they applied for ground on which to live. To the end of his life the commandant never forgot the services which Matlabe and Moroko had rendered, and many years after this, when he was far away in the north, he continued to send frequent complimentary messages and presents to these men who had helped him in his time of need. To be Barolong was to have a claim which he never failed to recognise. Accordingly, with the utmost cordiality he acceded to their request, and ground was given to them in

the district of Potchefstroom, close to the farms occupied by the emigrants.

According to the universal practice of the Dutch in South Africa, these chiefs were permitted to govern those who submitted to their rule, as long as white people were not affected, though they were regarded as subjects by the council at Potchefstroom, and in all matters in which Europeans were concerned were amenable to the laws of the civilised community.

They were more highly favoured, however, than other Bantu, because they had acted a friendly part. The emigrant farmers permitted many refugee clans to settle upon territory under their government, on condition of furnishing a certain number of labourers for a fixed term yearly, and at a fixed rate of payment. The commandant or the landdrost of each district apportioned the labourers among those who needed their services, and was required to see that the conditions were faithfully carried out. The system opened a door to abuses, especially in places where the authority of law was feeble; but while it has been condemned in the strongest terms by various missionaries as being of the nature of slavery, the farmers have as persistently maintained that in practice it is more humane than the imposition of hut-tax. In the one case, they assert, strong men are taught to work, and are thus gradually civilised; in the other an additional burden is placed upon the females, who have to grow more grain for sale, or in some other way earn money to pay the tax. From the labour impost the Barolong clans were free, and they were often addressed by the farmers as allies.

In 1845 Gontse moved to another part of the district without any notice being taken of his doings, or any importance being attached to his presence in one place or the other. At his new location he lived nearly four years, when the thieving propensities of his followers got him into trouble, and a few exasperated farmers compelled him to leave. He retired to the Setlagoli river, where he died.

Masisi, his successor, moved to Taung, on the Hart river, and died there in 1871, when Moshete became chief of this, the elder clan of the Barolong.

Tawane and Matlabe remained near the Mooi river some years longer. Both will be met with again.

The great majority of the emigrant farmers moved either to Natal or to the country drained by the various tributaries of the upper Vaal, but a few hundred families remained along the lower Caledon. These did not acknowledge the authority of either of the governments established at Maritzburg and Potchefstroom, and were in point of fact free of all control whatever. They had neither a police nor a tribunal of justice. A few individuals of lawless habits, taking advantage of these circumstances, removed from the colony and fixed their abode in a territory where they could do as they pleased. In June 1837 two of these individuals, who were of notoriously bad character, perpetrated an outrage at the mission station Beersheba, by forcibly carrying off some Bushman children with a view of making servants of them. This matter was promptly brought to the notice of the colonial and imperial governments, but nothing effectual was done to punish the criminals. Two years later other acts of violence were reported to Colonel Hare, who replied that the criminals were in a place where the colonial laws could not reach them, but that being in the country of Moshesh they were subject to his jurisdiction.

Moshesh in all probability thought very little of the matter. The crimes committed, outrageous as they appear to civilised Europeans, could not have been regarded as very serious by a chief whose favourite vassals almost weekly committed more heinous offences without a word of reproof from him. The victims of the outrages happened not to be his subjects either, and judging from the whole tenor of his afterlife he could not have been much interested in their fate. He affixed his mark to the letters written by the missionaries on the subject, and affected an air of indignation in their presence, but in reality was almost indifferent.

A matter, however, that really must have caused him much anxiety was the rapid occupation by white men of the vacant land beyond his outposts. How was the tribe of which he was the head to grow and expand as he wished it to, if hemmed in by farmers? In 1842 the French missionaries computed that his people already numbered from thirty to forty thousand souls, and that estimate was certainly not too high. Accessions were constantly being made by the influx of refugees from broken tribes, so that Moshesh could not view with composure the increase of Europeans on his borders.

At this time the reverend Dr. Philip practically exercised the same power in the Cape Colony that the secretary for native affairs does now under responsible government. He had the whole of the great philanthropic and missionary societies in England to support him. With these in opposition no ministry could retain office long, and therefore the governor was obliged not only to consult him on all questions affecting coloured people, but to act upon his advice.

Dr. Philip's project of the creation of a belt of native states under British protection along the border of the Cape Colony had been under discussion ever since 1834, and had been generally approved of by the French missionaries as well as by the members of his own society. The project was that the chiefs who were apparently the most powerful within certain areas were to be recognised as the paramount rulers of these territories, all other chiefs within the areas were to be regarded as subordinate to them, and they were to be aided in repelling white people except missionaries and those whom the missionaries favoured.

When this scheme was laid by Dr. Philip before Moshesh, that astute chief at once comprehended its importance and gave his assent to it. Messengers had just conveyed to Thaba Bosigo the intelligence that British troops were marching from the Umgazi to Natal. His missionaries had told him of the enormous strength and vast resources of the British nation. He had determined to be on the side that

was safest. And so on the 30th of May 1842 he approved of a letter written by the reverend Mr. Casalis to Lieutenant-Governor Hare, asking that he might be taken into treaty relationship with the colonial government, as he was convinced that the existence and independence of his tribe could only be preserved by the protection of the sovereign of England.

Compliance with this request was urged upon the governor by Dr. Philip. On the 7th of September 1842 Sir George Napier issued a proclamation announcing that the queen would regard with the liveliest indignation the attempt by any of her subjects to molest or injure the native tribes, or to take unlawful possession of land belonging to them. By any such attempt, he added, the offending parties would forfeit all claim to the queen's protection and regard, and be held by her to have placed themselves in an attitude of resistance to her will and authority. The tribes upon whose territories the emigrants were represented as having evinced a disposition to encroach were stated in the proclamation to be the Basuto of Moshesh, the Barolong of Moroko, the Batlapin of Lepui, the half-breeds of Carolus Baatje, and the Griquas of Barend Barends and Adam Kok.

With the next mail that left for England the governor made the secretary of state acquainted with the matter as it had been represented to him, and stated that there were two modes of overcoming the difficulties of the case: one being protection of the tribes by means of treaties and the promise of armed support, the other the subjection of both the blacks and the whites to British authority. The last course was rejected by the imperial government, who feared additional responsibility, but the first was approved of.

Attention must now be directed to the Griquas, and their history must be more fully traced than it has been in preceding chapters. It has already been related that shortly after the arrival of agents of the London missionary society in South Africa, their attention was drawn towards a little

horde of hunters leading a nomadic life on the great plain south of the Orange river. Many of these people had European blood in their veins, as they were the remote offspring of colonists and Hottentot women. Their language was the Dutch of the colony, though their habits and dispositions were those of Hottentots. They acknowledged a man named Barend Barends as their captain, but their subjection to his authority was only nominal. For nearly four years the missionaries accompanied them in their wanderings, but in 1803 the horde was induced to settle in a well-watered valley, a short distance north of the Orange river. There a mission station was formed, which received the name *Klaarwater*. The reverend Messrs. Anderson and Kramer instructed the people in the principles of the Christian religion, and induced a few of them to cultivate the ground and to erect more substantial dwellings than mat huts.

The nucleus of a settlement being thus formed, some of the surrounding savages were drawn towards it. It became also a place of attraction for free blacks and Hottentot refugees from the colony. Among others a party of mixed breeds moved up from Little Namaqualand under two brothers named Adam and Cornelis Kok, who were the sons of old Cornelis Kok, a noted elephant hunter and a captain of good reputation in that part of the colony. Some years later the old man joined his sons in their new home, and brought with him from the *Kamiesberg* another band of half-breeds. The clan, if such a word can be used to signify a body of people so loosely joined together, originated with Adam Kok, old Cornelis Kok's father. This man was a half-breed, who, a generation earlier, had been permitted by the Cape government to collect a party of people of his own class about him, and had been commissioned to maintain order among them.

As the population increased, outstations were formed wherever sufficient water could be found. There was a vast extent of arid country on every side, inhabited only by

wandering Bushmen, with a few Koranas along the banks of the rivers and a few Batlapin to the north at places where there were fountains.

The settlement was still in its infancy when the colonial government looked upon it with a suspicious eye. It was feared that it might become a refuge for runaway slaves and criminals, and that a hostile community might grow up there. In 1805 a commission, consisting of the landdrost of Tulbagh and Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, was sent to inspect and report upon it. The commissioners found six villages already established, with a population numbering in all nearly a thousand souls. Their report was to the effect that no danger was to be apprehended, and the government, acting upon this opinion, permitted matters to take their course.

The community now enjoyed several years of prosperity. The people profited by the labour of the missionaries, and adopted some of the customs of civilised life. They did not acquire habits of industry, as neither precept nor example could rouse them from indolence; but the chase, of which they were excessively fond, was a mine of wealth. They became mighty hunters, and with the ivory, ostrich feathers, and peltries which they procured, they carried on trade with the colonists. They found means to purchase waggons, ammunition, guns, English clothing, coffee, sugar, and many other articles, the value of which they were capable of appreciating. Their flocks and herds increased rapidly, as they obtained from the chase nearly all the animal food they needed.

The missionaries led out water, and irrigated several acres of land, which they placed under cultivation. They also planted willows along the watercourse and fruit trees in their garden, and when these grew up the village of Klaarwater was considered the most attractive in appearance of the London society's stations in the interior of South Africa.

The reverend John Campbell, who was sent out by the

directors to make a tour of inspection, in 1813 proceeded as far as Lithako, and passed through Klaarwater both in going and returning. He drew up a constitution and a code of laws for the settlement, and directed the appointment of numerous officials. Two of the leading men, Adam Kok and Barend Barends, were to be military commanders with the title of captain, and were also with the two missionaries to form a supreme court of justice. Mr. Campbell even proposed to have money specially coined by the society for the state which it had created.

Upon his return to England he published a volume which gave its readers the impression that he had left a missionary settlement with a highly organised government at the junction of the Vaal and the Orange. A simple, honest, credulous man, he was himself deceived. Not one of his regulations was ever enforced, nor did his courts exist except in his book. It was he that gave the name Griquas to the people, and Griquatown to the station at Klaarwater, names which were readily adopted, and which were the only permanent memorials of his visit to the country. He states the inhabitants to have been one thousand two hundred and sixty-six Griquas and one thousand three hundred and forty-one Koranas. There were also a few Bushmen and Batlapin in the country, but no estimate of their number is given.

In 1820 dissensions broke out. The reverend Mr. Anderson was obliged to retire, as his life was in danger, and the captains Kok and Barends also removed from Griquatown. Under the guidance of some missionaries the people who remained at that place then elected Andries Waterboer, a coloured schoolmaster, to be their captain. On the 22nd of March 1822 a gentleman named Melvill—who subsequently became a missionary of the London society—was appointed by the colonial government resident agent in the Griqua territory. Acting according to the agent's advice, Waterboer ruled his people discreetly, and became fixed in his position. An account of the treaty which Sir Benjamin

D'Urban entered into with him in 1834 has already been given. It is not necessary now to continue the history of this branch of the Griquas, but it will frequently be met with in after years.

Barend Barends went to a place called Daniel's Kuil, where he set up an independent government, and declined in any way to be guided by Mr. Melvill. From Daniel's Kuil this horde afterwards moved to Boetsap. Its subsequent history to December 1833, when it was settled by Wesleyan missionaries at Lishuane near the Caledon, has been given in a preceding chapter.

The adherents of the Koks moved to Campbell, where Adam, the elder brother, was acknowledged as their sole captain, independent of all other authority.

Sir Rufane Donkin was at this time acting governor, and as he feared that the dissensions among the Griquas would end in their becoming bands of marauders, he at first contemplated an attempt to seize them all and bring them into the colony. From this he was dissuaded by Captain Stockenstrom, then landdrost of Graaff-Reinet by whose advice the plan of stationing a resident agent in the country was adopted instead. On the 4th of October 1821 a letter was sent from the colonial secretary's office, acknowledging Adam Kok as captain of Campbell, Barend Barends as captain of Daniel's Kuil, and Andries Waterboer as captain of Griquatown.

In May 1824 Adam Kok resigned, and his brother Cornelis was chosen to succeed him as captain of Campbell. Adam then wandered about the country between the Vaal and Modder rivers, where in December 1825 he was joined by a number of marauding half-breeds and Hottentots, who were usually termed bergenaars, on account of their stronghold being in the Long mountains. These people chose him to be their captain, but after a few weeks the worst characters among them, who had the reputation of being the most ruthless ruffians in South Africa, returned to their old haunts, where in course of time nearly all of them met with violent deaths.

In 1823 Landdrost Stockenström and the reverend Abraham Faure, clergyman of the Dutch reformed church at Graaff-Reinet, caused a school to be established a couple of hours' ride north of the Orange river, at a place which Mr. Faure named Philippolis, in honour of Dr. Philip. They were in hopes of collecting together there a number of Koranas and Bushmen who were wandering about on both sides of the river, but they were disappointed, for these people could not be induced to settle anywhere permanently. In 1826, on the invitation of the head of the London missionary society, Adam Kok and the Griquas who were with him moved to the district between the Riet and Orange rivers, and made Philippolis their head-quarters.

At this time there were no other people than Bushmen and Koranas in those parts, except when a few farmers from the colony went over the Great river with their herds, and remained while the grass was good. Dr. Philip's benevolence towards the coloured races was unbounded, and the Bushmen especially occupied a high position in his affections. He held a theory regarding them that they were descendants of Hottentots who had been despoiled of their possessions by rapacious Europeans, and that they were compelled by sheer want to lead the life of robbers. In giving the district of Philippolis to Adam Kok he stipulated that the Griquas should protect the Bushmen against the farmers.

As well might a hyena be put into a fold to protect the sheep. The records of the first European settlers in South Africa prove the enmity between the Hottentots and Bushmen to have been as deep-seated in the middle of the seventeenth century as it has been ever since. But this was unknown to Dr. Philip. He had formed a theory, and he acted upon it. The result was the disappearance of Bushmen, not only from the district of Philippolis, but from the territory far beyond. Whether the sickening tales that are found scattered about in South African literature, of the throats of some being cut after they were hunted down by the Griquas, of others being roasted alive, and so forth, are

wholly or only partially true, can never be positively known. That the Bushmen were exterminated remains in any case, and the process is of secondary importance.

Cornelis Kok, the captain of Campbell, meantime repudiated the authority of the missionary society in secular matters, and consequently lost favour with that body. In July 1834 Dr. Philip applied to Sir Benjamin D'Urban to pronounce him deposed, and officially to acknowledge Andries Waterboer as his successor; but the governor declined to interfere in the matter.

In the following year Adam Kok, captain of Philippolis, by advice of his missionary visited Capetown in order to enter into a treaty with the colonial government, as Waterboer had done. But he was disappointed. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who was then on the eastern frontier engaged in the Kaffir war, was either too much occupied to issue the necessary instructions, or did not think it prudent to do so. On his way home in September 1835 Adam Kok died at the Berg river, and when this intelligence reached Philippolis, his eldest son, Abraham Kok, was chosen to succeed him.

On the 7th of January 1837 Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, who was on a tour along the northern border, had an interview with Abraham Kok at Philippolis, at which the reverend Messrs. Wright and Atkinson were also present. Kok's Griquas were then at variance with those under Waterboer, so that he could not enter into a treaty with the captain; but it was arranged that as soon as peace was made he would do so.

Accordingly the missionaries exerted themselves to bring about an accommodation, with the result that on the 25th of February a treaty of close alliance was entered into by Abraham Kok and Andries Waterboer. The utter absurdity of the proceeding is shown by the fact that these petty captains divided between them on paper the whole territory from Kheis, on the Orange, to Kornet Spruit, ignoring not only Cornelis Kok and Lepui, but the Basuto chief Moshesh.

Yet documents such as this were regarded by the imperial authorities of the day as important state papers.

Before Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom had time to conclude the proposed treaty, Abraham Kok's younger brother, Adam by name, attempted to seize the captaincy. Abraham's moral character was decidedly bad. He got out of favour with the missionaries, who termed him a renegade savage, and henceforth all their influence was on the side of Adam. This turned the scale, and in September 1837 a majority of the people of Philippolis elected Adam Kok as their captain. Abraham was obliged to retire to Campbell, where he took refuge with his uncle Cornelis, the captain of that place. A considerable party, however, still adhered to him, and a kind of petty civil war followed.

Cornelis and Abraham Kok were on one side, Andries Waterboer and Adam Kok on the other. The question at issue really was whether the missionaries or the captains were to be paramount. The armies, as the little troops of ragamuffins under the different leaders were termed, fired at each other on several occasions, but at such distances that the balls fell midway between them. The only real fighting was when Abraham and Cornelis made a sudden attack upon Philippolis in the winter of 1838, and were beaten back by Adam and Waterboer. After a time, however, Abraham gained the ascendancy, recovered Philippolis, and in January 1840 thought he had quite vanquished his rival. But a few months later Waterboer and Adam succeeded in driving him away, and about the commencement of 1841 the strife ceased by a general consent that Andries Waterboer should be captain of Griquatown, Cornelis Kok captain of Campbell, and Adam Kok captain of Philippolis. Thereafter Abraham Kok sank into utter insignificance, and the missionary influence was everywhere predominant except at Campbell, which was on that account left with only a catechist.

On the 9th of November 1838, while this petty strife was being carried on, Adam Kok and Andries Waterboer entered into a treaty, in which they divided between them the

country as far north as Platberg on the Vaal, and ignored all other claimants. This document was forgotten by every one during a period of thirty-two years, but in 1870 Waterboer's copy was found, and was brought before a court of arbitration as good evidence of his son's right to an immense extent of land.

The farmers who have been mentioned as occasional residents in the territory around Philippolis, were owners of ground in the northern districts of the colony, and only moved across the Orange in seasons of drought or when the grass was destroyed by locusts. They were less affected than any other class of colonists by the events that led to the great emigration, for they were far from the Kaffir frontier, they were not slaveholders, and they were ignorant of the statements made concerning them in Europe. Their lives were passed in seclusion from the world, and the care of their cattle was almost their only occupation. Periodically they attended religious services at the nearest church, from which many of them were hundreds of miles distant, and once a year they presented themselves at the courthouse of the civil commissioner in whose district their lands were situated, and paid their taxes. Government was to them only a shadow. There was nothing to make them disloyal, and they had no ideal grievances. For nearly a century their ancestors had been living in exactly the same manner: paying rent for farms within the colonial border, but moving beyond it at will. Then the government would annex the ground so occupied, and thus the process of enlarging the settlement was continually going on.

These farmers believed they had a right to graze their cattle in the country along the Riet and Modder rivers by virtue of agreements with certain individuals who claimed to be chiefs of the wandering savages there. To these chiefs they had paid a few cattle as a matter of form, but it is open to question whether that gave them any rights in the country which their beneficial occupation of it would not equally have conferred.

After the elder Adam Kok took possession of the territory, the farmers on crossing the Great river found the choicest pasturage in possession of Griquas, each of whom claimed a tract of land of enormous extent. But the presence of these people was regarded at first as advantageous, for in their neighbourhood there were no Bushman cattle-lifters. The Griquas were quite ready to turn their claims to account by selling or leasing the ground at a very low rate and moving to other places themselves, and so all parties were satisfied. After a while, one farmer after another settled permanently in the territory, and from about 1839 onward they formed a tolerably strong community. At this time they had as their head a sensible, well-disposed man, named Michiel Oberholster.

After Natal was taken by the British forces under Colonel Cloete in June 1842, a great number of the emigrant farmers recrossed the Drakensberg. Some moved over the Vaal, others joined their friends along the Riet, Modder, and Caledon rivers. In the neighbourhood of Philippolis there were henceforth two strong parties: one under Michiel Oberholster, well disposed towards the British government, the other under Jan Mocke, bitterly opposed to it. On the 3rd of October 1842 Mr. Oberholster wrote to the civil commissioner of Colesberg that Mocke's party intended to hold a meeting on the 24th of the month at Alleman's drift, the ford of the Orange nearest to that village, to erect a beacon and to proclaim the whole country north of the river a republic. The emigrants were in a state of excitement, owing partly to the occurrences in Natal and partly to the arrest of two of their number, named Hugo and Pretorius, and their committal to prison at Colesberg on a charge of murder.

Some days later Mr. Justice Menzies arrived at Colesberg on circuit for the purpose of holding a court. Hugo and Pretorius were brought before him for trial, but the evidence for the prosecution showed their act to have been justifiable homicide, and without hearing the defence the

judge directed their discharge. Adam Kok was then at Colesberg. He had gone there to complain that the emigrant farmers were acting independently in the district of Philippolis, and to ask for protection according to the tenor of Sir George Napier's recent proclamation, which had just reached him. The evidence given before his court, Adam Kok's statement, and the rumours which he heard convinced the judge that many of the people were disposed to submit to the queen's authority, and that it was his duty to forestall Mocke.

On the 22nd of October he proceeded to Alleman's drift, crossed the river, and on its northern bank, in presence of Mr. Rawstorne, civil commissioner of Colesberg, Captain Eardley Wilmot, of the royal artillery, Advocate William Hiddingh, Mr. Cock, justice of the peace, Commandant Van der Walt, Fieldcornets Joubert, Visser, and Du Plessis, a number of farmers from both sides of the river, Adam Kok, and about twenty Griquas, he hoisted the union jack and proclaimed the whole country British territory from the twenty-second degree of longitude eastward to the sea, and from the Orange northward to the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, excepting only such portions as were in possession of the Portuguese or of native tribes. A willow tree was cut down, and to its trunk, which was placed in a cairn of stones, was nailed a board with the inscription: 'Baken van Koningin van England.'

On the 24th Mocke with three hundred armed followers arrived at Alleman's drift, and found Judge Menzies with about a hundred supporters there. An interview took place, at which one Diederikse was the chief speaker on Mocke's side. He disputed the legality of the judge's proclamation, stated that the emigrants would not respect it, and claimed the whole country north of the Orange down to the military lines around Durban as a republic. Mocke's adherents, however, did not disturb the beacon or the flag as long as the judge was there, though it was evident that any interference with their movements would have been resisted.

Sir George Napier disapproved of Judge Menzies' proclamation, on the ground that sovereignty carried with it responsibility for the maintenance of order, and without more troops he had no means either of protecting the well-disposed or of punishing criminals. He therefore issued a notice repudiating the whole proceeding, but he still claimed the emigrants as British subjects, that the imperial government might decide on what should be done.

He considered it advisable, however, to make a display of force, and in December of this year two columns of troops under command of Lieutenant-Governor Hare marched from the Kaffir frontier to Colesberg. Together they comprised three hundred and sixty-one men of the 91st regiment, one hundred and ninety-eight of the 27th, two hundred and sixty-two Cape mounted riflemen, twenty-two of the royal artillery with two six-pounders, and five staff officers. Upon their arrival the excitement beyond the river was found to have subsided, and after a short stay the main body of the troops returned to the eastern outposts, leaving two companies of infantry under Major Campbell and a company of the Cape mounted riflemen under Captain Donovan in camp at Colesberg.

On the 26th of August 1843 Adam Kok signed a letter written by his missionary to the governor, asking that a treaty of alliance might be entered into between them. Sir George Napier replied on the 6th of October, that prior to its receipt he had been in communication with the lieutenant-governor and the reverend Dr. Philip in regard to the state of the country north of the Orange, and was happy to be able to transmit for signature a treaty which appeared to him to embrace all the provisions suited to the wants of Kok and his people, and calculated to ensure their prosperity.

At this time Adam Kok's clan consisted of from fifteen hundred to two thousand souls, all told. The land which he claimed was bounded on the north by the Modder river, on the south by the Orange, on the east by the districts

occupied by the people of Moroko and Lepui, and on the west by a line upwards from Ramah, that is territory fully eleven or twelve thousand square miles in extent. Within the borders as described by him to the governor there were then more white people than Griquas.

On the 5th of October 1843 two treaties, one with Moshesh, the other with Adam Kok, were signed by Sir George Napier in Capetown, and were witnessed by Mr. John Montagu, secretary to government, and the reverend Dr. Philip. They were both drawn up on the model of the one entered into by Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Andries Waterboer in 1834, most of the clauses being identical in them all. There were, however, one or two important differences. In Moshesh's treaty the limits on all sides of the country acknowledged to be his were defined, while in Adam Kok's only the southern boundary, from the neighbourhood of Ramah to that of Bethulie, was mentioned. Adam Kok was promised a yearly subsidy of 100*l.* in money, the use of one hundred stand of arms with a reasonable quantity of ammunition, and a grant of 50*l.* a year to the London society for the maintenance of a school. Moshesh was promised 75*l.* yearly, either in money or in arms and ammunition, as he might choose.

Mr. Rawstorne, civil commissioner of Colesberg, proceeded to Philippolis with one treaty, and his clerk, Mr. James Walker, was sent to Thaba Bosigo with the other. Adam Kok signed his on the 29th of November, with his secretary and his missionary as witnesses, and Moshesh affixed his mark to his on the 13th of December, in presence of his brother Moperi, his chief warrior Makoniane, and the reverend Messrs. Casalis, Arbousset, and Dyke.

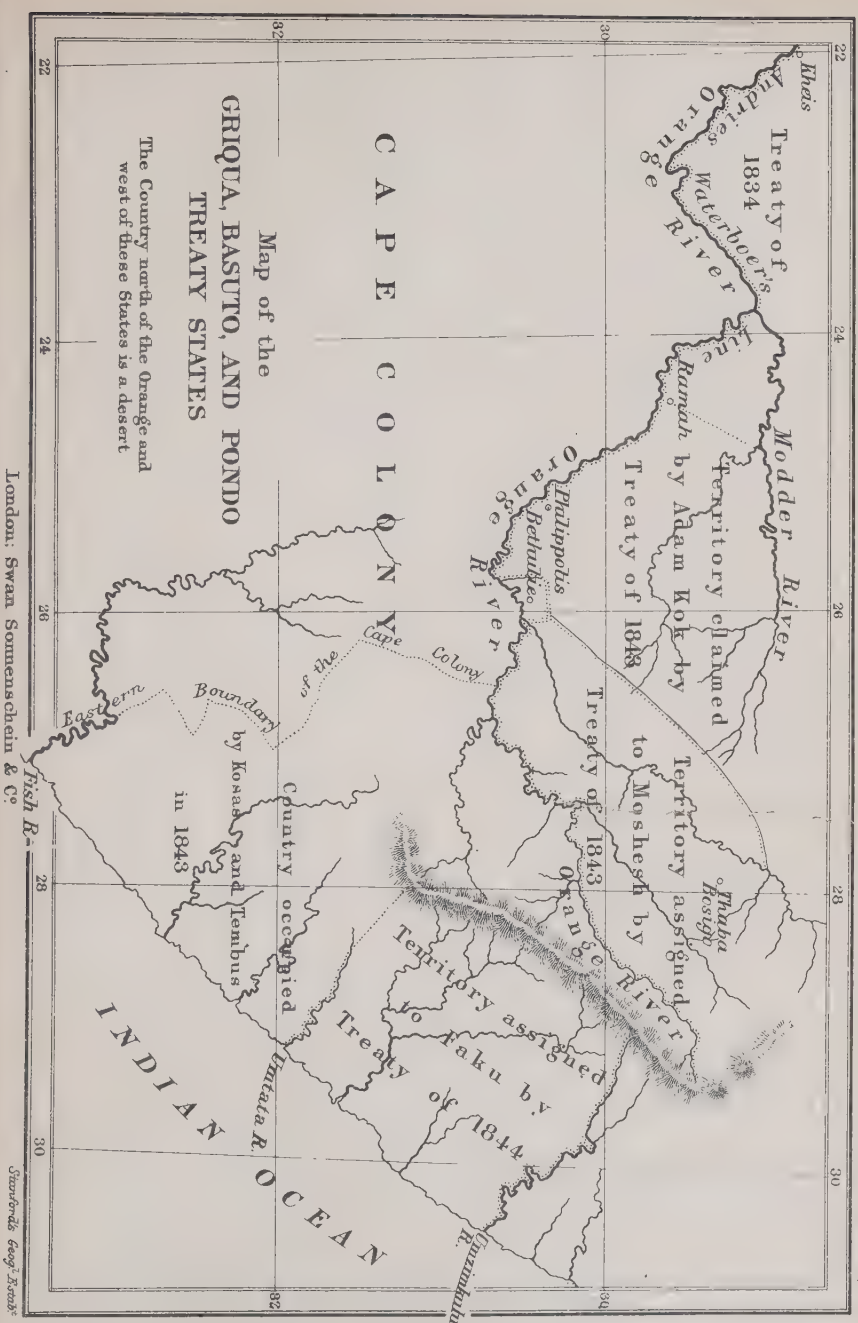
In the treaty with Moshesh the territory acknowledged to be his was bounded by the Orange river from its source to its junction with the Caledon, and by a line about twenty-five to thirty miles north-west of the Caledon from the district of Bethulie to the country occupied by Sikonyela's Batlokua.

A glance at a map of South Africa will show how completely the Cape Colony was enclosed by the states thus created on paper and the one similarly created by the treaty with Faku in the following year. If they could have been maintained, the white man and the civilisation which he carries with him would have been effectually excluded from the regions beyond the Orange. But they satisfied no one except Adam Kok and his Griquas, and they were respected by no one, least of all by the emigrant farmers.

Moshesh through his missionaries complained that the whole of the territory occupied by the clans of Moroko and Gert Taaibosch was not included in his dominions, and he wanted the treaty amended so that his boundaries should embrace their entire districts. He said not one word about the land between the lower Caledon and the Orange which was given to him, though he had no more right to it than to the Isle of Man.¹

Moroko, Peter Davids, Carolus Baatje, and Gert Taaibosch, on the other hand, complained that the treaty gave either the whole or portions of their districts to Moshesh, and 'inflicted a far more ruinous stroke of injustice upon them than any they were ever likely to suffer from the emigrant farmers.' Through the reverend William Shaw, general superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in South-Eastern Africa, they asked that it should be rectified by excluding their ground from it, and that a similar arrangement should be entered into with them.

¹ Moshesh's early ideas of government were tribal more than territorial, and he had only of recent years come to comprehend our system. In an interview with Major Warden at Bloemfontein on the 30th of April 1847 he claimed all the land up to the junction of Kaal Spruit with the Modder river, on account of some Basuto having once resided there. On another occasion when asked to define his territory, he replied that it was wherever his foot had pressed the ground or one of his people had ever lived. His son Letsie still held the same views. Several years later he described the Bushmen in the Lesuto as being Moshesh's subjects in the same way that the jackals were, that is they lived in the country, but were not under its laws.





The treaties exasperated the emigrant farmers more than anything that had occurred since they left the colony. Adam Kok's Griquas were as much British subjects, they said, as themselves, most of them having been born under the British flag; yet the independence of these semi-barbarians was acknowledged, and they were admitted to the position of allies and furnished with arms, while white men with exactly the same claims to freedom were told that go where they would they could not throw off their allegiance, except that while living in the territories of coloured chiefs they were under the jurisdiction of such chiefs. One and all they refused to subject themselves to the puppet sovereigns set up by the treaties.

There were at the time more than a thousand emigrants along the Riet river, in the very heart of the territory claimed by Adam Kok, who would gladly have seen a government established there under the British flag, if they could be allowed equal rights with the blacks. Two hundred and fifty-eight heads of families among them signed a document in duplicate, and deputed two of their number—Willem Jan Oberholster and Lukas van den Heever—to convey it to Maritzburg and deliver it to Advocate Cloete, then commissioner in Natal. In this memorial they stated their willingness to submit to the queen's authority on the same terms as those offered to the emigrants there. After recounting the history of their settlement north of the Orange, they stated that it was not their intention to deprive the coloured people of anything, but it was their wish that measures should be adopted to give rights to white people also. When passing through Winburg the deputation was stopped by some of Mocke's party, and one copy of the memorial was seized, but as it was not suspected that it was in duplicate, Messrs. Oberholster and Van den Heever were able to carry out their mission. No action, however, was taken upon it by the British authorities.

With everything in turmoil beyond the Orange, with

passion running higher there than ever it had run before, with the French and Wesleyan missionaries contending on opposite sides, with jealousies raised among the chiefs and an opportunity given to Moshesh to increase his power—the immediate effects of treaties which Englishmen at home, so sadly misinformed, were led to believe had been entered into to prevent the aborigines from being despoiled of their possessions by slaveholding colonists,—Sir George Napier left South Africa and Sir Peregrine Maitland became governor of the Cape Colony.

The new governor found awaiting his consideration a letter from Adam Kok soliciting military aid. His first act of interference with the emigrant farmers had got him into trouble, and he believed they were about to attack him. In January 1844 there was a quarrel between two white men named George Mills and Hermanus van Staden, not far from Philippolis, and shortly afterwards Mills died, as was reported from injuries received from Van Staden. Thereupon Adam Kok caused Van Staden to be arrested and sent to Colesberg for trial, and he took possession of the property of Mills, ostensibly to secure it for the heirs.

As soon as Van Staden's arrest became known, Diederikse, who was Mocke's secretary, wrote from Modder River to Adam Kok, demanding that he should be given up to the emigrant farmers to be tried by their courts. Kok's reply was a stinging taunt. He—that is the missionary in his name—wrote to Diederikse that 'his request had been complied with in one sense, for as all emigrants from the colony were looked upon as British subjects, they were amenable to the laws administered in the colony.' Mocke's party then threatened war, upon which Kok sent to Colesberg and obtained from the military store two hundred pounds of powder and four hundred pounds of lead. For a week or two there was considerable excitement on both sides, but at length, on Van Staden's release, the affair was allowed to sink into

oblivion, with a warning, however, to Adam Kok not to repeat the provocation.

In the first week of June there was a large meeting of farmers and Griquas at Philippolis, convened by Michiel Oberholster with the object of discussing matters affecting them all and trying to come to a common understanding. Mr. Gideon Joubert, who was present during the discussions, reported to the civil commissioner of Colesberg that the dissensions among the emigrants prevented anything like joint action. Oberholster's party repudiated their subjection to Adam Kok by the treaty, but they and the Griquas resolved that no one who disavowed allegiance to the British government should be permitted to reside in the territory. Upon this a commandant named Jan Kock declared that he would resist any such resolution being put in force, and he had a strong body of adherents. The meeting was therefore dissolved.

Commandant Jan Kock, here mentioned, had shortly before this moved from the present colonial division of Hanover to the bank of the Modder river. He had received rather more education from books than the generality of the emigrants, and was as genial and hospitable a man as could be found anywhere in South Africa. His chief failing was, perhaps, too much confidence in his own ability to do anything and everything. A great many of the emigrants, however, thought as much of him as he thought of himself, and so he soon became a leader among them. His aim at this time was to bring all the Europeans north of the Orange under the government established at Potchefstroom, of which Mr. Hendrik Potgieter was chief commandant.

The position taken up by the party of which he was a leading member was defined in a resolution unanimously adopted by the council of Potchefstroom and Winburg on the 10th of April 1844, and was that the emigrants were free and independent, that they were unwilling to enter into any negotiations whatever with the English government,

and that their territory extended southward to the Orange river.

During the year 1844 many efforts were made by this party to compel those who disagreed with them either to return to the Cape Colony or to fall in with their views. Oberholster's adherents in particular complained that they were subject to incessant persecution. Sir Peregrine Maitland was wearied with communications, all of the same nature, showing that without a strong force north of the Orange the treaties could not be maintained. Adam Kok wrote asking for soldiers to expel the emigrants from his territory. Lukas van den Heever wrote on the 24th of October, on behalf of the parties under himself, Michiel Oberholster, and Jacobus Snyman—the last named being head of a body of farmers in the valley of the lower Caledon—asking whether they could rely on obtaining protection. He added that if the government did not assist them they would in the end be obliged against their will to submit to the council at Potchefstroom.

On the 13th of December of this year Commandant Jan Kock, in the name of Chief-Commandant Potgieter, wrote to Adam Kok inviting him to a conference with a view of establishing peace and friendship between them. The Griqua captain replied through his missionary, the reverend W. Y. Thompson, that he did not feel himself at liberty to meet any one officially who assumed authority over the subjects of the queen. A few days later Mr. Potgieter arrived at Philippolis, and met Adam Kok. He proposed that as the farmers and the Griquas were alike emigrants from the Cape Colony, they should not interfere with each other in any way, but should live in peace, each party under its own government. Adam Kok answered that he would abide by the terms of the Napier treaty, and could only regard the white emigrants as British subjects. They came therefore to no terms.

It was almost impossible under the circumstances that they should long continue at peace. The civil commissioner

of Colesberg reported that Jan Kock's adherents constantly went about armed. On the 13th of January 1845 Adam Kok wrote asking that a military post might be established in his country. The secretary to government replied on the 19th of February that 'if any general movement of the emigrants should take place for the purpose of attacking him, there would be marched from the colony with all possible despatch such a force as should seem calculated to ensure his protection against an unprovoked aggression.' After a promise like this it might be certain that the Griqua captain would abate none of his pretensions, and that in the state of irritation in which both parties were, a pretext for a quarrel would not long be wanting.

The following event brought matters to a climax :—

Two blacks from beyond the Vaal, who were in the service of an emigrant named Jan Krynauw, quarrelled with a European residing on the same farm, and menaced him with their assagais, but did not go so far as to wound him. Krynauw secured the offenders and took them to Commandant Jan Kock, who sentenced them to a sound flogging. Adam Kok thereupon inquired of Mr. Rawstorne whether he would receive Krynauw if delivered at Colesberg for trial. Mr. Rawstorne advised him to be cautious, but neglecting counsel that did not coincide with his own views, the Griqua captain sent a band of a hundred armed men to arrest Krynauw. When the Griquas reached the farm Krynauw was not at home, so they poured a storm of abuse upon his wife, broke into his house, and carried away with them three guns and a quantity of ammunition.

Thereupon the burghers, fearing a general attack, assembled under arms, and the Griquas did the same. A party of farmers from the district between the Orange and the lower Caledon, under Commandant Jacobus Duplooy, came to the aid of their countrymen. The burghers then formed a lager or camp at Touwfontein, a farm occupied by one Adriaan van Wyk, about thirty miles from Philippolis. There they left their families under protection of a guard,

and the two parties then commenced seizing each other's cattle. Whenever they met shots were exchanged, each invariably accusing the other of being the first to fire. Mr. Rawstorne, as a special magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, issued a circular calling upon the farmers to keep the peace; but it had no effect. He then supplied Adam Kok with a hundred muskets and a quantity of ammunition, and desired Major Campbell to move the military force under his command from Colesberg to Alleman's drift to protect fugitives and prevent any one from crossing the river to the assistance of the farmers.

As the seizure of cattle and skirmishing continued, on the 22nd of April 1845 Major Campbell with two hundred men crossed the Orange, and, marching at night, reached Philippolis next morning without molestation. Mr. Rawstorne accompanied the troops. A conference with the emigrant leaders was then arranged, which took place at Alwyn's Kop on the 25th of April. Among the deputies from the emigrant camp were Jan Mocke, Jan Kock, Hermanus Steyn, and Michiel Oberholster.

Mr. Rawstorne informed them that as British subjects they could not be permitted to make war on Adam Kok, who was an ally of the government. Messrs. Mocke and Kock replied that they were independent of Great Britain, and subject only to the council of Potchefstroom and Winburg. They affirmed that the Griquas began the war, but they stated their willingness to restore the cattle they had captured if the Griquas would do the same. They were also willing to engage not to renew hostilities, if the Griquas would refrain from doing so. They desired, however, as indispensable to any agreement that a line of demarcation should be drawn between the Griquas and themselves, and that they should be placed upon an equality with the Griquas, that is, that they should be recognised as a free people. Mr. Rawstorne could not concede this, so the meeting was unsuccessful in bringing about peace. To this date four or five farmers had been wounded, but they had

killed one Griqua, made six prisoners, and captured two hundred and eighty horses and three thousand six hundred head of horned cattle.

The 7th dragoon guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson, with some artillery under Captain Shepherd, and a troop of Cape mounted riflemen under Captain H. D. Warden, had meantime been ordered to proceed as rapidly as possible from the eastern colonial frontier to the assistance of the Griquas. On the morning of the 26th of April this force crossed the Orange, and on the same day reached Philippolis. There Colonel Richardson issued a proclamation calling upon the 'emigrant British subjects unlawfully assembled in arms to surrender themselves unconditionally to her Majesty's troops.' The proclamation had no effect.

On the night of the 1st of May 1845 Colonel Richardson left Philippolis with one hundred and eighteen cavalry, one hundred and sixty infantry, and most of Adam Kok's Griquas, and made a forced march towards Touwfontein with a view of surprising the emigrant camp. A body of Griquas was sent in advance to draw out the farmers. They succeeded in doing this, and then pretended to run away. Some two hundred and fifty farmers under the commandants Jan Mocke, J. Kock, H. Steyn, and J. Duplooy, pursued them to a plot of broken ground called the Zwartkopjes, about five miles from Touwfontein. Under cover of some hills the cavalry then got unobserved in the rear of the farmers, who suddenly and unexpectedly found themselves in front of British troops.

The action that followed is not deserving of the name of a battle, for the farmers did not even attempt to make a stand. On the English side one Griqua was killed. On the side of the emigrants one farmer and a French adventurer were killed, and another farmer was mortally wounded. Fifteen prisoners were taken, among whom were two deserters from the British army. These men were subsequently brought to trial before a court martial, when one

was sentenced to death and the other to fourteen years' imprisonment with hard labour.

After the skirmish at Zwartkopjes, Colonel Richardson sent the infantry to Touwfontein to take possession of the emigrants' camp. The great majority of the occupants of the lager were women and children. Only about one hundred men were there, who surrendered without resistance. All the arms and ammunition were seized, but other property was left undisturbed.

Commandants Mocke, Kock, and Duplooy, with their adherents, retired hastily to Winburg. Oberholster's party had tried from the first to keep as much as possible out of the strife, and they now came in to Colonel Richardson's camp at Zwartkopjes and took the oath of allegiance to the queen. Hermanus Steyn's adherents did the same, and by the 17th of May three hundred and sixteen emigrants had taken the oath. About two thousand of the cattle taken from the Griquas were restored through Steyn's exertions.

There was another larger party of farmers at no great distance, who acknowledged as their head Mr. Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, but they took no part in these disturbances. They were mostly living along the lower Caledon, and professed to hold their lands from Moshesh. The great chief therefore favoured them greatly, and was always pleased to allot a farm to any of their friends, as by so doing he established his title to the district in which they were living. He appointed agents to give out land in his name, and in after years constantly brought this forward as an admission by the emigrants of his right to that part of the country. The adherents of Snyman were for this reason regarded with little affection by the remainder of their countrymen.

On the 22nd of May Colonel Richardson broke up his camp at Zwartkopjes, and moved on to Touwfontein, where Sir Peregrine Maitland had convened a meeting of all the chiefs between the Orange and the Vaal. The governor was trying to devise a plan by which matters could be

settled and the future peace of the country be assured, and he was on his way to Touwfontein to introduce a new order of affairs.

Before his arrival Commandants Mocke, Kock, and Duplooy sent a letter to Mr. Rawstorne, offering to restore everything they had taken from the Griquas on condition that everything taken from them by the Griquas and the British troops should likewise be returned. In reply, Mr. Rawstorne was directed to write that 'his Excellency could not entertain any proposals or terms whatever on the part of her Majesty's subjects who had been in arms against the government, and would accept only of an unconditional restoration of the cattle in question.'

Towards the close of June the governor, attended by Mr. Porter, the attorney-general of the Cape Colony, and several other gentlemen, arrived at Touwfontein. The chiefs Moshesh, Moroko, Molitsane, Lepui, Gert Taaibosch, Carolus Baatje, Peter Davids, Adam Kok, and Andries Waterboer, with a large number of missionaries, were there to meet him. Sikonyela, the head of the Batlokua, was the only chief of any note in the country between the Vaal and the Orange who was absent. With Waterboer there was nothing to settle, for the district that was his under the treaty of 1834 was beyond the disturbed area. Lepui, Carolus Baatje, and Peter Davids had no quarrels on hand and asked for nothing, so there was no need of any special negotiations with them. Molitsane desired that he might be considered a dependent of Moshesh, and therefore included in any arrangement made with his superior. Moroko and Gert Taaibosch would not admit that they were vassals of Moshesh, and Moshesh would not renounce his claim to sovereignty over them, so that only a provisional arrangement could be made with these chiefs.

Adam Kok remained. In the first conference with the governor this petty captain of a rabble horde put forth pretensions which would have been extravagant if made by Peter the great of Russia. He claimed that every one within

his territory who did not implicitly obey his orders was a rebel, and forfeited thereby all his property. He declared that all leases of land within his territory which had been made by any person whatever without his approval were invalid. And he requested that all who had been in arms against him should be driven out by British troops. Subsequently, however, he moderated his tone.

The governor proposed that the territory which Adam Kok claimed should be divided into two districts. In one of these districts no white men except missionaries and traders—and these only with the consent of the colonial government—should thereafter be permitted to purchase or lease ground, and those who were then resident within it should be compelled to leave upon the expiration of their leases. In the other district land could be freely leased to white men either by the Griqua government or individual Griqua claimants. The dominion of the Griqua government over the whole was to be maintained, but practically the administration of the European district was to be entrusted to an English officer with the title of British resident. This officer was to hold a commission under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, and Kok was to confer upon him the same power as exercised by magistrates in the Cape Colony. He was to have jurisdiction over all Europeans in any part of the Griqua territory. He was to collect the rents and other revenues, and to pay over half to the Griqua government, the other half being retained to defray the cost of administration. All persons of European birth or descent in the Griqua territory were to be considered British subjects. Adam Kok was to place a force of three hundred men at the control of the resident to maintain order, whenever called upon by that officer to do so.

The Griqua captain at once fell in with these proposals, for they gave him the advantage of a revenue, preserved his territorial claims intact, and relieved him of anxiety with regard to European settlers.

It was agreed that the inalienable district, or Griqua

reserve as it may be termed, should comprise all the land between the Riet and Orange rivers, from a straight line drawn between Ramah on the Orange and David's Graf at the confluence of the Riet and Modder rivers eastward to Kromme-Elleboog Spruit, Van Zyl's Spruit, and Lepui's district of Bethulie. At the time this arrangement was made there were upwards of eighty farms held by Europeans in this reserve. Some of these had been purchased from individual Griquas, but it was arranged that as such purchases had not received the sanction of the Griqua government they should be regarded only as leases for forty years.

An agreement embracing these provisions was made between Sir Peregrine Maitland and Adam Kok at Touwfontein in June 1845, and was immediately acted upon, though it was not until February of the following year that a formal treaty to that effect was signed. On the 1st of July the governor left to return to the colony. Before quitting Touwfontein he issued instructions to Mr. Rawstorne to take up his residence at Philippolis and act there as special magistrate. He was to visit Colesberg once a fortnight to hold a court. All the troops were ordered back to the eastern colonial frontier, except the company of Cape mounted riflemen under Captain Warden, that was to proceed to Philippolis and remain there to support the special magistrate.

The situation of British resident was offered by Sir Peregrine Maitland to Major Smith, who had recently been relieved of the command of the troops in Natal, but that officer declined it. It was then offered to Captain Sutton, of the Cape mounted riflemen, who accepted it provisionally, and took over the duties on the 8th of December. Finding, however, that its retention would prevent his promotion in the army, Captain Sutton resigned in January 1846, and was succeeded by Captain Henry Douglas Warden, who has been already mentioned on several occasions.

At Touwfontein the disputes between the chiefs and the

conflicting views of the French and Wesleyan missionaries prevented an arrangement being concluded with Moshesh similar to that with Adam Kok. When spoken to on the subject, the Basuto chief professed to be very willing to fall in with the governor's views. A minute of the conditions proposed by Sir Peregrine Maitland was drawn up, to which Moshesh through his missionaries replied in writing that he was ready to accept a treaty framed according to its principles and provisions. He then proposed to give up for the use of Europeans a small triangular piece of ground between the Caledon and the Orange, stretching upwards from the junction of those rivers to a line drawn from Commissie Drift to Buffels Vlei. From the remainder of the territory assigned to him by the Napier treaty, he desired the governor to enforce the removal of the Europeans, who numbered then four hundred and forty-seven families.

The pretensions of Moshesh were surely hardly less extravagant than those of Adam Kok. There never had been any Basuto residents in or near the little plot of ground which he expressed himself willing to give up for the use of white people, and he wanted a reserve capable of accommodating a tribe six or eight times as great as the one of which he was then the head. According to a return drawn up by his missionaries and forwarded to the governor in his name, his people numbered then between forty and fifty thousand souls.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, though expressing himself 'gratified by the readiness with which the chief acceded to the proposals made,' deferred proceeding any further with the negotiations until he could obtain a report upon the condition of affairs throughout the country from some able and impartial person. For this purpose he selected Commandant Gideon Joubert, a loyal, intelligent, and trustworthy man, who had previously been employed on several occasions as a special commissioner, and had always performed the duties entrusted to him in a satisfactory manner.

In July and August 1845 Mr. Joubert made a tour of

inspection through the country. His first interview of any importance was with a farmer named David Stephanus Fourie, who informed him that in the year 1839 he had purchased a large tract of land from a Korana captain named David Danser. The land is described in his report as extending 'from the Vaal river at the Platberg above the Hart river, which runs in on the north side, in a right line south to the Modder river, along the Modder river upwards to Doorn Spruit, along Doorn Spruit up due north to the Vet river, and thence to where the Vet river runs into the Vaal.' The price paid was three hundred sheep and a waggon.¹ Fourie's statement was afterwards confirmed by several farmers whom Mr. Joubert met, and also by the Bataung chief Tulu, son and successor of Makwana. This purchase of Fourie's was then occupied by twelve emigrant families.

On a tract of reserved land at the head of Coal Spruit, Mr. Joubert found Tulu, the highest chief in rank of the Bataung tribe. Tulu informed him that his father had sold the country to the farmers, except the reserve in which he lived, and he gave a correct account of the destruction of his tribe by the Zulu invasions. Besides the few people with him, he said that there was another remnant of the Bataung in existence, namely the clan under Molitsane, then living under Moshesh's paramount chieftainship. Molitsane, he stated, was a son of Maputu, who was a brother of Makwana's father. Tulu had no complaints to make.

Along the route Mr. Joubert ascertained that the farmers were greatly divided in opinion. A few were desirous of acknowledging the sovereignty of the queen, but most of

¹ It would be curious to compare the present value of that tract of land with the price given for it to its native claimant by Fourie. The waggon is stated by Mr. Joubert to have been valued at 67*l.* 10*s.* Supposing the sheep to have been worth 75*l.*, the whole purchase amount of the principal South African diamond fields and an immense area to the eastward was 142*l.* 10*s.* Mr. Joubert describes the district as badly supplied with water, and says Fourie estimated that it would suffice for fifty farms, most of which would be on branches of rivers, but without springs.

them were opposed to it. On his arrival at Winburg he found himself in a republican centre. Commandant Jan Kock and his adherents were there, and the chief political topic was denunciation of the British government. Commandant Mocke had moved over the Vaal. At Winburg there was a court of landdrost and heemraden. Mr. J. Meyer, the landdrost, was a feeble and timid old man, who was afraid to be seen conversing with a commissioner of the British government, and therefore only communicated with him at dead of night.

From Winburg Mr. Joubert proceeded to visit the chiefs along the Caledon. He found the missionaries of the French and the Wesleyan societies holding opposite opinions as to the right of Moshesh to the sovereignty of the country occupied by Moroko, Gert Taaibosch, Peter Davids, and Carolus Baatje. The commissioner heard the statements of both parties. Though he was indignant at some of the preposterous claims advanced on behalf of Taaibosch, he was inclined on the whole to favour the view of the Wesleyan missionaries, because it was better supported by evidence. He thought it advisable to prevent Moshesh from becoming too powerful, and he correctly forecasted what the result must be if the Basuto tribe should be permitted to absorb its neighbours.

Moroko and Taaibosch offered large tracts of unoccupied ground for the use of Europeans, but Moshesh declined to relinquish more than the little slip which he proposed at Touwfontein. Mr. Joubert reported that he found no Basuto south of the Koesberg, but between that mountain and the line proposed by Moshesh there were seventy-two farms occupied by two hundred and eighty-nine emigrant families.

Mr. Joubert estimated Moshesh's people at fifty or sixty thousand, Moroko's at ten thousand, Molitsane's at one thousand, Gert Taaibosch's at three hundred, Carolus Baatje's at two hundred, and Peter Davids' at two hundred of all ages.

The commissioner's report showed such difficulties in the way of making any arrangement with Moshesh, without violating the Napier treaty, that no immediate action was taken.

During the summer of 1845-6 a great expansion of the Basuto tribe took place. Moshesh pushed his outposts far forward, on one side towards the Batlokua border, and on the other deep into the district occupied by the farmers. His brother Poshuli, who had up to this time lived at Thaba Tsheu, was sent some thirty-five or forty miles farther southward to take up his residence on Vechtkop,¹ a mountain of great natural strength as a fortress. This Poshuli, though Moshesh's full brother, had none of the abilities of the great chief. He was a barbarian pure and simple, with no ambition to be anything higher than the head of a robber band, and no qualifications for anything else. He was already notorious as an expert cattle-lifter, and in that capacity he soon attracted a large following. Robbers from the Cape Colony and from Kaffirland, among whom were many Tembus and Fingos, found at Vechtkop a secure retreat for themselves and their booty.

The object of sending Poshuli among the Europeans can only have been to compel them to abandon their farms. It is noteworthy that an experiment like this was never made by Moshesh until he was convinced that such a proceeding towards one body of white men would be viewed with complacency by other white men in South Africa.

His advance in the other direction may have been a feint to divert attention, or it may have been a true forward movement. For several years there had been no serious fighting between the Batlokua of Sikonyela and the Basuto of Moshesh, though the feud between them was as strong as ever. The Batlokua occupied the country on both sides of

¹ Not to be confounded with the Vechtkop where Potgieter's party repelled the Matabele, from which it is distant some two hundred miles as the crow flies. It is unfortunate that the emigrants were in the habit of giving the same name to various places.

the Caledon down to the confluence of the Putiatsana. Between them and Moshesh's people there was no defined boundary, and the border land was thinly inhabited. A body of fresh immigrants was placed under Moshesh's son Molapo, who was directed to occupy it, and when Sikonyela threatened an attack, a strong Basuto army was sent to the front.

At this stage Moshesh reported the matter to the colonial government. Professing to stand in awe of the great power of which he had heard so much, and to believe in its friendly disposition towards him and his people, he announced that he would not enter upon a war without its sanction, unless compelled to do so in self-defence. The British resident considered it his duty to endeavour to prevent hostilities, and Sir Peregrine Maitland approved of his offering to mediate between the chiefs in the capacity of an arbiter selected by themselves to preserve the peace of the country.

With the object of trying to settle this matter and the complicated land questions previously referred to, the British resident invited all the disputants to a conference, which took place at Platberg in March 1846. There were present Captain Warden and his clerk, two French missionaries, a Wesleyan missionary, the chief Moshesh with his sons Letsie and Molapo, the chief Sikonyela with his brother Mota, the chief Molitsane with his sons Moiketsi and Mokhele, the chief Moroko, the captains Adam Kok, Peter Davids, and Carolus Baatje, a representative of Gert Taaibosch, and a number of councillors and leading men of all parties.

The conference lasted nearly two days, at the end of which the British resident, finding it impossible to bring the various chiefs to consent to any arrangement, proposed that they should submit their respective claims to a commission to be appointed by the governor, and engage to keep peace with each other until his Excellency's pleasure should be known. The chiefs agreed to the proposal, and a document to this effect was drawn up and received the marks of them all.

A commission, however, was not then appointed. The governor favoured the proposal, but while the preliminary arrangements were in progress the Kaffir war of 1846-7 broke out on the eastern colonial frontier, and occupied the attention of Sir Peregrine Maitland and of his successor, Sir Henry Pottinger, to the exclusion of less pressing matters.

The British resident, whose title of captain was about this time changed into that of major, selected as the seat of his court and the station of the troops under his command a farm between Kaal Spruit and the Modder river that had been in occupation of an emigrant named Brits, and as Adam Kok was recognised as the sovereign of the territory, the form was gone through of obtaining a cession of the ground from him. The place so selected was Bloemfontein, the present capital of the Orange Free State, which thus dates its origin in 1846.

In June of this year some farmers who had been expelled from ground claimed by Griquas placed themselves under the leadership of Commandant Jan Kock at Winburg, and sent messages to Adam Kok threatening to attack him. Thereupon Major Warden demanded assistance from Moroko, Gert Taaibosch, Carolus Baatje, and Peter Davids, and with the troops and a few men furnished by these chiefs he marched to Winburg and dispersed Commandant Kock's followers. On this occasion the major disarmed all the farmers he could get hold of. It was afterwards made a subject of complaint that among those disarmed were several who had never taken part in disturbances, and who were so poor as to depend principally upon game for subsistence.

Towards the close of 1846 Sir Peregrine Maitland endeavoured to eliminate one element of discord from the question of territorial ownership, by offering to Carolus Baatje and Peter Davids, the two captains of the mixed breeds, tracts of land in the valley of the Buffalo river, in the present division of King-Williamstown, if they would remove from Platberg and Lishuane; but the negotiations fell through. Not long after this, some of Peter Davids'

people moved away beyond the lower Vaal, others dispersed in different directions, and the little clan was broken up and dropped entirely out of sight.

During the progress of the war with the Kosas and Tembus Moshesh expressed the most friendly feelings towards the British government. He offered assistance against the enemy, but the colonial authorities considered it advisable not to encourage his active co-operation. Some strangers, at first believed to be fugitive Kaffirs, having crossed his boundaries, he placed a strong armed party on the frontier professedly to prevent any enemies of the colony from entering his country. It was subsequently ascertained that the strangers who had caused the alarm had not been implicated in the war.

The Baphuti under Morosi were robbed of a few hundred head of cattle by a petty Kosa chief, who took advantage of a time of disturbance to fall upon this clan, between whom and himself there was an ancient feud. This circumstance, however, can hardly be connected with the Kaffir war, though Moshesh wished it to be regarded as a loss sustained by his people in consequence of his alliance with the colony. A few months later both Moshesh and Morosi gave assistance to the British resident in an attack upon some Tembus in the Wittebergen district south of the Orange river. These people were known to be secreting great herds of cattle swept off from the colony by the Kosas, but Major Warden's movement against them, being conducted without instructions, was severely censured by Sir Henry Pottinger.

Now and again the feud between the Batlokua and the Basuto showed itself. Sikonyela adhered but a very short time to the agreement to keep the peace made at Platberg, and with hardly any pretence attacked a petty Basuto captain named Letsela, killed several of his people, and drove off some of his cattle. The affair was investigated by the British resident, whose decision was that the Batlokua chief should restore the booty, but though he promised to do so, he failed to keep his word.

Fourteen years had now elapsed since the arrival of the pioneer French missionaries in the Lesuto, during which time the society had scattered its agents over a large extent of country. In 1837 a station at Thaba Bosigo was founded by Mr. Gosselin, and in the following year Mr. Casalis took up his residence there, leaving Mr. Arbousset at Morija. In 1843 a station was founded by Mr. Maitin at Berea. In the same year a station named Bethesda was formed by Mr. Schrupf at the principal village of the Baphuti chief Morosi, on the northern bank of the Orange. Three years later Morosi abandoned that side of the Orange, and occupied the district on the southern bank, now called Kuthing (correct Kaffir spelling Quthing), but the country around the station was taken possession of by other individuals of the tribe. In 1846 Mr. Keck commenced a mission at Cana among the people along the Putiatsana, who had only recently been cannibals. Molapo and his followers now removed from Morija as already related, and in defiance of Sikonyela took up their residence near Mr. Keck. In 1847 a station was formed at the Koesberg by Mr. Cochet, and was named by him Hebron. The country all about was occupied by Europeans, but the chief Lebenya with a few followers lived on the mountain. One of the avowed objects of Mr. Cochet in founding this station was to attract a Basuto community to it, and thus extend the tribe in that direction. In 1847 also the station of Hermon was founded by Mr. Dyke. A little later the station of Carmel, which, however, had but a brief existence, was established by Mr. Lemue, who removed from Motito.¹

Moshesh, without embracing Christianity himself, was a firm friend of the missionaries, giving them ample protection, making necessary grants of land whenever and wherever they desired, and requiring his subjects to reside in the neighbourhood of the churches and schools. He even took part in public services, and frequently acted as an exhorter.

¹ Motito was retained by the French missionaries until 1867, when it was transferred to the London society, and became an outstation of Kuruman.

On all important occasions he sought counsel from the Christian teachers, and seldom neglected to do as they advised.

But if the missionaries owed much to Moshesh, he certainly owed more to them. The English government contributed to make him great by its countenance and its protection. The emigrant farmers, by acting as a wall of defence against external enemies, preserved the people from extermination. But the existence of the Basuto as a powerful tribe must be attributed to the French missionaries more than to all other foreign agencies combined. Disintegration would have followed the return of prosperity, the various elements which had not yet had time to blend must have fallen asunder, but for them. They saw the danger of anarchy, and directed every effort to support the influence and power of the great chief, who was not only the friend of missions, but the sole individual capable of preserving order in the land.

His communications with the colonial government were now conducted in the manner of a civilised power, letters being written to his dictation by one or other of the missionaries residing with him, and read by his sons who had been educated in Capetown. His people had advanced greatly in knowledge under the teaching of the French clergymen. Hundreds of his subjects went every year to take service with farmers in the colony, and other hundreds returned, bringing with them the heifers or the guns which they had earned. Large quantities of millet, maize, and even wheat were exchanged after every harvest for articles of English manufacture.

After the skirmish at Zwartkopjes most of those farmers who were opposed to the British government moved from the Riet, Modder, and lower Caledon, either to Winburg or over the Vaal. To this time the districts of Potchefstroom and Winburg had been united under one council and one chief commandant, Hendrik Potgieter. Mr. Potgieter resided at Magalisberg, but occasionally he visited the

southern portion of the republic. In January 1843 he convened a meeting at Thaba Ntshu of the chiefs along the Caledon, and renewed with them the old agreements of peace and friendship. From the first appearance of the English troops in Natal, however, his attention was directed to the far north, where alone he believed the emigrants would be left to themselves. With the country in that direction as far as the Limpopo he was already well acquainted. Besides the journeys which have been mentioned, in May 1843 he conducted another unsuccessful expedition against Moselekatse, for the purpose of endeavouring to recover the three captive Christian children, whose relatives would not be comforted, but insisted upon an effort being made for their release.

When Natal was lost to the emigrants, Messrs. Smellekamp and Ham found means to communicate with Commandant Potgieter from Delagoa Bay. In December 1843 a party of fifty farmers left Winburg with sixteen waggons to convey these gentlemen inland, but their cattle were destroyed by the tsetse, and they were obliged to turn back before reaching their destination. In June of the following year Commandant Mocke with eighty farmers made another attempt to reach Delagoa Bay, but again met with failure.

Mr. Smellekamp then advised the emigrants to make a general move to the north-east, and this fell in with Commandant Potgieter's own views. Towards the close of 1844 a few families were on the march, and in 1845 there was a large migration from Potchefstroom and Winburg. The object was to get within easy reach of Delagoa Bay and to be beyond fear of collision with the British government. A little north of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude and near the thirty-first degree of longitude this party of emigrants founded a village which they named Andries-Ohrigstad, after the first name of the commandant and the surname of Mr. G. G. Ohrig of Amsterdam. There they were smitten with fever, and were reduced to extreme distress. Some then moved to a better site a short distance away, and founded

the village of Lydenburg, which was so called from their recent suffering. This party was speedily reinforced by fresh arrivals from the south.

Another detachment with the commandant himself moved farther towards the interior, and settled at Zoutpansberg. Andries-Ohrigstad was, however, for some time considered the seat of government of the whole republic, and Potchefstroom and Winburg were termed adjuncts to it.

The district along the Mooi river which was thus abandoned by Commandant Potgieter's party was taken possession of by those emigrants who would not submit to the British authorities after the establishment of the colonial government in Natal and after the skirmish at Zwartkopjes.

In the rugged district of the Lulu mountains, east of the Olifants river, there was then living a tribe called the Bapedi. The people composing it were of the same section of the Bantu as the retainers of Moshesh, and their recent history was almost identical. Some twenty-eight years earlier, just after the death of Tulare, the great chief of the country, a Zulu army led by Moselekatse laid waste the land, destroyed most of its inhabitants, and compelled the remainder to disperse. After a time Moselekatse withdrew, and then Sekwati, son of Tulare, returned from beyond the Limpopo, where he had taken refuge. In the land of his fathers he collected together not only the remnant of the original Bapedi, but refugees from numerous other broken tribes who now took the Bapedi name.

In the winter of 1846 a quarrel arose between the Bapedi and the emigrant farmers. Thereupon Commandant Potgieter, with one hundred and fifty burghers, Matlabé's Barolong, and a party of blacks under a half-breed son of the outlaw Coenraad du Buis, attacked the Bapedi, and took from them eight thousand head of horned cattle and six thousand goats. The spoil was equally divided between the Europeans and the blacks belonging to the commando. Peace was restored by the submission of the Bapedi chief to the emigrant government.

In June 1847 Commandant Potgieter led another expedition against Moselekatse. After a weary march the Matabele were found a long way north of the Limpopo, and sixteen hundred head of cattle were seized at an outpost. But during the same day Moselekatse's warriors appeared in such force that the commando was compelled to retire. Their horses were nearly worn out, so that they were unable to bring away the captured cattle.

In June 1846 the court of landdrost and heemraden, which had existed at Winburg ever since the foundation of that village, ceased to meet, owing to the attack by Major Warden which has been related. This court had acted not only in a judicial capacity for the trial of civil and criminal cases, but as an orphan chamber, and before it marriages had been contracted. Its want was therefore greatly felt. On the 5th of August 1847 those emigrants who were well affected towards the British government met at Winburg, and elected Mr. Gerrit Hendrik Meyer landdrost. Mr. Meyer stated that he would not accept the office without the sanction of her Majesty's high commissioner, and a memorial asking Sir Henry Pottinger's approval of their proceedings was therefore drawn up and signed by seventy individuals. In order that this might become generally known, it was resolved not to forward the memorial until the 17th of September.

On the 27th of October a much larger meeting was held at Winburg, when Mr. Meyer was deposed, those who had elected him were denounced as enemies of the republic, and Mr. Willem Jacobs was chosen as landdrost.

At this time there were some two thousand emigrant families between the Vaal and Orange rivers, and of these fully fifteen hundred were opposed to British rule. Jan Kock's party was scattered along both sides of the Vaal as far down as the Mooi river. The commandant himself was occupying a farm near Potchefstroom.

Only one other event remains to be mentioned in connection with the emigrant farmers before the close of 1847.

After the establishment of the colonial government in Natal, those who remained in that territory were called upon to prove their actual occupation of the land claimed by them for the twelve months preceding the arrival of Commissioner Cloete. This was, of course, in many cases impossible, as during that period the farmers had been compelled to retire to lagers, owing to the enormous influx of refugees from Zululand. In these instances their claims were not allowed. The immigration of blacks was continuous, and locations were assigned to them all over the colony, thus mixing them up with the Europeans in such a way that the latter could feel no security for life or property. In despair, the farmers prepared to abandon the country in a body, and with what remained of the wreck of their property to seek a new home elsewhere. But before taking the final step, they resolved to send one of their number to the Cape Colony to lay their case before her Majesty's high commissioner, and implore relief.

The one upon whom their choice fell as a delegate was Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius, who had just been obliged to abandon his farm, Welverdiend, about six miles from Maritzburg. Mr. Pretorius came from Natal by way of Winburg, where he was joined by Mr. Jacobus Duplooy, who was chosen by the emigrants of that district to accompany him and represent their grievance in the matter of Major Warden's attack.

Upon arriving in Grahamstown, where Sir Henry Pottinger was then residing, Messrs. Pretorius and Duplooy repeatedly tried to obtain an interview with him, but without success. He declined to see them, or to take any notice whatever of their complaints. Mr. Pretorius then, on the 16th of October, wrote a long letter which he addressed to the high commissioner, but caused to be published in the newspapers.

In this letter he described in moderate language the distress to which the emigrant farmers in Natal were reduced by reason of the land which they claimed not having been

given to them, and by the partiality displayed towards the black immigrants, whom he estimated to be then not less than one hundred thousand in number. He gave as instances of the manner in which the blacks were favoured two cases in which he was personally interested. A location had been formed between his farms Welverdiend and Rietvlei, respectively about six and twelve miles from Maritzburg, and thus these places, upon which there were improvements to the value of 3,000*l.*, were made worthless. Two farms to which two of his sons had established their claims, and which had been allotted to them, had been subsequently taken from them because they were convenient for the extension of a location. In these last cases the government had repeatedly promised compensation in the form of land somewhere else, but it had not yet been given. And what had happened to his family had happened to others. Locations for blacks had been established on many farms claimed by emigrants, but taken from them because they had not been occupied during the twelve months preceding June 1843. An enormous tract of country had been practically abandoned by the government to Bushman marauders, and in the whole district of Maritzburg there were only twenty-two or twenty-three occupied farms.

On the 21st of October Sir Henry Pottinger issued a government notice, giving as reasons for not granting Mr. Pretorius an interview, the great pressure of other work, the length of time that would be needed for an investigation of the complaints, and his anticipated early departure from South Africa. A copy of the notice was sent to the delegates, which was the only recognition they received from the high commissioner.

Mr. Pretorius was thus obliged to return to his constituents disappointed and despairing of any relief other than a fresh migration. As he passed through the colony on his way to the Orange river, he was everywhere received with the warmest sympathy. People flocked from great distances to see him and to invoke God's blessing upon

him and his fellow-sufferers. Their treatment was compared, in bible language, to that of Israel under the heartless despotism of Egypt. In their enthusiasm, numbers of people, men and women, resolved to throw in their lot with the emigrants, in consequence of which the stream of refugees from the colony was greater during the next few months than at any preceding period after 1838.

CHAPTER XLVI.

CREATION OF THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY.

Visit of Sir Harry Smith to the territory north of the Orange river—Causes of the increased antipathy of the emigrant farmers to British rule—Plans of Sir Harry Smith for the settlement of the country—New arrangement with Adam Kok—Meeting of the governor with friendly farmers at Bloemfontein—New arrangement with Moshesh—Visit of Sir Harry Smith to the emigrant camp on the Tugela—Proclamation of the queen's sovereignty over the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg—Form of government of the Sovereignty—Armed opposition of the emigrant farmers—Election of Andries Pretorius as commandant-general—Capitulation of Major Warden at Bloemfontein—Despatch of a strong military force to the Sovereignty—Assumption of the chief command by Sir Harry Smith in person. Defeat of the emigrant farmers at Boomplaats—Execution of two prisoners at Bloemfontein—Punishment of the opponents of the British government—Appointment of officials for the Sovereignty—Construction of the Queen's fort at Bloemfontein—Visit of a deputation of clergymen to the Sovereignty—Meeting of the deputation with the reverend Dr. Livingstone—Appointment of a clergyman to Bloemfontein—Regulations for the government of the Sovereignty—Feuds of the Basuto and Batlokua—Definition of reserves for the various clans of coloured people within the limits of the Sovereignty—Relationship of the government to the chiefs and people in the reserves—Movements of the various Barolong clans.

As soon as matters on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony and in British Kaffraria had been arranged by Sir Harry Smith, that governor proceeded to the country beyond the Orange river. He went in the firm belief that his popularity would be sufficient to bring back the emigrant farmers to allegiance to the British crown, and that he would easily be able to establish a government that would satisfy them. In this he was mistaken. Twelve years of wandering and suffering had produced such a change in these people that they could no longer be dealt with like the men he had formerly known and respected.

Attributing their losses and hardships to the action of the imperial government and the London missionary society,

their antipathy to English rule had become so deep that willingly but few of them could ever be brought to submit to it again. In those twelve years many hundreds of children had grown into men and women. Education from books they had almost none, but they had been taught self-reliance as few people have ever learned the lesson.

They believed that England was a country of enormous power, which its government used to oppress weak communities such as theirs. Of its history and even its geographical position they were utterly ignorant. They had an idea that the English ministry and the directors of the London missionary society, whom they confounded with the government, never inquired whether an act was in itself wrong or right, but whether its perpetrators were civilised men or savages, and always gave judgment in favour of the last. They scouted the very notion that absolute justice between man and man was the guiding principle of English rule. Emphatically, positively, they denied that it was, or could be as long as such prejudices as those they had experienced remained in existence. 'All for the black, nothing for the white' was the principle which they affirmed guided English legislation.

The young men were as familiar with the use of firearms as any Kentucky backwoodsman could have been, and were ready with their weapons in hand to plunge farther into the interior. There was another element of the population still more hostile and much less worthy. A considerable number of Europeans of a low type of character had of late years been resorting to the country north of the Orange. Some of these men were fugitives from their creditors, others were deserters from the army, a few were even escaped criminals. The influence of such persons upon a simple and credulous people like the emigrant farmers was all for evil. They were ready for any deed, however desperate or wicked, or any enterprise, however daring. They were under little or no restraint, for there were no police. Assuming various characters, they fostered the prejudices of

the farmers, and traded upon their antipathies. Twelve years earlier a man like the new governor might have secured the allegiance of the emigrants to the British crown, and by enlisting the sympathy of the great majority in favour of order, have been able to curb the turbulent ; but it was now too late.

Sir Harry Smith came to South Africa with a fully matured plan for the settlement of affairs north of the Orange. He would take no land from black people that they needed for their maintenance, but there were no longer to be black states covering vast areas of ground either unoccupied or in possession of white men. Such ground he would form into a new colony, and he would exercise a general control over the chiefs themselves in the interests of peace and civilisation. A system antagonistic to that of the Napier treaties was to be introduced. Those treaties attempted to subject civilised men to barbarians. He would place an enlightened and benevolent government over all. But to enable him to do so, the consent of Adam Kok and Moshesh must be obtained to new agreements, for he could not take the high-handed course of setting the treaties aside.

The governor therefore proceeded first to Bloemfontein, where Adam Kok was invited to meet him. On the 24th of January 1848 the conference took place. The Griqua captain talked of his rights as an independent sovereign in alliance with the queen of England, and assumed altogether a tone of such ridiculous self-importance that Sir Harry Smith's temper failed him and he threatened to have Kok tied up to a beam in the room in which they were sitting unless he acted reasonably. The captain then consented to an arrangement that in lieu of half the quitrents due to him under the treaty of the 5th of February 1846, he should be paid a fixed sum of 200*l.* a year ; that his people should be paid 100*l.* a year for the lands they had let north of the Riet river ; that the Griqua reserve should be cleared of all Europeans as their leases expired, upon payment to them

of the cost of any improvements they had made, at a valuation by the British resident, Adam Kok's secretary, and one emigrant; and that the above-named sum of 300*l.* a year should be paid in perpetuity for the farms leased in the alienable territory, which leases should also be in perpetuity for this consideration.

On the day following, 25th of January 1848, an agreement to this effect was signed, which was construed to mean that Adam Kok, in consideration of 200*l.* a year for himself and 100*l.* a year for distribution among certain of his followers, ceded his claim to jurisdiction over all the land outside of the Griqua reserve. Individual Grikwas retained their property wherever it was, and were entitled to make use of ground held by them anywhere. They could sell or lease farms in their possession anywhere except in the reserve, the only right which they lost being that of reclaiming farms already leased north of the Riet river, for which they were to receive the compensation in money already mentioned. Purchases by Europeans of land within the reserve, it will be remembered, had been converted by Sir Peregrine Maitland into leases for forty years, so that the principle acted upon was not new. The British resident estimated that the reserve was large enough for twenty times the whole Griqua people.

At Bloemfontein the governor received addresses of welcome from the farmers of Oberholster's party along the Riet and Modder rivers and from Snyman's party along the lower Caledon. As many heads of families as could do so repaired to the village to meet him. Among them were some who had served under him in the Kaffir war of 1834-5. At a public meeting speeches were made in which old times were recalled, and enthusiastic language was used concerning the future of South Africa now that a true friend of the country was at the head of affairs. At this meeting the governor observed an aged grey-headed man standing in the crowd. He instantly rose, handed his chair to the old man, and pressed him to be seated, a kindly act that was long

remembered by the simple farmers, and which formed the subject of one of the transparencies when Capetown was illuminated on his return to the seat of government.

From Bloemfontein the governor, attended only by his nephew Major Garvock, Commandant Gideon Joubert, and Mr. Richard Southey, went on to Winburg, where, on the 27th of January, he had a conference with Moshesh. The chief, with his sons and Mr. Casalis, who had reached the village the evening before, rode out to meet him as he approached. An hour after his arrival the formal conference took place. There were present, Sir Harry Smith, his private secretary Mr. Southey, the chief Moshesh with some of his sons, brothers, and councillors, and Mr. Casalis, who interpreted.

The governor hastily explained that the object he wished to secure was a permanent condition of peace, harmony, and tranquillity. He intended, therefore, to proclaim the sovereignty of the queen over all the country in which the emigrant farmers were residing, and to establish magistracies, churches, and schools wherever they were settled. With the internal government of the coloured tribes or their laws and customs he had no intention of interfering, but on the contrary desired to preserve the hereditary rights of the chiefs and to prevent encroachment upon their lands. The quitrents would be required to meet the expenses of government, therefore Sir Peregrine Maitland's plan to pay half the amount to the chief could not be carried out, but this loss would be made good by annual presents.

Moshesh admitted the advantage of a paramount power in the country, and approved of the establishment of governmental machinery among the European immigrants. As to the quitrents he would say nothing, as he did not wish money questions to stand in the way of an arrangement. But he desired that no portion of the country which he claimed should be entirely cut off from his people, so that no one should be able to say to him thereafter 'this land is no longer yours.' He asked what arrangement would be

made where a farmer was found living near a Basuto kraal.

The governor replied that he must continue to live there. But he was in such haste that he was unwilling to enter into details of his plan, nor would he discuss the disputed questions between Moshesh and the other chiefs.

At this conference Sir Harry Smith professed the warmest regard for Moshesh, and used the most complimentary and flattering language in addressing him. In the afternoon of the same day the governor, holding the Basuto chief by the hand, introduced him to the farmers assembled at Winburg as the man to whom they were indebted for the peace they had hitherto enjoyed.

Moshesh readily affixed his mark to a document in agreement with the governor's proposals. That he comprehended what these proposals would lead to is, however, doubtful, as he could hardly have grasped the import of all he heard that morning. Sir Harry Smith's eccentricities were displayed in such a way that the chief's attention must have been a good deal distracted. At one moment he was pretending to snore to indicate the state of peace that would follow the adoption of his measures, at another he was illustrating the condition to which the Kosas were reduced by browbeating a Kaffir from the eastern colonial frontier, and again he was bathed in tears and speechless with emotion when laying the foundation stone of a church. While cantering into the village with the chief at his side, he ordered presents to be made to him of two new saddles, a marquee tent, and a gold watch.

At Winburg twenty-seven heads of families and twenty-two others presented an address in which they requested the governor to extend British jurisdiction over the country. The great majority of the inhabitants of the district had no opportunity of seeing him or of making known their opinions, as he passed through in such haste. He had been informed that the entire Dutch population of Natal was moving out of that colony, and he was anxious to reach them before

they could carry their purpose into effect. He therefore sent an express to Mr. Pretorius, asking him to delay the emigration, and at daybreak on the morning of the 28th of January he was in the saddle, hastening towards Natal.

The report that had reached him was correct. When Mr. Pretorius returned after his unsuccessful attempt to see Sir Henry Pottinger, he met a number of people in flight from their homes, among whom was his own family. His wife was lying ill in a waggon, his youngest daughter had been compelled to lead the oxen and had been severely hurt by one of them, and his milch cows had all been stolen by the blacks. This, he repeated afterwards with bitterness, was what British rule in Natal meant to him. The tidings which he brought destroyed the last hope of those who still wavered, and now there was a general exodus. On the left bank of the Tugela, near the foot of the Drakensberg, the governor found them waiting for him. In a despatch to the secretary of state written a few days later, he stated that 'they were exposed to a state of misery which he had never before seen equalled, except in Massena's invasion of Portugal, when the whole of the population of that part of the seat of war abandoned their homes and fled. The scene was truly heartrending.'

Nothing could exceed the respect which the emigrants paid to his Excellency personally, or the kindness and confidence with which he addressed them. Sir Harry asked the cause of their leaving Natal, and received for answer 'the allowing such an influx of blacks that there was neither protection nor safety for the farmers.' He then said if they would return he would place things on a better footing, but the emigrants answered that 'it was not possible to live among so many thousand blacks, as there was no protection under British authority at Natal.'

The governor remained several days in the emigrant camp, as the Tugela was flooded and he could not proceed to Maritzburg. On one occasion, when speaking with Mr. Pretorius, he took out of his pocket a draft of a proclama-

tion declaring the queen's sovereignty over the whole of the country occupied by the emigrants, which had been drawn up before he left Capetown. Mr. Pretorius remonstrated against its publication, and said if it was issued they would be obliged either to fight for freedom or to retire far into the interior, for under British rule they could not live. The governor replied that he believed the majority of the farmers were in his favour. Mr. Pretorius said his Excellency was deceived in that respect. It was then arranged that Mr. Pretorius should proceed across the mountains, attend public meetings at every centre of population, and ascertain the views of the people. With this object he started without any delay, leaving the governor in the camp.

To this point all the relations of these conferences agree, but now comes a great discrepancy. Mr. Pretorius, in an account of events some time before and after this date which he drew up on the 5th of February 1852 for the assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen, affirmed that the governor promised before he left that the proclamation would not be issued if a majority of the emigrants should be found opposed to it. His correspondence during 1848, including that with the governor himself, contains frequent references to such a promise. Sir Harry Smith, in his despatches and memoranda, states that Mr. Pretorius was quite willing that the country south of the Vaal should be proclaimed under British sovereignty, but it was agreed between them that the territory north of that river was not to be so proclaimed unless a majority of the emigrants should be found to favour the measure. And in accordance with this arrangement the wording of the proclamation as originally drawn up was altered, so as to leave the Transvaal emigrants undisturbed. There must have been a misunderstanding by Mr. Pretorius, or a confusion of the Modder river with the Vaal by the governor, as there is no other way of accounting for the discrepancy in the statements.

On the 3rd of February 1848 Sir Harry Smith issued from the emigrant camp on the bank of the Tugela a pro-

clamation in which the sovereignty of her Majesty the queen of England was declared over the whole country between the Orange and the Vaal eastward to the Kathlamba mountains.

In this proclamation the objects are stated to be the protection and preservation of the just and hereditary rights of the native chiefs and the rule and welfare of the European settlers. Under it, disputes as to territory between the chiefs and all matters affecting the peace and harmony of South Africa were to be settled by the paramount authority, but there was to be no interference with the internal government of the clans. The Europeans and such blacks as chose to live with them were to be brought under the jurisdiction of magistrates, and they alone were to provide the means of carrying on the government.

In issuing this proclamation Sir Harry Smith was full of confidence in his personal influence with the emigrants. When Major Warden, the British resident, expressed an opinion that if the queen's authority was proclaimed north of the Orange river, additional troops would be requisite, his Excellency replied, 'My dear fellow, pray bear in mind that the boers are my children, and I will have none other here for my soldiers; your detachment will march for the colony immediately.' And in this confidence a garrison of only fifty or sixty Cape mounted riflemen was left to defend a territory more than fifty thousand square miles in extent.

Mr. Pretorius proceeded to Winburg, and thence to Ohrigstad, holding meetings, and ascertaining that the majority of the people were opposed to British rule. He then returned, and found that the proclamation had been issued some time. But as it extended the queen's sovereignty only to the Vaal, by crossing that river the farmers could escape its operation. Large numbers were moving northward. Mr. Pretorius joined them, and fixed his residence at Magalisberg. The governor appointed him a member of the land commission of Natal, but he declined to accept the office. From this date Major Warden's reports contain

frequent charges against him of endeavouring to keep up the agitation of the emigrants.

Sir Harry Smith, in the meantime, by liberal offers of land and promises of protection, not only induced many of those who were moving out of Natal to return, but also drew a considerable stream of immigrants into that colony from those parties north of the Orange who were well affected towards the British government.

On the 8th of March Sir Harry Smith proclaimed a form of government for the Orange River Sovereignty, as the country between the Vaal and Orange rivers and the Drakensberg was henceforth termed. The British resident, in the absence of the high commissioner, was to be the chief authority and president of all boards or commissions. Bloemfontein was to be the seat of government. A civil commissioner and resident magistrate was to be stationed at Winburg, and one in the neighbourhood of the lower Caledon. Persons charged with the commission of crimes of magnitude were to be sent to Colesberg for trial before a judge of the Cape Colony. There was to be a land commission for each district, consisting of the civil commissioner, two surveyors, and one burgher elected by the people. The first duty of the land commissions was to be the division of the Sovereignty into three districts, to be called Bloemfontein, Caledon River, and Winburg. Commandants and fieldcornets were to be elected by the people. The land commissions were to inspect and register each farm, fix quitrents from 2*l.* to 8*l.* per annum, and then to issue certificates, which were to be valid as titles. They were to have the final decision of complaints concerning land outside the reserves. The farms were to be held under military tenure. Every able-bodied man was to turn out in defence of the queen and her allies, whenever called upon to do so. The coloured people in the reserves were to be dealt with only through the chiefs.

The governor estimated that the revenue from quitrents and licenses would be from 5,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* a year. The

cost of government he put down at 4,464*l*. The balance he proposed to apply to the maintenance of churches and schools.

The imperial authorities reluctantly approved of these proclamations. They gave their consent to the addition of the country between the Orange and the Vaal to the British dominions, not in any grasping or selfish spirit, but with the benevolent design of preventing disorder and bloodshed. The step was approved of in the sincere belief that the black people required protection from the Europeans and would therefore welcome English rule, and that the better disposed farmers, being in a condition of anarchy and extreme poverty, would gladly submit to a settled government, which was not intended to prevent them from regulating most of their affairs in any manner that suited them.

On the 8th of March Mr. Thomas Jervis Biddulph was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Winburg, and on the 22nd of the same month Mr. James O'Reilly received a similar appointment to the district of Caledon River. The British resident, in addition to his other duties, was required to act as civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Bloemfontein.

The annunciation of British authority over the district of Winburg, which for ten years had been part of an independent republic, was immediately followed by such excitement among the farmers that Sir Harry Smith deemed it necessary to issue a manifesto against agitators. On the 29th of March he published a long and strangely worded notice, partly historical, partly descriptive, remonstrating, advising, appealing, and threatening by turns, and ending by proposing a common prayer to God. The issue of this manifesto drew forth several addresses from the farmers in the Sovereignty. In one with three hundred and sixty-nine signatures, and another with one hundred and eighty-nine, a desire to be independent was expressed. In a third, Commandant J. T. Snyman and one hundred and eighty-one others assured his Excellency of their unfeigned allegiance

and attachment to the queen. Subsequent events showed that these numbers correctly represented the proportion of those who were opposed to or in favour of British rule.

Beyond the Vaal there was much sympathy with the disaffected party in the Sovereignty, and particularly with the burghers of Winburg, who were regarded as fellow-citizens of a common republic. On the 15th of May a meeting was held at Potchefstroom, when resolutions were passed deprecating the threatening language in the high commissioner's manifesto. These resolutions were communicated to his Excellency in a letter signed by Messrs. Hendrik Potgieter, A. W. Pretorius, G. J. Kruger, J. H. L. Kock, L. R. Botha, J. P. Delport, A. F. Spies, H. Steyn, and seven others of less note.

On the 22nd of May Mr. Biddulph arrived at Winburg with Major Warden, by whom he was installed as civil commissioner and resident magistrate. A few days later a meeting of the republican party took place at a farm in the neighbourhood, when it was resolved not to submit without a struggle. Landdrost Willem Jacobs, the heemraden, the fieldcornet, and Commandants Bester and Bezuidenbout then notified in writing that they would not acknowledge Mr. Biddulph. The disaffected inhabitants of the district sent to Mr. Pretorius to inform him that they were resolved to take up arms in vindication of their right to independence, and besought him to come and assist them. He had already been appointed commandant-general by the burghers along both banks of the Vaal. Willem Jacobs, who went to Magalisberg on this mission, found Pretorius in trouble, for his wife, of whom he was tenderly fond, was lying so ill that recovery was hopeless. Dying as she was, this noble-minded South African woman advised her husband to do what she held to be his duty. 'By staying here,' she said, 'you cannot save my life; your countrymen need your services, go and help them.' He went, and never saw her again, for she died before his return.

On the 21st of June Mr. Biddulph was informed that if

he remained longer at Winburg he would be arrested, so he retired to Bloemfontein, but was immediately sent back by Major Warden. Two surveyors, Messrs. Frederick Rex and Robert Moffat, had in the meantime been appointed to the Winburg land commission, but on the 11th of July Mr. Biddulph reported that the condition of the district was such that the commission could not proceed with its duties. He had just received intimation that Pretorius with an armed party was encamped on the False river. This intimation had been written in pencil by a deserter from the 45th regiment named Michael Quigley, on the back of a free pardon which had been sent to him; and it was brought to Winburg by one of his comrades. Quigley had intended to proceed to the Mooi river to inform a party of deserters there that the governor offered them pardon on condition of their return to their colours, but on the way he was pressed into the emigrant commando.

On the 12th of July Commandant-General Pretorius arrived at Winburg. There he published a notice that no person would be allowed to remain neutral, and that all who would not join in 'the war of freedom' must cross the Orange before the 20th of the month. The small party at Winburg who were well affected towards the British government, among whom were Messrs. Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Johannes I. J. Fick, the members of the Wessels family, and a few others, went into lager and defied Pretorius. Commandant J. T. Snyman and his party on the lower Caledon, and Michiel Oberholster and his party on the Modder river, did the same.

Mr. Biddulph made his escape from Winburg just before the commando entered the village. He rode as fast as he could towards Bloemfontein, and on the morning of the 13th met Major Warden about six miles from the residency engaged in giving out land certificates. The major had an escort of twelve mounted riflemen with him. It was resolved at once to proceed to Bloemfontein to send a report to the governor, and then to commence throwing up earthworks

for defence. The major and Mr. Biddulph were riding a few hundred yards ahead of the escort when they encountered a burgher patrol of twenty-five men, who endeavoured to make prisoners of them. It was only the speed of their horses and the firm stand made by the escort that saved them. The burghers came within talking distance, and informed Major Warden that their object was to take him to Commandant-General Pretorius's camp that he might see the strength of the emigrants and report to the governor that they were united and determined not to submit to British rule. The major promised to send Mr. Frederick Rex to see and report.

The clerk Mr. Isaac Dyason, some relatives of Mr. Biddulph who lived with him, and the two constables were in Winburg when the emigrant commando entered the village. Most of their property was seized and confiscated, but they were allowed to leave in safety, and reached Bloemfontein early on the morning of the 16th.

On the 17th of July Commandant-General Pretorius formed a camp within two miles of Bloemfontein, and with four hundred men rode to the outskirts of the village. He then sent a letter to Major Warden giving him one hour to consider whether he would surrender the country or have it taken from him by force. For the previous three days the troops had been employed endeavouring to make their camp defensible, but the work was not half completed. The major had two cannon, and the force under his command consisted of forty-five trained Hottentot soldiers of the Cape mounted rifles and twelve raw recruits. There were also in Bloemfontein forty-two civilians capable of bearing arms and about two hundred women and children. Mr. Rex, who had been two days with the emigrant commando, reported that it consisted of a thousand men.

Under these circumstances Major Warden requested an interview with Mr. Pretorius half way between his camp and Bloemfontein. This was conceded, and after a brief parley conditions of capitulation were agreed to, under which the

troops and inhabitants were permitted to retire to the Cape Colony with all their movable property, public and private, and waggons were furnished by Mr. Pretorius to take them to Colesberg.

On the 20th the commando entered Bloemfontein. Next day a long manifesto was drawn up and signed by the commandants, fieldcornets, and about nine hundred others. It was addressed to Sir Harry Smith. Its burden was British partiality for the blacks, which made life and property insecure in a British colony. To barbarians, it declared, freedom and the right to live under their own laws were conceded, but for white men there was nothing but coercion and oppression. As the high commissioner had stated that if a majority of the inhabitants were averse to her Majesty's sovereignty he would not proclaim it, it was hoped that the events which had taken place would prove to him what the opinions of the people were.

From Bloemfontein the burgher commando marched to Middelvlei, on the north bank of the Orange, and within easy communication from Colesberg. There a temporary camp was formed. The British resident, with the troops and civilians from Bloemfontein, was on the colonial bank of the river, as he had not cared to go on to the village.

On the 22nd of July Major Warden's report of the 13th reached Capetown. The energetic governor immediately issued orders for all the available troops in the colony to march to Colesberg. That afternoon he published a proclamation offering a reward of 1,000*l.* for the apprehension of Pretorius or for such information as would lead to his apprehension. This was shortly followed by an offer of 500*l.* for the apprehension of Willem Jacobs or for information that would lead to his apprehension. The governor then hurriedly made the necessary arrangements, and left for Colesberg to take command of the troops in person.

On the 10th of August Messrs. A. W. Pretorius, G. J. Kruger, A. F. Spies, L. R. Botha, P. M. Bester, and four other commandants, from the camp at Middelvlei wrote to

Major Warden on the opposite bank of the Orange that as it must now be evident that the emigrants were united in opposition to British authority, Sir Harry Smith ought not to trouble them further. They inquired whether the governor was there, and if so, whether they could see and speak to him. This letter was referred to his Excellency, who had arrived at Colesberg on the preceding day, and who replied on the 14th, terming the emigrants rebels, but stating that Messrs. Gerrit Kruger and Paul Bester could cross on the following day to Major Warden's camp, where he would speak to them. Commandant-General Pretorius answered the same evening that as the governor persisted in calling them rebels they would not cross the river. On the 16th he again wrote to Sir Harry Smith, 'requesting for the last time that the governor would withdraw the proclamation of sovereignty,' but to this letter he received no reply.

During the early part of the month heavy rains had fallen in the mountains of the Lesuto, and consequently the Orange was in flood. Five years previous to this date an enterprising Scotchman named Norval had placed a pontoon on the river some distance higher up, but as the governor had brought two india-rubber floats with him, there was no necessity to march out of the way to reach it. The floats were put upon the river, and on the 22nd of August the troops began to cross. The farmers did not attempt to dispute the passage. Five days were occupied in the transit, and on the afternoon of the 26th, the soldiers, horses, guns, waggons, and stores were on the northern bank. Forty men of the 91st and twenty Cape mounted riflemen were left at the ford on the colonial side of the river to keep the communication open.

Sir Harry Smith then found himself at the head of an effective force of about eight hundred men, consisting of the late garrison of Bloemfontein and four fresh companies of the Cape mounted rifles minus the twenty men left at the ford, two companies each of the rifle brigade and 45th regiment, two companies of the 91st regiment minus forty

men, a few engineers, and some artillerymen with three six-pounders. He had with him a considerable commissariat train, under direction of Mr. Henry Green, who was destined in later years to fill the office of British resident. Within two days after crossing the river the column was joined by a few farmers under the commandants Pieter Erasmus and J. T. Snyman, and by about two hundred and fifty Griquas under Andries Waterboer and Adam Kok. The farmers were those whose lands had been confiscated and who had been driven from their homes for refusing to join the commando under Pretorius. The Griquas were mounted and provided with firearms, and varied in appearance from the pure savage in a sheepskin kaross to the half-breed in plumed hat and European costume.

Before the troops crossed the river, the emigrant commando fell back towards Bloemfontein. A rumour had reached the farmers that another army was coming up from Natal to place them between two fires, and they were undecided how to act. There was much discord in the camp. Many professed that they had no intention to fight. They had joined the commando, they said, merely as a demonstration to convince the governor that the great majority of the people were opposed to English rule. Others were determined to hazard everything on the issue of an engagement, and had chosen a strong position on the road to Bloemfontein as a fitting place to make a stand.

Sir Harry Smith, who believed that the rising was entirely due to Mr. Pretorius, addressed letters of remonstrance and warning to the different commandants, and sent them to the emigrant camp, hoping thereby to break it up. Mr. Halse, who was his Excellency's messenger, was received with respect and was treated in a friendly manner. But Mr. Pretorius had the tact to put the question to the whole of the burghers whether letters from the governor, not addressed to himself, ought to be received by any one in the camp. The burghers decided that they should not, and Mr. Halse was obliged to take them back unopened. The

emigrant commando was then already some distance from the Orange. Mr. Halse computed its strength to be between six hundred and eight hundred men.

On the 27th the troops marched from the Orange river to Philippolis, and on the 28th from Philippolis to Visser's Hoek. The country they passed through was completely abandoned by its inhabitants. That evening some of the farmers with Sir Harry Smith were sent out as scouts. A little after midnight they returned and reported that they had examined the country as far as Boomplaats, some fifteen miles ahead, without meeting any one.

At dawn on the morning of the 29th the column moved forward. At this season the sun at mid-day is still low in the heavens, and the temperature on the highlands of South Africa is such as Europeans most enjoy. That day there was not a cloud in the sky, but the dry rarefied air until nearly noon was clear and bracing, and had its ordinary effect of giving vigour and buoyancy of spirits to those who breathed it.

The troops halted at Touwfontein, the old camping place of Sir Peregrine Maitland, to rest and take their morning meal. This over, they resumed the march. In front rode the Cape corps, European officers and Hottentot soldiers, in dark green uniforms, with carbines slung at their sides. Following these were the men of the rifle brigade. Next came the sappers and miners and the artillerymen with their three guns, then the 45th, and last the 91st. Behind was a long train of waggons laden with baggage, stores, and ammunition, and guarded by the farmers and the Griquas, who rode in the rear and on the flanks. In this order the column moved at infantry pace over the open plain which stretches to within a few hundred yards of the Kromme-Elleboog river.

There the features of the country changed. Close to the right side of the road, and parallel with it, was a chain of hills scantily covered with vegetation, but thickly strewn with boulders. Some distance in front this chain turned

off almost at a right angle, and ran away to the left. Beyond it was the Kromme-Elleboog river, a succession of deep pools with reedy banks and here and there a ford. Then came another chain of hills between the river just named and a feeder called Middel Water, which joined it farther down. In a valley in the fork thus formed, and just below the road, was the farmhouse of Boomplaats. On the far side rose a third chain of hills, higher than the others, through a neck or pass in which the road opened upon a plain beyond.

In the morning march a solitary native shepherd was met, who informed Sir Harry that the burgher commando had passed the night at Boomplaats. As the column drew near, the governor directed Lieutenant Warren of the Cape corps to take a couple of men with him and ride up the first hill to reconnoitre. In a few moments the officer came galloping back, and reported that he had seen the farmers in considerable force beyond the nearest range.

Lieutenant Salis, with a troop of the Cape corps, was then instructed to ride on some distance in front of the main column. A minute or two later the governor put spurs to his horse, and, followed by his staff, joined the advance guard. He was the most conspicuous individual in the group. Up to this moment he was confident that no European in South Africa would point a weapon against his person. In this confidence he had dressed himself that morning in blue jacket, white cord trousers, and drab felt hat, the same clothing which he had worn when he met Mr. Pretorius in the emigrant camp on the Tugela seven months before. He was exceedingly anxious to avoid a collision, for the home government had sanctioned his proclamation of sovereignty on the strength of his assurances that nearly the whole of the people were in favour of it, and a conflict would prove that he had been too hasty in forming a judgment. His wish was to have a parley with the emigrant leaders. The soldiers, on the other hand, were full of ardour, and freely expressed a hope that they were not to undergo such

a long and wearisome march without a chance of showing their fighting qualities.

It wanted an hour to noon when Lieutenant Salis' troop, with Sir Harry and his staff, came abreast of the second hill on their right, which was not farther than sixty yards from the road. By the governor's order the soldiers had taken the caps from the nipples of their carbines, so that they could not be the first to fire. Some one exclaimed 'There they are!' and, as if by magic, the crest appeared covered with men. While the Cape corps had been advancing along the road, the farmers on the extreme left of the emigrant line had crept up the back of the hill, leaving their horses saddled at the foot. For an instant there was a flash of fire, and then a shower of bullets fell among and around the little party. The smoke had not cleared away when another volley followed, but by this time the soldiers were galloping back to their comrades, and the governor was hastening to the head of the column. A rifle ball had grazed the face of his horse, and one of his stirrup leathers was half cut through by another.

Three Hottentot soldiers were lying motionless in the road. On the ground beside his dead horse sat Lieutenant Salis, with his left arm shattered and a wound in his body. Two farmers came near, and he heard one say in Dutch, 'Shoot him!' He called out quickly, 'You must not, for I have a wife and children.' The voice came again, 'Are you wounded?' 'Yes,' was his reply. He was then allowed without molestation to crawl back, and was carried to a hospital tent in the rear.

The governor, after relieving his feelings by a few hearty oaths, gave orders with as much coolness as if at a review. The guns were brought up and placed in position, and, under direction of Lieutenant Dynely of the royal artillery, a heavy fire was opened from them. The farmers dispersed behind the boulders, and then the rifle brigade and the 45th were ordered to charge. Captain Murray of the rifles was leading on his men when he received three severe wounds. He was

carried to the rear, and all that was possible was done to save him, but he died that night. Under a storm of bullets the soldiers made their way to the top of the hill, leaving many of their comrades dead and wounded on the slope. Before the summit was gained the farmers retired. They fell back towards the centre of their line, and prepared to make another stand at the next hill.

Meantime the right wing of the emigrant force, under Commandant Jan Kock, emerged from behind a ridge on the left of the English front, and dashed into the plain. The object was to get possession of the waggons and supplies. Against this division of the farmers, which was not very strong, the Cape corps was sent, and after some sharp fighting Kock was forced to retire. His men were compelled to cross the range of the artillery in order to rejoin the main body of the burgher commando, and in doing so they suffered some loss. The exact number it is impossible to give.

The 91st, previously kept as a reserve with the guns, were now sent to assist the rifle brigade and 45th in dislodging the farmers from the remaining fastnesses along the road. The artillery was moved forward, and the governor himself, as commander-in-chief, selected the positions from which its fire could be best directed. Colonel Buller, the second in command, had been wounded. The emigrants had only one field-piece, a brass three-pounder, which was so placed as to throw its shot along the line of road. But it was badly served, and did little or no execution. In the same manner as the first hill had been carried, each successive position was stormed, the farmers, when driven from one, retiring to the next. At the river the resistance was not very obstinate, but a stone cattle kraal belonging to the farmstead of Boomplaats was taken with difficulty.

Driven from this, the farmers made a last stand on the slopes commanding the neck in the high ridge beyond. There they were attacked first by the Cape corps and the Griquas, who, being mounted, could follow rapidly. These

were beaten back with ease. The infantry was then brought up, and the whole force stormed the heights, when the farmers were dislodged, and immediately fled over the plain to the eastward.

Sir Harry Smith, who had grown old fighting in the Spanish peninsula, in Kaffirland, and in India, in his next despatch to the secretary of state described the battle of Boomplaats as 'one of the most severe skirmishes that had ever, he believed, been witnessed.' There were no cowards on either side in that engagement.

It was two in the afternoon when the neck was gained by the troops. The men and horses required rest, for they had been marching and fighting with but one short interval since early dawn. Towards evening they followed up the line of the emigrants' retreat some seven or eight miles, and halted at Kalverfontein for the night.

Mr. Pretorius and the commandants who were engaged at Boomplaats afterwards asserted that their plans were frustrated by the action of the party on their extreme left who fired upon the governor's advance guard. Their intention was to wait until the whole column of troops was under rifle range from the steep hills beside the road, and the first shots were fired against positive orders. After that they did the best they could at every defensible position. But there was no discipline observable anywhere, except in the right wing under Commandant Jan Kock, who attempted to seize the commissariat train.

The number of emigrants engaged is variously estimated. Commandant-General Pretorius, in letters written a few weeks before the battle, claimed to have a thousand men under his orders. But from the time they left the Orange their numbers were constantly dwindling away. Mr. Halse and those who were with him computed their strength a few days later at eight hundred at the very highest. When it was decided to make a stand at Boomplaats some of these withdrew, but exactly how many is an open question. At the time of the battle a portion of the commando was in a

camp several miles distant. There was no muster roll, and the statements of those who were engaged along a line a mile in length vary greatly, as might be supposed. There were probably over five hundred emigrants in the engagement, and it may be taken for certain that there were not seven hundred and fifty.

The loss on the English side was, in killed, two officers—Captain Arthur Stormont Murray of the rifle brigade and Ensign M. Babbington Steele of the Cape mounted rifles,—six men of the rifle brigade, five of the Cape mounted rifles, three of the 45th regiment, and six Griquas. Besides these, five officers and thirty-three rank and file were wounded so severely as to necessitate their remaining in hospital. A considerable number also were wounded lightly, but were able to move on with the column.

Among these last was Mr. Biddulph, magistrate of Winburg, one of whose arms was badly hurt as he was climbing a hill with the rifle brigade. Several other civilians were conspicuous by their bravery in the action. The farmers who joined the troops at the Orange were not called upon to fight against their countrymen, but remained with the waggons.

The governor reported that forty-nine bodies of burghers were counted on the field of battle, twelve having been killed by one cannon shot. But this was afterwards known to be incorrect, and it was from the first denied by the farmers, who gave their casualties as nine killed and five wounded. They were all sharpshooters, and were not exposed as the soldiers were, which accounts for the disparity in loss.

The day following the engagement, the governor and the troops pushed on to Bethany, a station on the Riet river, founded for the benefit of the Koranas in December 1835 by agents of the Berlin missionary society. During the march the Griqua scouts captured two stragglers who had taken part at Boomplaats on the emigrant side. One of these was the deserter Michael Quigley, who has been mentioned as

having sent to Mr. Biddulph intelligence of the movements of Mr. Pretorius. The other was a young man named Thomas Dreyer, a member of an emigrant family. On the 2nd of September the column reached Bloemfontein. There Dreyer and Quigley were brought before a court-martial, and were sentenced to death, which sentence was carried out on the morning of the 4th.

The execution of young Dreyer was probably regretted by the governor himself in calmer moments, though he stated that he believed it struck such terror into the republicans as to prevent them making another stand at Winburg. By the emigrants it has always been regarded as more unjustifiable than the execution of Tambusa in January 1840. In their estimation one was a Christian patriot, the other a bloodstained murderer. Mr. Pretorius was blamed by many for not having kept Major Warden and some of the inhabitants of Bloemfontein as hostages, so as to prevent an act of this kind; but he affirmed that he made no provision for such an event because he had not believed it possible.

Just after reaching Bloemfontein on the 2nd, Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation confiscating the property of those who had been in arms. All who had aided them were to be fined by commissions which he announced that it was his intention to appoint. A reward of 2,000*l.* was offered for the apprehension of Commandant-General Pretorius, and 500*l.* each for the apprehension of Andries Spies, Jan Krynauw, and Louw Pretorius. The farms of Jan Krynauw, Louw Pretorius, Frederik Otto, Jan Jacobs, Philip van Collier, Jan Viljoen, and Adriaan Stander were declared forfeited. And the following fines were announced: Ocker Jacobus van Schalkwyk 200*l.*, Pieter Louw and Jan Botes each 150*l.*, Christoffel Snyman 100*l.*, and Roelof Grobbelaar 50*l.*

From Bloemfontein the high commissioner and the troops moved on to Winburg, and reached that village on the 7th of September. It was anticipated that the republican

party would have made another stand at this place, but no opposition whatever was encountered. Here the first act was to reproclaim the queen's sovereignty over the whole country between the Orange and the Vaal, which was accompanied by a salute of twenty-one guns. This was followed by another proclamation, dividing the sovereignty into the four districts of Bloemfontein, Caledon River, Winburg, and Vaal River. The new district of Vaal River was to comprise the country between the Sand and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg, previously part of Winburg. The governor announced that a strong fort would be built at Bloemfontein and a large garrison would be stationed there.

At Winburg one of the commandants, named Paul Bester, who had taken part with Pretorius, surrendered and expressed contrition for what he had done. Upon this he was merely required to pay 22*l.* 10*s.* towards the war expenses, and was then received into the high commissioner's favour. It was announced that all who had taken up arms against the British government were banished from the district of Winburg, except Paul Bester and Gerrit Kruger. A reward of 1,000*l.* each was offered for the apprehension of Willem Jacobs and Andries Spies, and 500*l.* each for the apprehension of Adriaan Stander and Frederik Bezuidenhout.

The following appointments were then made:—

Thomas Whalley Vowe to be civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Caledon River, in place of Mr. O'Reilly, who, at his own request, was restored to his former office of clerk of the peace at Somerset East.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, who had taken no part in the armed opposition to her Majesty's authority and who was highly applauded by Sir Harry Smith, to be landdrost of the district of Vaal River. Mr. Potgieter was then at Potchefstroom, and until he could arrive Messrs. Pieter Venter and Paul Bester were appointed a commission to act as landdrost.

Mr. Biddulph, civil commissioner and resident magis-

trate of Winburg, having been wounded, Mr. Frederick Rex was appointed to act for him until his recovery.

Mr. Richard Southey, who on the 20th of December 1847 had been appointed secretary to the high commissioner, was directed to remain in the Sovereignty for a time on confidential duty and to act as president of the commissions for fining those who had been in arms against the government and those who had aided them.

War tribute commissions. For Bloemfontein: Major Warden, Mr. Joseph Allison, Commandant Pieter Erasmus, and Mr. A. J. Erwee. For Caledon River: Mr. T. W. Vowe, Mr. Anthony O'Reilly, Commandant J. T. Snyman, and Mr. Hermanus Wessels. For Winburg: Messrs. Frederick Rex, Isaac Dyason, M. Wessels, and G. H. Meyer. For Vaal River: Mr. Pieter Venter, Mr. Paul Bester, Commandant Botha, and the secretary to the landdrost.

At the governor's invitation, Moshesh and most of the petty chiefs in the Sovereignty went to Winburg to meet him. The Basuto chief was accompanied by some hundreds of his people, all mounted on horses, animals which were unknown in the country only twenty years before. Reviews of the English troops and native war dances followed, and occupied the attention of all parties. The intercourse of the chiefs with his Excellency during several days was of the most friendly nature, but no further arrangements were made regarding the position of the coloured tribes towards each other or towards the Europeans.

Sir Harry Smith left Winburg on the 16th of September, and arrived at Smithfield¹ on the 18th, where he was welcomed by a large number of the inhabitants of the district. A loyal address was presented to him, and at a

¹ That is the farm Waterfall, the property of Mr. C. S. Halse, where it was first intended that the seat of magistracy of the Caledon River district should be. The farm was then called Smithfield, in honour of Sir Harry Smith. The seat of magistracy was subsequently removed to the farm Rietpoort, where on the 1st of November 1849 the first erven of the present village of Smithfield were sold. The district, though officially known as Caledon River, soon came to be commonly called after the village the district of Smithfield.

meeting which was held, satisfaction was expressed with the turn that affairs had taken. On the morning of the 19th his Excellency left to return to Capetown. He crossed the Orange at Buffelsvlei, where he was met by a number of farmers, at whose request he promised to have a town laid out at the place of meeting, and to give it the name Aliwal.

The war tribute commissions proceeded by inquiring into the conduct of nearly all the farmers in the Sovereignty. They levied fines, varying in amount according to the ability of the individual to pay, upon all who were found to have been implicated in resistance to the queen's authority. The total sum realised by the sale of confiscated property and by the fines levied was rather over 10,000*l*.

A fort was built at Bloemfontein, and four iron nine-pounders were mounted upon it. A garrison was stationed there, consisting of two companies of the 45th regiment, one company of the Cape mounted rifles, and twenty-five artillerymen with three six-pounders. Major Blenkinsopp of the 45th was placed in command. The structure was named the Queen's fort.

After the battle of Boomplaats the most violent opponents of British authority moved over the Vaal. The places which they vacated were filled by fresh emigrants from the Cape Colony, many of whom, unfortunately for the country, were mere land speculators.

In October 1847 the synod of the Dutch reformed church, then in session in Capetown, resolved to send a commission to visit the emigrants north of the Orange. For this purpose the reverend Mr. Murray, minister of Graaff-Reinet, and the reverend Mr. Albertyn, minister of Prince Albert, with Messrs. Pienaar and De Wit, elders of Richmond and Victoria West, were appointed.

The reverend Daniel Lindley of Maritzburg had formerly held occasional services at Potchefstroom and Winburg, otherwise the emigrants had been without clerical guidance for twelve years, though lay services had constantly been kept up. Marriages had been performed before the civil

courts. Baptisms had been deferred since Mr. Lindley's last tour, when over five hundred children were brought to him to be admitted by that sacrament into the Christian community.

During these years it had not been possible to have schools, and the most that parents could do for their children was to teach them to spell out with difficulty the easier passages of the bible. That was the one sole volume from which all the history, the geography, and the science known to the generation that grew up in the wandering was derived. And the simple language of the old testament, much of it applying to a people leading a similar life to their own, moving about in a wilderness, depending upon flocks and herds, fighting with heathen tribes for existence, had a meaning for them which it cannot have for dwellers in the towns of Europe. The very skies and the landscapes, the storms and the droughts, the animals and the plants, of the ancient scriptures were the same that they were familiar with. Thus they came to regard themselves as God's peculiar people and to consider all education beyond that of the bible as superfluous, and all that was not in accord with its science dangerous and sinful. These views did not indeed originate with the emigrants. Such opinions had been gathering strength in secluded parts of South Africa for five or six generations, but they reached their highest point of development with those who grew up in the wandering.

The commission proceeded without delay to perform the duties entrusted to it. Everywhere throughout a lengthened tour it was received with the greatest satisfaction, and at every centre of population religious services were held and the sacraments were administered. Within the Sovereignty there was prior to this date only one consistory, that of Winburg. The commission organised another, for the farmers within the Griqua reserve, termed the consistory of Riet River. In November 1848 this consistory petitioned Sir Harry Smith to grant them permission to establish a church and village

at Zuurfontein, about fifteen miles within the Griqua boundary. The place belonged to a Griqua named Piet Hendriks, who made no use whatever of it, and was willing to dispose of it for 900*l.*, which they were prepared to give. Adam Kok, however, objected so firmly to the alienation of this or any other ground within the reserve to Europeans that the project of building a church at Zuurfontein had to be abandoned.

The synodical commission, a committee which regulates matters connected with the Dutch reformed church when the synod is not in session, towards the close of 1848 sent a second deputation to the emigrant farmers. Its members were Dr. William Robertson of Swellendam and the reverend Philip Edward Faure of Wynberg. These clergymen organised consistories at Smithfield, at the place which later became known as Harrismith, and at Bloemfontein where, on the 6th of January 1849, the foundation stone of a church was laid in their presence by Major Warden.

At Commandant Kruger's residence at Magalisberg Messrs. Robertson and Faure were visited by the great explorer of modern times, the reverend Dr. Livingstone, then a missionary with the Bakwena chief Setyeli. It would be hardly possible to find a man not born in South Africa more closely resembling a South African farmer in character than Dr. Livingstone. He had all the indomitable perseverance, the disregard of difficulties, the coolness in time of peril, the hatred of restraint of any kind, which characterised the emigrants. But he had been educated in the school of modern English ideas, and consequently he and the farmers bore little love to each other.

Dr. Livingstone's object in going to see the deputation was to request them to use their influence to obtain permission for him to station a native teacher with one of the Betshuana clans. Dr. Robertson was, like himself, a Scotch clergyman, and the reverend Mr. Faure was a zealous promoter of missions, so that he probably looked for sympathy as well as aid. The deputation gave the following account

of what transpired on the occasion, which throws a good deal of light upon an event to be mentioned at a later date:—

‘ We promised to speak with the commandants on the subject, and accordingly did so, when they declared themselves not opposed to the spread of the gospel, but, on the contrary, willing to assist in promoting it, especially if Moravian or Dutch missionaries came to labour among the natives. They stated, however, that they could not comply with Dr. Livingstone’s request, because he provided the natives with firearms and ammunition, adding that shortly before the inhabitants of one kraal had destroyed those of another by means of firearms obtained from him. They declared themselves ready to maintain this statement in presence of Dr. Livingstone. This we communicated to him, on which he mentioned to us that he had given some guns and ammunition to a certain party who pretended that they were going out on an elephant hunt, but who, instead of doing so, had gone to attack a neighbouring kraal. We therefore proposed to Dr. Livingstone to meet the commandants, when the question between him and them might be explained, and the matter respecting the stationing of native teachers be satisfactorily settled. To this proposal he gave his consent, and it was agreed that the interview should take place immediately after the religious service, which was soon to commence. When the commandants, however, came to our apartment for the purpose of meeting Dr. Livingstone, he was not to be found, having left the place during the time of divine service. We were afterwards informed that he had been warmly disputing with some of the farmers, telling them among other things that they were British subjects. Whether he knew that by these disputings he had excited an angry feeling against him, which was certainly the case, and on that account thought it more prudent to depart previous to the proposed interview, we are unable to determine.’

On the 12th of March 1849 the reverend Andrew Murray, now of Wellington, was appointed minister of Bloemfontein

and consulent of the other congregations. Already schools had been established at Bloemfontein, Winburg, and Smithfield. Through the medium of the synod, the governor was endeavouring to obtain from Holland clergymen and teachers for the still vacant places.

On the same date the British resident was relieved of the duties of civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Bloemfontein, and Mr. Charles Urquhart Stuart was appointed to perform them.

On the 14th of March 1849 regulations for the government of the Sovereignty were proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith, to come in force on the last of that month.

A legislative council was created, consisting of the British resident, the four magistrates, and two unofficial members for each district, who were nominated by the high commissioner from among the landowners of the district. The members so nominated were to retain their seats for three years. The council was to meet once a year at Bloemfontein. It had power to frame laws binding upon all persons in those parts of the Sovereignty which were not native reserves and all persons in the reserves who were not subjects of the native chiefs. The high commissioner was to have a veto on all laws. The native chiefs were left in full exercise of power over their people within the reserves.

Hitherto persons charged with serious offences had been sent to Colesberg for trial. A high criminal court was now created for the Sovereignty, to consist of three of the magistrates sitting together.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter had not accepted the office tendered to him by Sir Harry Smith. The commission which had acted as landdrost of the district of Vaal River was therefore replaced by Mr. Paul Bester, who was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate. The seat of his court was fixed at a place then called Vrededorp, but which received the name Harrismith on the 16th of May 1849, when building lots for a village were first sold.

On the 27th of June the names of the unofficial members

of the first council were gazetted. They were Messrs. Andries Jacobus Erwee, Willem Daniel Jacobs, Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, Hermanus Wessels, Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Abraham Smit, Pieter Slabbert, and Cornelis Engelbrecht. The first meeting of the new legislative body took place on the 18th of July. The proceedings were unimportant, and closed on the 21st.

While these events were taking place, the animosity between the Basuto and Batlokua tribes was exhibiting itself in deeds of spoliation. One such case occurred in February 1848, in which a party of Bataung carried off some five hundred cattle belonging to Sikonyela. Complaint was thereupon made to the British resident by the aggrieved party, but before Major Warden could communicate with Moshesh, that chief had settled the matter by requiring the stolen cattle to be sent back to their owner.

In September of the same year a much more serious disturbance took place. A son of Sikonyela drove away the people of two Basuto kraals, and set fire to the huts. Upon this Molapo, Moshesh's son, came down upon the Batlokua kraals in the neighbourhood, set fire to them, drove off their cattle, and killed two men. The Batlokua made reprisals on other Basuto, and the area of disturbance was widening fast when, by Moshesh's orders, a strong Basuto army, under command of Letsie, went to Molapo's assistance. In one of the skirmishes that followed, a wife of Sikonyela's brother Mota and seventeen Batlokua were killed. Large herds of cattle were also seized by the Basuto.

The British resident invited the contending chiefs to meet the land commission which was then engaged in settling claims to farms in the Winburg district. Moshesh appeared with sixteen hundred warriors at his back, all mounted and carrying firearms. Sikonyela had a similar escort a thousand strong. With difficulty they were persuaded to agree to a suspension of hostilities for four weeks to enable the high commissioner to form a decision, and the cause and events of the quarrel were then investigated. Sikonyela desired

that a boundary line should be fixed between him and Moshesh. He asserted that they, the two chiefs, had agreed in 1833 that their territories should be separated by the Putiatsana and a line drawn from the junction of that stream with the Caledon to Lishuane mission station. Moshesh objected at first to any boundary, but ultimately was induced to consent to one. That his people would not observe it was, however, pointed out by one of the French missionaries present, who gave it as his opinion that a force of five hundred soldiers would be required to protect such a boundary.

A report of the whole proceedings was then sent to the high commissioner, who on the 7th of December 1848 gave his decision. He confirmed the proposed boundary between the two tribes, giving Sikonyela a small tract of land south of the Caledon, and adjudged that all cattle seized by either party should be restored to their respective owners.

While the northern border of the Lesuto was in the condition just described, events of much greater importance, because their effects were to be permanent, were transpiring in the south. As soon as it was known that a boundary was about to be fixed which would cut off for ever a portion of the territory claimed by Moshesh under the Napier treaty, the Basuto became very uneasy. An order issued by the civil commissioner of Caledon River, requiring a census to be taken, occasioned a slight tumult. The disturbance itself was a trivial matter, but it indicated that trouble was in store.

A few weeks later, Mr. Southey, who had been entrusted by the high commissioner with this duty, requested Moshesh to meet him at Smithfield, for the purpose of laying down a line between the Europeans and the Basuto. Moshesh professed to be unable to travel, owing to sickness, and expressed his disinclination to the proposal; but he requested Mr. Rolland, the missionary at Beersheba, to proceed to Smithfield with his son Nehemiah and his most trusted councillor to meet Mr. Southey and explain his views.

Moshesh desired that the country of his people should be held by the British government to be that defined by the Napier treaty, with the addition of a considerable tract beyond. Within those limits, he maintained that the Bantu, wherever residing, should be subject to his rule. But as regarded the Europeans who had settled on farms in the southern portion of this territory, he was willing that they should be placed under the jurisdiction of the English authorities, and what he understood by a boundary was a line beyond which they should not be allowed to occupy any land. Under this plan the northern part of his country would be reserved entirely for the Basuto, and the southern part be inhabited by a mixed population of Europeans and Basuto, each nationality under its own government.

Sir Harry Smith's intention was that a boundary should be drawn between the Europeans and the Basuto wherever it could be laid down so as to disturb the smallest number of actual occupants on the 3rd of February 1848, and that all on one side should be under the government of the English authorities; that on the other side what may be termed foreign affairs should be under the control of her Majesty's high commissioner, but domestic affairs should be left to the government of Moshesh.

It would have been impossible to lay down a line that would satisfy all the parties interested. In the extensive district stretching from the Long mountain to the junction of the Caledon and the Orange, which only a few years before was almost uninhabited, there had been recently, and there was still, a struggle between whites and blacks for the possession of land. Europeans from the south and Bantu from all sides had been pouring into it, each selecting the most fertile spots and immediately thereafter asserting the rights of occupation. In some parts they were all mixed together, a Bantu kraal in the centre of a group of farms or a farm in the centre of a group of kraals. Any line whatever must have left Europeans under Moshesh and cut black people off from him, unless both were required to remove.

And none were willing to remove, and there was no physical force at hand to compel them to. Such were the difficulties under which an attempt was made to lay down a boundary between the Europeans and the Basuto.

Mr. Southey proposed a line almost identical with the present one between the Orange and the Caledon continued to the source of the Modder river, and wrote to Moshesh that he should submit it to the high commissioner. He promised, however, to request that it should not be confirmed until the chief had time to write to his Excellency on the subject, if in his opinion it required any alteration.

The line was not confirmed. Mr. Casalis wrote to Sir Harry Smith that its adoption would necessitate the removal of *at least* forty villages of Basuto, upon which the British resident was instructed to ascertain whether another could not be fixed upon that would interfere less with actual occupants. In the winter of 1849, Major Warden, taking with him a land surveyor, visited Smithfield, where he invited Moshesh to meet him, but the chief did not receive the letter in time. Mr. Rex, the surveyor, was then directed to examine the country carefully, and make a map of the boundary that would best meet the intentions of the governor.

It is necessary now to revert to Sikonyela. Two days after the conference between the chiefs and the land commission, the Basuto captain Letsela fell upon a Batlokua kraal, killed a Motlokua, and drove off one hundred and forty head of cattle, assigning as a reason for doing so that the old award in his favour against Sikonyela had not been complied with. For more than a month there was no attempt at retaliation, but on the 2nd of January 1849, after the announcement of the high commissioner's decision, a Batlokua army in three divisions, under Sikonyela himself, his brother Mota, and his son David, attacked the kraals of two petty Basuto captains, killed twenty-three men, and carried off some women and children as well as a large booty in cattle.

Moshesh then appealed to the British resident. Major Warden met Sikonyela, who tried to throw the blame upon his adversary, but could not clear himself. He seemed bent upon war, and said that nothing but the blood of a daughter of Moshesh could atone for the death of Mota's wife. After this Major Warden had an interview with the Basuto chief, who professed to be most anxious for peace, though he asserted that he wanted no help to fight his battles, if the British authorities would let him alone to deal with the Batlokua.

The British resident recommended that the high commissioner's award should be carried out by each party bringing to Mekuatleng and there delivering to the Bataung chief Molitsane all cattle seized. Both chiefs professedly consented, but neither did anything else. Sikonyela continued his attacks, and Moshesh returned them. Major Warden thought it would be difficult to say who was most in fault, because, in his opinion, Moshesh should have withdrawn his people from the territory of Sikonyela as soon as possible after the boundary between them had been confirmed by the high commissioner, and that he had not done.

Next the Batlokua fell upon the Bataung, and then the Koranas of Gert Taaibosch and a swarm of vagabonds of a similar stamp from the lower Vaal, under Jan Bloem, scenting plunder, joined Sikonyela. The cattle of the Batlokua were nearly all seized by the Basuto and the Bataung, and the confusion was daily becoming greater.

In June the British resident had a conference with the contending chiefs, at which terms of peace were arranged, by all parties agreeing to restore their plunder. Moshesh kept his promise fairly well, by giving up about twelve hundred head of cattle, but Molitsane only surrendered three hundred out of four thousand head, and Sikonyela delivered nothing.

The cattle were hardly out of Moshesh's hands when Sikonyela, who in the meantime had received further reinforcements of Koranas and had been joined by a few Fingos,

swooped down upon some Bataung and Basuto kraals, killed thirty-four individuals, and drove off the stock. Following up his success, he attacked and burned Molitsane's own kraal, seized the grain, and turned the women and children off in a destitute condition. It was midwinter, and the weather was so stormy and bitterly cold that numbers of the wretched creatures perished before shelter could be reached.

The Basuto chief immediately called upon the British resident to restore order. Without a strong military force no man could have done this, and Major Warden's only expedient was to call another meeting of the chiefs. In his notice to this effect he guaranteed to them all safe conduct to and from the meeting, and promised that any one causing a breach of the peace during their absence should be visited with certain and most severe punishment.

A few days later the British resident received a letter from the high commissioner, in which Sir Harry Smith stated that it was evident Moshesh was acting dishonestly, that he must be humbled, and that a coalition of all the other chiefs should be formed against him. Should hostile measures be necessary, a body of troops should also be employed, and a strong commando of farmers should be called out.

With these instructions—which he had himself suggested—as a guide, the British resident presided over a meeting of chiefs at Bloemfontein on the 27th of August 1849. Moshesh did not attend, but he sent two of his most trusted councillors to represent him, and professed to be willing to make concessions to obtain peace. Moroko, Molitsane, Adam Kok, and Carolus Baatje were present, but neither Sikonyela nor Gert Taaibosch took any notice of the invitation. The boundary question was almost the only one discussed. Moshesh was blamed for not having withdrawn his people from beyond the line fixed by the high commissioner between him and Sikonyela, and the coalition which was desired was formed.

On the very day on which the meeting was held at

Bloemfontein, Sikonyela and Gert Taaibosch fell upon some Basuto and Bataung kraals and plundered them ; but though Moshesh and Molitsane appealed to the British resident to keep the promise made in his notice, he did nothing more than write to the offenders exhorting them not to break the peace again, to which letter they paid not the slightest attention.

Such was the condition of affairs when Major Warden invited Moshesh to meet him at Beersheba and arrange a boundary between the Caledon River district and Basutoland. The chief was given to understand that if he would comply the Batlokua and Koranas would be restrained from further aggressions, and he would be regarded as a faithful friend of the English government ; but if he refused to do so, all the petty chiefs in the land, Molitsane only excepted, were prepared to join the European forces against him.

Moshesh did not meet the British resident at Beersheba, but he sent his son Letsie and one of his councillors. Letsie was informed of the boundary decided upon, and was asked to give his consent to it. He replied that his consent would be like that of a dog dragged by a riem round its neck. On behalf of Moshesh he proposed a line from the junction of Kornet Spruit with the Orange to the western extremity of the Koesberg, the continuation, on account of its affecting the Beersheba lands, to be arranged at another time ; but the British resident declined to entertain it. Letsie conveyed to his father a letter enclosing a sketch of the boundary, and informing him that upon his accepting it the bands of Batlokua and Koranas would be brought to order.

With the consequences of refusal thus brought clearly before him, Moshesh affixed his mark to a letter, dated the 1st of October 1849, agreeing to the proposed limits of the Lesuto. He begged that his people on the European side should not be driven from their pastures or otherwise ill-treated, and pointed out that the kraals cut off from his jurisdiction were more than a hundred in number. He further requested that boundaries should be made for the

mission stations Beersheba and Hebron, and that they should be connected with the Lesuto by a passage at least two miles in width.

Of the hundred Basuto kraals referred to by Moshesh as situated west of the line, most were residences of only one or two families. The boundary of Major Warden was considerably more to the advantage of the Basuto than the proposed one of Mr. Southey, which Mr. Casalis described as cutting off *at least* forty villages. The discrepancy is explained partly by the omission of clusters of only two or three huts by the missionary, but principally by a recent migration of Basuto into the thinly inhabited district below the Long mountain.

The French missionaries, who had been called to witness Moshesh's signature, immediately addressed a letter on the subject to Sir Harry Smith. In a few words they drew attention to the manner in which the chief's consent was obtained, pointed out an alteration in the line that would preserve to the Basuto sixty or seventy kraals now cut off, and expressed an opinion that if his Excellency should approve of the Warden line, feelings of great discontent would remain in the tribe.

The British resident promised Moshesh that the Basuto in the Caledon River district should receive the same protection as Europeans, and that they should hold their lands in the same manner. He anticipated that within a twelve-month most of them would have sold their ground to white men, and would have removed to the reserve occupied by their tribe.

Major Warden requested the high commissioner to confirm the line, but though it was approved of before the 31st of October, as may be seen in the reply to the French missionaries, it was not until the 18th of December that it was established by formal notice. It cut off a very large part of the Lesuto as defined by the Napier treaty, but much of this was never in the occupation of the Basuto people. Putting aside that treaty, their claim to the country

below the Long mountain, or any portion of it, rested on exactly the same ground as that of the European inhabitants : they had found it a waste, and had moved into it. Whether the line laid down by Major Warden gave them a fair share of that district, or whether it gave to the Europeans, or to the Basuto, more than they were strictly entitled to, will be decided by every individual according to his own ideas of justice.

As soon as this boundary had been settled, the British resident directed his attention to the country occupied by the various clans farther north. In October and November he laid down lines, defining the reserves allotted to Sikonyela, Gert Taaibosch, Molitsane, Carolus Baatje, and Moroko, and informed these chiefs that all coloured people living within those bounds were thereafter to be subject to their jurisdiction. Their outer boundaries were the actual lines then separating occupied farms from the commonages of kraals. All the parties interested agreed to them without demur. Wherever there were prominent positions, beacons were placed, for owing to the circumstances of occupation this boundary could not be defined by streams or mountain ranges. On the 18th of December 1849 a notice was published by order of the high commissioner, confirming the lines thus laid down between the native reserves and the portion of the Sovereignty set apart for European occupation.

The system of government henceforth to be carried out was explained by Major Warden to be that any chief allowing his people to pass the limits of his country to the prejudice of another clan would be viewed as a common enemy and treated as such. This would have been possible if the British resident had been provided with sufficient military force, or if there had been some approach to equality of strength among the chiefs, or if even the whole of the others combined had been as powerful as Moshesh. Major Warden certainly thought they were much stronger than they subsequently proved to be. He asserted on one

European Villages	0
French Mission Stations	6
Wesleyan	6
Berlin	8
London	Station, 2

occasion that he believed eight hundred Koranas to be equal to two thousand Basuto, and on another that he believed the Koranas of Gert Taaibosch and Jan Bloem to be more than a match for all the Bantu clans, those of Moshesh, Molitsane, Sikonyela, and Moroko, together.

The defect of the system was want of power to enforce it. Sir Harry Smith made it a condition of holding a farm that every able-bodied man upon it should be liable to military service in aid of the queen *and her allies*, whenever called upon by the British resident or the magistrates. But almost to a man the European inhabitants of the Sovereignty were opposed to this principle. As far as the outer line between themselves and the reserves was concerned, they were quite willing to protect it. But they maintained that it was neither their duty nor their interest to interfere in quarrels which did not affect them, and as her Majesty's allies would be whichever clan was for the time being in favour, under such a land tenure they would be continually embroiled in war. From them, therefore, no hearty assistance could be expected.

Henceforth the petty clans along the Caledon relied not only for protection, but for existence itself, upon the British resident, who was without a police or an army of any strength. Nothing but the sagacity of Moshesh prevented the Basuto from driving them all from the country.

The district of Thaba Ntshu, where Moroko had been living since 1833, was set apart as a reserve for his section of the Barolong. The sections of the same tribe under Tawane and Matlabe we left in the Mooi River district north of the Vaal. There they lived quietly, without giving or receiving any cause of complaint, until the country around them became occupied by people who had no cause to treat them with greater favour than other blacks. Tawane then, by Commandant Potgieter's advice, moved away to the country of his birth.

Matlabe preferred to remain where he was. For a short period after Commandant Potgieter's removal to Ohristad,

the Mooi River district was in a condition of partial lawlessness, and Matlabe was obliged to remove; but as soon as order was restored he returned, and for many years afterwards continued to live on the ground given to him by Commandant Potgieter. It will not be necessary to refer to him again.

It was towards the close of the year 1848 that Tawane removed from Mooi River to Lotlakana, now better known as Rietfontein, in the country of Tao. He had been away from the land of his birth more than fifteen years, and he returned to find it in a very different condition from that in which he left it. With the overthrow of Moselekatse and the establishment of the emigrant government north of the Vaal, an era of peace and safety had set in, and the remnants of the former tribes had left their retreats in the desert and were again planting corn and building huts on the banks of streams whose waters their fathers had drunk.

Tawane's following was small when he reached Lotlakana, but he was comparatively wealthy in cattle, and he at once attracted about him those Barolong who had become Balala in the dispersion. His principal kraal and his outposts grew with great rapidity, and in less than a year his retainers could be numbered by thousands.

There were several farmers living along the Molopo and at some of the best fountains in the country before the return of Tawane, but he was not in a position to dispute their right to be there. In fact he was less independent than he had been in the Mooi River district, for now he was required to pay the labour tax. Further than this, however, his rule over the Barolong who were assembling about him was not interfered with, and he ended his life in prosperity and quietness. He died at the end of 1849, and was succeeded in the chieftainship by his son Montsiwa, then a man of some thirty years of age.

CHAPTER XLVII.

EVENTS THAT LED TO THE SAND RIVER CONVENTION.

Treatment of coloured people outside the reserves in the Sovereignty—Establishment of churches and schools—Revenue and expenditure—Publication of a newspaper—Assignment of locations to Kausop or Scheel Kobus, Goliath Yzerbek, David Danser, and Jan Bloem—Claims of the captains Cornelis Kok and Andries Waterboer—Issue of letters patent creating a constitution for the Orange River Sovereignty—Murders by Bushmen—Dealings with the Basuto captain Poshuli—Feuds of the Batlokua and Basuto—Interference of the British resident in these quarrels—Plunder of Moroko's Barolong—Conduct of Poshuli—Hostilities with the Baphuti—Objection of the farmers to interfere in the feuds between the Bantu clans—Expedition against Moshesh—Battle of Viervoet—Disastrous results of the defeat of the British resident at Viervoet—Arrival of troops and Bantu auxiliaries from Natal—Plunder of the loyal farmers by the Basuto—Views of the imperial government—Rising of the Kosas and Tembus against British authority—Action of the republican party in the Sovereignty—Alliance of Moshesh with the party hostile to England—Attitude of Mr. Pretorius—Arrival in the Sovereignty of the assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen—Proceedings of the assistant commissioners—Conference between the assistant commissioners and delegates from the country north of the Vaal—Conclusion of the arrangement known as the Sand River convention, by which the independence of the Transvaal emigrants was acknowledged by the assistant commissioners—Ratification of the convention by the volksraad and its approval by the imperial authorities—Continuation of the history of the Barolong of Montsiwa.

THE history of the Sovereignty from this date onward is little else than an account of a struggle with Moshesh.

Outside the reserves there were not many natives living, but wherever they were in actual possession of ground on the 3rd of February 1848 their right to it was acknowledged. The only difference in their position that Sir Harry Smith's measures made was that they were now subject to the jurisdiction of European magistrates. It was anticipated, and the anticipation was correct, that most of them would desire to dispose of their land and remove to the reserves. But in order that they might not be unfairly dealt with, it was notified that no sales of ground by natives would be

considered legal unless made before the civil commissioner of the district in which the land was situated.

In January 1850 the reverend Dirk van Velden was appointed clergyman of Winburg. Ministers for the other congregations were not obtainable, and if they had been, there were no funds with which to pay their salaries. Messrs. Murray and Van Velden were therefore obliged to act as consuls for the parishes of Harrismith, Smithfield, and Riet River. Each district was now provided with a school.

The revenue had not been as large as the high commissioner had estimated, and the expenditure had been greater. On the 10th of September 1850 an account was made out by the Sovereignty treasurer, which showed that the expenditure to that date for civil purposes alone had been in excess of the revenue by 4,905*l*. This amount had been drawn as a loan from the treasury of the Cape Colony, but there was no possibility of paying it. The revenue of the year 1851 was 6,105*l*. and the expenditure 6,095*l*.¹

On the 10th of June 1850 the first number of a weekly newspaper termed the *Friend of the Sovereignty* was issued at Bloemfontein by a branch of the firm of Godlonton and White, of Grahamstown. This paper, printed partly in Dutch and partly in English, is still in existence under the name of the *Friend of the Free State*.

The district between the Modder and Vaal rivers had been purchased by Mr. D. S. Fourie for the party of which he was the head from the Korana captain David Danser, and the right of the purchasers had for eleven years never been disputed. In August 1850 Major Warden visited that part of the Sovereignty. At Van-Wyk's-Vlei, now Boshof, he heard loud complaints from the farmers of robberies by a roving petty captain named Kausop, or Scheel Kobus as he

¹ By an ordinance of the Cape legislative council in February 1852 the sum of 9,684*l*., said to have been advanced to the Sovereignty, was remitted. But on examining the items which make up that sum, it is seen that several were not fairly chargeable to the Sovereignty government.

was usually termed by the Europeans. The major sent for Kausop, who made his appearance with twenty followers. He stated that he was of higher rank than Danser, that his ancestors exercised authority over Danser's, and therefore he laid claim to the whole district. He was informed that his claim would not be admitted, nor existing ownership be disturbed, but that as a resident in the country he would be provided for. It was ascertained that he had a following of about two hundred souls. Major Warden recommended that he should be provided with a location along the Vaal. Sir Harry Smith approved of this, and Kausop was put in possession of a tract of land seventy-two square miles in extent.

Adjoining his location on the upper side, a plot of ground stretching ten miles back from the river, ten miles above Platberg, and ten miles below that mountain, or two hundred square miles in extent, had in the preceding year been allotted jointly to David Danser and Goliath Yzerbek, the latter a petty Korana captain who had formerly lived on the banks of the Riet, and for whose use the land of the mission station Bethany had been reserved in the treaty between Sir Peregrine Maitland and Adam Kok. Goliath had wandered away from Bethany, where he felt uncomfortable on account of being hemmed in by farms. Along the lower Vaal he could enjoy a greater sense of freedom, for across the river a vast extent of almost waste country stretched away to the north-west. But a mistake was made in giving him and Danser joint proprietorship in a location, for they began to quarrel almost at once. Major Warden estimated that between them they had a following of about three hundred and fifty families.

Adjoining Kausop's location on the lower side was a reserve allotted to a half-breed named Jan Bloem, who was the head of a Korana horde. This reserve was extended in February 1852 to the bend of the river where it is joined by the Hart. The Berlin mission society had some few years previously founded the station of Pniel on the southern bank

of the Vaal, and these reserves were laid out with a view of bringing the Koranas within its influence. This is the ground on which eighteen years later the first discovery of diamonds in South Africa was made. In 1850 a few farmers who had previously been living there made no objection to Major Warden's proposal that they should resign their land to the Koranas, and receive allotments farther back from the river. As for Danser, he was hardly in possession of a location when he sold some farms in it, but the British resident declared the sales illegal and refused to allow transfer.

The Griqua captain Cornelis Kok of Campbell laid claim to some land in this part of the Sovereignty, though he had no subjects living on the southern side of the Vaal. His right of chieftainship was acknowledged by Sir Harry Smith, and on the 1st of May 1848 he was informed that directions had been given to Major Warden to have the boundaries of his territory properly defined by a land commission. But this definition was never made, because the ground which he and his people occupied was found to be beyond the Sovereignty. His claim on the left bank of the river was then so far admitted that as a proprietor he was allowed to sell farms to any one who chose to buy them, but the Sovereignty government exercised exclusive jurisdiction over all the inhabitants between the Modder and the Vaal, except those in the reserves.

Between the Modder and Orange rivers, the country west of Adam Kok's reserve was unoccupied. It was claimed by the Griqua captain Andries Waterboer, and Cornelis Kok also asserted a right to a portion of it. Waterboer's claim rested on his treaty with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in which the little kraal of Ramah was mentioned as the extremity of his territory, and this was the southwestern point of Adam Kok's reserve. Further, Sir Harry Smith, without entering into particulars, had said to Waterboer that his district and Kok's might join. Still, the question was open how far his ground extended north from

Ramah. Cornelis Kok claimed the angle between the Modder river and Adam Kok's line, but Waterboer maintained that the entire district up to the Modder should be his. Neither, however, seemed to attach much value to it. Major Warden was inclined to treat the whole as waste land, seeing that neither of the captains had any use for it, that both resided beyond the Vaal, and both had ample territory there. And he proceeded to issue certificates for several farms in it. But the soil in that part was so uninviting that applicants for ground there were very few.

On the 13th of December 1852 Andries Waterboer died, and ten days later the people of Griquatown elected his son Nicholas as his successor. On the 18th of the following January the councillors of the clan wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Darling, requesting that the newly elected captain might be recognised by the imperial and colonial governments as the lawful chief of Griquatown and the surrounding districts, and that he might be admitted to the same alliance as was described in the treaty with his father. But the day of such alliances was past. The high commissioner caused a reply to be sent, recognising the new chief and wishing him and his people prosperity; but stating that the treaty with Andries Waterboer was a personal one, and that his Excellency did not feel authorised to enter into another.

On the 25th of March 1851 letters patent were issued at Westminster creating a constitution for the Orange River Sovereignty. The constitution was sent out by Earl Grey, then secretary of state for the colonies, but was never promulgated, owing to the condition of the country at the time of its arrival. The only effect which it had was to prevent the continuation of a legislative council after the close of the term of three years for which the first members were appointed. In addition to the members of this council whose names have already been given, Mr. Henry Halse was appointed on the 18th of August 1850, and Messrs. Frederik Linde and Andrew Hudson Bain on the 29th of December 1851.

In January 1850 Major Warden called out a commando for the purpose of clearing the Caledon River district of Bushmen. A party of these marauders had recently presented themselves at the homestead of a farmer named Van Hansen, and one of them demanded some tobacco. Upon the farmer refusing to give it, the Bushmen murdered him, his wife, four children, and two servants; and then set fire to the house.

The boundary laid down between this district and the Basuto reserve placed Vechtkop, the residence of Moshesh's brother Poshuli, on the European side. Poshuli was therefore considered to be under magisterial jurisdiction. He was believed to have instigated the Bushmen to commit the murders, as he had taken many of these people under his protection. Some persons for whose apprehension warrants had been issued by the resident magistrate had been sheltered by him, and when summoned he had declined to appear. Major Warden therefore fined him fifty oxen, and as he refused to pay, the commando was sent to seize his cattle. They were taken without resistance. Among them were thirty head which were at once sworn to as having been recently stolen from farmers in the district. A few others belonged to Mokatshane, father of Moshesh and Poshuli, who was then living at Thaba Bosigo. It was quite impossible for Major Warden to know who was the owner of each ox seized; all that he could tell with certainty was that the cattle were found at the stronghold of a notorious robber, who refused to appear when summoned, and who was strongly suspected of being implicated in a coldblooded massacre. An outcry was, however, raised by Moshesh, who termed the seizure of his father's cattle an unjust and unfriendly act.

With this exception the early months of 1850 passed by without any noteworthy disturbances. Gert Taaibosch removed for a time with his horde from the district just allotted to him, and resumed the wandering habits of his race, so that there was one element of strife the less on the Basuto border.

But the calm did not last long. Sikonyela's people fell upon some clans of Bataung and Basuto and plundered them, and when the British resident called a meeting of chiefs to discuss the matter, the offender declined to attend.

On the 1st of September 1850 Major Warden received the high commissioner's authority to employ the military force then at Bloemfontein and to call out a commando of farmers and coloured people to punish the Batlokua. The order came too late. On the 30th of August the Bataung attacked the mission station Umpukani, the people of which they believed to be in alliance with Sikonyela, killed twenty persons, wounded many more, and swept off the cattle.

Seventeen days later a combined military, burgher, and coloured force moved against Sikonyela, but upon the intercession of Moroko and Gert Taaibosch, that chief was admitted to an interview with the British resident, and as he expressed contrition, he was merely adjudged to pay a fine of three hundred head of cattle at some future day. As soon as this was settled, the Batlokua chief joined his forces to those of Major Warden, and together they proceeded to fall upon Molitsane and punish him for violating the sanctity of a mission station. At this time so little conception had the British resident of the strength of Moshesh that it was his intention to attack the Basuto if they should shelter Molitsane's cattle and decline to give them up when called upon to do so.

At daybreak on the morning of the 21st the Bataung kraals at Mekuatleng were attacked. The British resident had with him about one hundred soldiers, but only thirty-five farmers had answered his call to arms. The native contingent was composed of Batlokua under Sikonyela, Barolong under Moroko, Koranas under Gert Taaibosch, half-breeds under Carolus Baatje, and a number of Fingos. The Bataung, who were taken by surprise, made but slight resistance, and within a few hours about twenty individuals were killed on their side, three thousand five hundred head of cattle were captured, and a large amount of other spoil in

sheep, goats, and grain was secured. Ten waggons were also taken that belonged to a party of Koranas under a petty roving captain named Gert Lynx, who was at feud with Gert Taaibosch. The attacking party had only three coloured men killed and six wounded. A large portion of the spoil was distributed among the people of Umpukani and the allies, and the remainder was forwarded to Winburg and Bloemfontein to be sold to meet the expense of the expedition.

The commando had hardly left Mekuatleng when word was brought to the British resident that the Barolong had been attacked and plundered. Morakabi, son of Molitsane, and Moseme, a petty Basuto captain, together fell upon Moroko's outposts, killed several of his people, and swept off his herds, consisting of three thousand eight hundred head of horned cattle and eight hundred horses. The cattle were driven across the Caledon, where they were received by Moshesh's people.

This loss having fallen upon Moroko as a direct consequence of the part he had taken in aiding the British resident against Molitsane, Major Warden gave him the strongest assurance that the government would support him at whatever cost, and called upon Moshesh to restore the cattle taken from him.

A series of negotiations then followed, which show that Moshesh personally was desirous of maintaining peace with the English government, while his people were ready for war and averse to any concessions. The chief of the Barolong declined to enter into arrangements with Moshesh, and looked to the British resident for protection and restitution of all he had lost.

At length, in March 1851, Moshesh sent some two thousand one hundred head of cattle, mostly of an inferior kind, which he had collected together, as compensation to Moroko, and Major Warden received them on account. Molitsane also gave up about four hundred head at the same time. These cattle were surrendered three months

after the commencement of the eighth war between the Kosas and the Cape Colony, and while the Kaffirs were flushed with success, which is strong evidence of the Basuto chief's desire for peace.

In the meantime retaliations and counter retaliations were constantly taking place among the contending clans. Other events were likewise occurring which tended to make the aspect of affairs still darker.

A small party of Tembus had been living for many years in the neighbourhood of the Koesbergen. These people were suspected of being in league with their kindred who were in alliance with the Kosas and at war with the Cape Colony, and as they resisted an attempt to disarm them and remove them farther from the border, the British resident resolved to expel them. Among others whom he summoned to assist him was Poshuli, and this chief, in expectation of thereby gaining favour, committed some most revolting cruelties, among other barbarous acts murdering in cold blood three headmen whom he had invited to meet him.

Some of the Tembus who escaped fled across the Orange to the country occupied by the Baphuti under Morosi, who acknowledged his dependence upon Moshesh, though he was not always a very obedient vassal. There was, however, strong sympathy between the Baphuti and the other branches of the Basuto whenever outside pressure was felt by any clan of the tribe.

While Major Warden was attacking the Tembus north of the Orange, the civil commissioner of Albert was marching with a commando of farmers and Fingos against clans of the same tribe on the southern bank of the river. The British resident crossed over, joined his forces to this commando, and then, as Morosi did not appear when summoned, a movement was made towards his kraal. The Baphuti did not wait to be attacked, but fell upon the advance guard of the approaching force, and a skirmish followed in which nine Europeans were killed before the remainder of the commando could come up.

From this date the Baphuti openly joined the enemies of the Cape Colony, and a general course of plundering by them and the Tembus from the farmers and Fingos commenced on both sides of the river. Moshesh professed to be doing his utmost to restore tranquillity, but many of his followers openly joined Morosi.

These events gave the first intimation to the high commissioner that the Basuto chief claimed authority over people living south of the Orange. He immediately wrote to Moshesh that such authority would not be recognised, and that Morosi being beyond the country of the Basuto must be obedient to the colonial law.

Gert Taaibosch next fell upon Molitsane and drove off his herds. The Bataung retaliated upon Moroko, and Moseme joined in despoiling the Barolong of the cattle so recently given up by Moshesh. Then the British resident summoned all the chiefs in the Sovereignty to meet at Bloemfontein on the 4th of June to inquire into the cause of the commotions, but without waiting for them to assemble he called out a commando of three hundred and fifty farmers and two thousand six hundred blacks of various clans for the purpose, as he stated, of humbling the Basuto and Bataung.

Moshesh replied to Major Warden's circular calling the meeting that the confusion about him would prevent his attendance, and attributing the deplorable condition of the country entirely to the laying down of boundary lines. On the 4th of June only Moroko and Gert Taaibosch appeared, and the design of a conference was therefore fruitless.

The high commissioner sanctioned the project of the British resident, and instructed him to attack Moshesh and Molitsane if they would not yield to the demands made upon them, and to prosecute the war against them until they were humbled. He declared that he regarded Moroko as the paramount native chief in the Sovereignty, from his hereditary descent, his peaceable demeanour, and his attachment to the British government. From this it is certain

that at that time neither the high commissioner nor the British resident knew much of the history or of the strength of the various tribes and clans.

A difficulty occurred that had not been foreseen. The farmers in general declined to take up arms in such a quarrel, and instead of three hundred and fifty men who were called out, only one hundred and twenty, after much trouble, could be induced to take the field. Moshesh sent them word that he wished to continue in peace with them, and warned them not to aid in war against his people. Commandant Snyman and Mr. Josias P. Hoffman, subsequently first president of the Orange Free State, waited upon the British resident at Bloemfontein, and endeavoured to dissuade him from further interference in these tribal quarrels, but to no purpose.

As ultimately made up, the commando consisted of one hundred and sixty-two British soldiers, one hundred and twenty farmers, and a rabble from one thousand to fifteen hundred strong, composed of Fingos, half-breeds of Carolus Baatje, Barolong of Moroko, Griquas of Adam Kok, and Koranas of Gert Taaibosch and other captains. The whole was under command of Major Donovan of the Cape mounted rifles. The native contingents were accompanied by a large number of women and children. On the 20th of June 1851 this commando formed a camp at Platberg.

The British resident invited Moshesh to meet him, but instead of appearing personally, he requested Messrs. Casalis and Dyke to represent him. These gentlemen found on arrival at the camp that Major Warden would make no concessions. On the 25th of June the Basuto chief was called upon to pay six thousand head of good cattle and three hundred horses, to be delivered at Platberg before the 4th of July. No communication was held with Molitsane, as Major Warden was resolved to fall upon him and expel him from the district recently allotted to him.

Sikonyela, with only a following of a dozen men, had accompanied the British resident from Bloemfontein, and as it was considered necessary for him to assemble his warriors

and bring them at once to join the commando, he was furnished with an escort of eighty Barolong and Koranas and sent to his own country. His road for several miles lay through the Basuto reserve, and the French missionaries pointed out that his proceeding along it could not fail to provoke an attack. On the way he was met by a large body of Basuto and Bataung under Moshesh's brother Moperi and Molitsane, who drove him to a hill where he defended himself bravely for a whole day until rescued by a patrol sent to his relief.

On the 29th a meeting was held of the European leaders, the chiefs and captains, and a number of petty Korana headmen who were in the camp, when it was decided to attack Molitsane next morning at daybreak.

The principal stronghold of the Bataung was the hill Viervoet, the crown of which is a tableland bordered, like many others in the country, with almost perpendicular precipices. Upon this hill Moseme's clan as well as the Bataung had placed their cattle for safety when the approach of the commando caused them to abandon their kraals.

At daybreak on the morning of Monday the 30th of June Major Donovan moved the greater part of his motley force against Viervoet. The hill was stormed without difficulty or much loss of life on either side, and the cattle were taken possession of. The Barolong contingent then commenced to plunder the huts and regale themselves on millet beer, which they found in large quantities ready made.

While this was going on, three bodies of Basuto, under command of Letsie, Molapo, and Moperi, arrived at Viervoet, and the routed clans rallied and joined them. The fortune of battle was turned at once. The cattle were retaken. A party of Barolong was cut off, and those of them who were not destroyed by the assagai and battle-axe were hurled over the cliffs. A field-gun was barely saved from capture. The loss of the native contingent in killed alone was estimated by Major Warden at one hundred and fifty-two men, but according to another trustworthy account it must have been

even higher. It fell principally upon the Barolong, and two brothers of Moroko were included in it. The number of wounded was also very large. On the Basuto side sixteen men at most were killed.

The commando retreated to Thaba Ntshu, where a camp was formed, but a few weeks later it was broken up, and what remained of the force fell back upon Bloemfontein. The petty chiefs who were opposed to Moshesh were now all thrown upon the hands of the government for protection and support. Some little bands of Fingos were located on the town commonage of Bloemfontein. To others it was necessary to serve out rations to prevent them from starving. The Barolong were obliged to abandon Thaba Ntshu, and nothing better could be done than to permit them to take possession of unoccupied ground anywhere in the district of Bloemfontein. The same was the case with the half-breeds of Carolus Baatje. All the allies had substantial claims for compensation on account of their losses, all were clamorous in putting their grievances forward.

The British resident now found himself without authority in the greater part of the Sovereignty. He did his utmost to raise a commando of farmers, but was unsuccessful. He then applied to the government of Natal for assistance, and Mr. Pine, who was then lieutenant-governor of that colony, promptly sent to his aid two companies of the 45th regiment of infantry, comprising one hundred and seventy-two men of all ranks, seventeen Cape mounted riflemen, and five hundred and ninety blacks, the whole under command of Captain Parish of the 45th. Sir Harry Smith issued instructions to act only on the defensive until such time as troops could be spared from the eastern colonial frontier, when he would bring up a force sufficiently strong to restore British authority. Major Warden therefore garrisoned the village of Winburg with the troops from Natal, and stationed the Bantu contingent with Moroko to protect his people.

In the meantime the Basuto had taken possession of the districts previously occupied by the Barolong, the Koranas,

and the half-breeds, and had seized the greater portion of the stock belonging to those clans. Moshesh asserted that he was not an enemy of the queen of England, but at the same time his followers attacked those farmers who were attached to the English government and who had obeyed the call to arms. These were searched out in the Harrismith, Winburg, Bloemfontein, and Caledon River districts, and were despoiled of whatever the Basuto raiders could lay their hands upon. Among them were two men whose names will frequently appear again in this narrative—Jan I. J. Fick and Cornelis de Villiers.

When intelligence of these events reached England, military reinforcements were promptly sent out to enable Sir Harry Smith to restore British authority north of the Orange, if that could not be effected in any other way than by force of arms. But Earl Grey had no intention of burdening the imperial treasury with the permanent charge of maintaining a large garrison in the Sovereignty, and the same despatch which announced that troops would be sent to restore British prestige indicated that unless the majority of the inhabitants would willingly obey and actively support the resident, English rule over the country would be withdrawn.

At this time the war with the rebel Hottentots, Tembus, and Kosas was taxing all the energies of Sir Harry Smith and trying the patience of the secretary of state. Hostilities with the Basuto tribe beyond the Orange were therefore felt as a grievous addition to other troubles.

The republican party in the Sovereignty looked upon this as a favourable opportunity to assert their independence of England. On the 25th of August a document was signed at Winburg by one hundred and thirty-seven men, requesting Mr. A. W. Pretorius to take upon himself the office of administrator-general. As soon as this became known, numbers of farmers in other parts of the country declared their adhesion to the cause. Moshesh, who was well informed of what was taking place in British Kaffraria,

and who knew that the Kaffirs had been so far successful there, probably regarded the English cause as now the weaker one, and in the same manner as he acted on every similar occasion throughout his life, he went over to what he believed to be the stronger party. This Moshesh, the chief who talked so much in later years of his constant devotion to the queen, joined in the invitation to Mr. Pretorius to come and restore peace to a ruined country.

A deputation of farmers, acting independently of Major Warden, though not concealing their transactions from him, proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and concluded peace with Moshesh. The farmers undertook not to interfere in any tribal quarrels, and only to take up arms against those who should violate the boundary between whites and blacks. Moshesh undertook to make no war with them unless they should cross the boundary, to cause all thieving to cease, and to deliver up stolen cattle. To this effect an agreement was drawn up and signed on the 3rd of September by Moshesh and his sons Molapo, Masupha, and Nehemiah on the one part, and by the delegates G. F. Linde and Jan Vermaak on the other. This agreement was faithfully observed on both sides. The farmers who ignored the British resident were left unmolested, or if their cattle were driven off by mistake, they were immediately restored. Those who adhered to the English government, on the contrary, were sought out and plundered everywhere.

As if to make the situation of Major Warden more humiliating, he at this time received a letter from Mr. Pretorius, dated on the 9th of September at Magalisberg, in which the man for whose apprehension the sum of two thousand pounds was still offered announced that at the request of Moshesh and other chiefs, as well as of many white inhabitants, he had been instructed by the council of war and a large public meeting to proceed to the Sovereignty, and there devise measures for the restoration of peace and the prevention of such ruin as the Cape Colony then exhibited. The letter concluded with the statement that it

was the wish of the emigrants beyond the Vaal to arrive at a good understanding with the British government, respecting which further announcements would be made on the arrival of the writer in the Sovereignty.

Since the battle of Boomplaats Mr. Pretorius had abstained from interference in matters south of the Vaal, and had confined himself to requesting that the imperial government would send out two thoroughly impartial men to investigate the causes of discontent among the farmers of the Cape Colony and the proceedings of the emigrants. He believed that if this was done, the justice of their cause would be so apparent that their independence would be recognised. But now the condition of affairs in the Sovereignty seemed to invite a bolder course.

A few weeks later the reverend Mr. Murray paid a visit to Potchefstroom, where he met Mr. Pretorius and most of the influential men of that district. They informed him that there was no general desire to interfere in matters beyond their border, but that the emigrants were anxious to enter into a treaty with England by which their independence would be secured, and thought that a favourable time had arrived for obtaining what they wished.

On the 4th of October Mr. Pretorius wrote again to Major Warden, stating that the emigrants had long desired to enter into a lasting treaty of peace with the British government, and that he, with two others named F. G. Wolmarans and J. H. Grobbelaar, had been appointed by the council of war and 'the public' to proceed to the Sovereignty and treat for the same. They did not intend to leave until they had consulted further with the landdrost and heemraden of Potchefstroom and with 'the public.' They therefore sent this intelligence by two messengers, and hoped to receive a reply that the British government was disposed to meet their wishes.

On receipt of this letter Major Warden reported to the high commissioner that the fate of the Sovereignty depended upon the movements of a proscribed man. Moshesh would

not probably make any further hostile movements until he could rely on assistance from Pretorius, who, on the other hand, would not decide upon anything before receiving an answer from the high commissioner. Mr. Murray had informed him that he believed the letter of the 4th of October correctly represented the desires of the Transvaal people. At any rate, time would be gained by corresponding with the delegates, and therefore he was about to write to them.

On the 10th of October he replied that the 'emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal river having communicated to him in writing, through them, their desire to come to a friendly understanding with the British government, he begged to inform them that his position precluded him from interfering in political matters beyond the limits of the Sovereignty. It would, however, afford him much pleasure to forward to his Excellency the high commissioner any communications coming from them, and which would at all assist in bringing about the objects the emigrant farmers had in view. He would suggest that whatever propositions they might wish to make for the consideration of government should be transmitted to his address, and they would be duly forwarded to his Excellency. He trusted they might be such as could be entertained by him. In conclusion, he had to add that while the British government was ever desirous to cultivate the friendship of all, it would never tolerate uncalled-for interference in any portion of the queen's dominions.'

Sir Harry Smith approved of the course adopted by Major Warden, and informed him that Major W. S. Hogg and Mr. C. Mostyn Owen, two gentlemen who had recently been appointed assistant commissioners, and who held large powers, would proceed to the Sovereignty with as little delay as possible for the purpose of examining into and arranging matters.

The assistant commissioners reached Bloemfontein on the 27th of November. They found those farmers who ignored the British resident's authority, and who were in alliance with Moshesh, living in a condition of peace, but

all other sections of the inhabitants were engaged in strife.

The Natal blacks had recently been removed to Siko-nyela's district, but the danger of employing a force of this kind, unless in concert with a more powerful body of Europeans, had become very apparent. They had broken free of control, and were almost as formidable to their friends as to their enemies. Seeking plunder wherever it was to be obtained, their chief object seemed to be to return to their homes as soon as they could collect a drove of cattle. It was believed to be almost as dangerous to attempt to disband them as it was to keep them under arms, but they fortunately relieved the government of the difficulty by general desertion.

The troops from Natal were stationed at Thaba Ntshu, to which place Moroko's people had returned. But as the loyal farmers of Winburg were being constantly plundered by bands of Basuto and Bataung, and were in less favourable circumstances than the Barolong for defence, this force was sent to their assistance. Moroko was consequently left to his own resources.

The half-breeds and Fingos, whose families were rationed by the government, were actively engaged in worrying the people of Moshesh. They were provided with ammunition by Major Warden, and in little bands they descended upon exposed parts of the Lesuto and were gone with their plunder before the inhabitants could get together to resist them. As this conduct provoked retaliation, the assistant commissioners prohibited the further supply of ammunition to these people and discontinued the issue of rations to them.

An inquiry into the financial condition of the country occupied some little time. It was ascertained that the revenue was barely sufficient for the maintenance of the civil establishment, and that a police force was out of the question. No offices had been created besides those already mentioned, excepting that of registrar of

deeds. This situation was held by Mr. Joseph Allison, who was also clerk to the British resident and secretary to the legislative council. No reductions in the limited civil establishment were possible. The revenue officers were called upon to account for the balances shown by their books to be in their possession, when Mr. C. U. Stuart, civil commissioner of Bloemfontein, was found to have misapplied public money. He was therefore dismissed, and Mr. Hector Lowen was appointed to succeed him.

The legislative council met on the 30th of December. On the 1st of January 1852 the assistant commissioners requested the members to take the following questions into careful consideration and report upon them:—

1. As to future relations with native tribes, whether it would not be advisable that they should be allowed to settle their own disputes. Should they request the advice or arbitration of the resident or the council, might that not be conceded without undertaking any responsibility?

2. As to what would, in their opinion, improve the constitution of the Sovereignty, so as to give them more management of their own affairs, and ensure, in case any evils should accrue from that management, that they themselves should be responsible for them, and not the government?

3. As the country for many years must be infested by wandering natives, what system of internal arrangement would the council recommend to be carried out, with as little severity as might be consistent with safety to life and property?

The council took these questions into consideration, and brought up a report, prefacing it with a statement that it was grounded on a firm reliance that her Majesty's government would indemnify all who had adhered to it and suffered in consequence, to the full extent of their losses.

On the first question they were of opinion that as soon as British honour had been vindicated and peace restored to the country, the queen's supremacy over the native tribes should be withdrawn. But if that were not satisfactorily

done, they should consider her Majesty's faithful subjects and allies in the Sovereignty a deeply injured people.

On the second question they desired that the Sovereignty should be annexed to the Cape Colony, their interests being identical and inseparable.

On the third question they considered it unnecessary to make any other remark than that they were content to throw in their lot with the Cape Colony under the new constitution which was then graciously offered by her Majesty to that dependency of the empire.

The arrival of the assistant commissioners and the objects of their mission were at once made known to Mr. Pretorius. On the 11th of December he wrote from Magalisberg, desiring to know when they would be prepared to commence negotiations, and where the delegates would have an opportunity to meet them. He desired that the place selected might be nearer the Vaal river than Bloemfontein, so that they could confer with each other in safety. On behalf of the delegates he guaranteed to the assistant commissioners complete safety. He trusted that all prejudices which might have been entertained against the emigrants would be wholly set aside, so that in candour and confidence a good understanding might be established.

To this communication a verbal reply was sent back by the messengers of Mr. Pretorius, to the effect that arrangements would be made as soon as possible, that the assistant commissioners had other pressing duties to perform which must first be attended to, and that the place of meeting would be selected in accordance with the desires of the delegates.

The assistant commissioners then made a minute inquiry into the condition of affairs. The imperial government had resolved in the most decided manner not to permit any further extension of the British dominions in South Africa. It was therefore a mere matter of form to acknowledge the independence of the emigrants beyond the Vaal, as British authority had never been established there. But they re-

ported that in their opinion very considerable benefits would arise from such an acknowledgment.

1. It was the only way to secure the friendship of the Transvaal emigrants.

2. It would detach them from the disaffected emigrants in the Sovereignty.

3. It would prevent their alliance with Moshesh, which that chief was seeking.

4. The Transvaal emigrants, through their delegates, of their own free will offered to bind themselves to certain conditions, such as the prohibition of slavery and the delivery of criminals, which otherwise could not be enforced.

On the 23rd of December, therefore, the assistant commissioners issued from Bloemfontein a public notice that they consented to receive a deputation from the Transvaal emigrants appointed to make certain friendly proposals to the government, and at the same time they published a proclamation of Sir Harry Smith, reversing the outlawry of Mr. Pretorius and withdrawing the offer of rewards for the apprehension of all who had been proscribed. The assistant commissioners added the following paragraph: 'That the emigrants in times past have suffered grievances no reasonable person can deny; that they, in their turn, have committed many unjustifiable acts is equally certain. The assistant commissioners express a hope that this act of grace may be a stepping stone to a rational and permanent understanding, which may tend to promote the happiness of all, and lead to a general reconciliation.'

It was arranged that the conference should take place on the 16th of January 1852, at the farm of Mr. P. A. Venter, near the junction of Coal Spruit with the Sand river. Of the Transvaal emigrants, the section that adhered to Commandant Hendrik Potgieter was unrepresented. The other section was not represented in what under ordinary circumstances would be considered the proper manner, namely, by persons deputed by the volksraad or the government. Its deputies were chosen by a council of war, and

approved of at public meetings. The cause of this was the violent party feeling that then prevailed.

When Mr. Pretorius, early in 1848, went to reside at Magalisberg, the old jealousy between him and Mr. Potgieter was revived. A few months later, when he was preparing to expel the British resident from the Sovereignty, he sent to ask assistance from Mr. Potgieter's adherents. The volksraad met at Ohrigstad, took the question into consideration, and refused its aid. In the following year, 1849, at a general meeting of Mr. Potgieter's partisans, it was resolved:—

1. That the volksraad should be the supreme legislative authority of the whole country.

2. That all officials should be appointed by the volksraad and be subject to its instructions.

3. That Ohrigstad should be the capital of the whole country. (This was shortly afterwards rescinded, and Lydenburg was declared to be the capital.)

4. That Mr. A. H. Potgieter should retain the office of chief commandant during his life.

The adherents of Mr. Pretorius were dissatisfied with the last arrangement, and pressed their objections with such force that in January 1851 the volksraad, with a view of putting an end to the dissensions, resolved to create four commandants-general, who should be equal in rank and independent of each other. The four appointed were:—

A. H. Potgieter for Zoutpansberg, Rustenburg, and Potchefstroom.

A. W. J. Pretorius for Rustenburg and Potchefstroom, each individual in these districts being left at liberty to choose which of the commandants he would serve under.

W. F. Joubert for Lydenburg.

J. A. Enslyn for the western border.

Instead of allaying strife, this arrangement tended to increase it, and the adherents of the two most prominent commandants-general were at this time so embittered against each other that one party was almost certain to disapprove

of any proposal made by the other. Mr. Pretorius, therefore, took no steps to convene the volksraad and obtain its authority for what he was doing. Commandant-General Joubert acted with him. Commandant-General Enslin was suffering from the illness of which he died a few weeks later.

About three hundred Transvaal emigrants accompanied the delegates to the place of meeting. The disaffected farmers of the Sovereignty mustered to the number of about a hundred, in hope of preventing any agreement being made in which they were not also included. Moshesh, who realised that if the interests of the Transvaal were separated from those of the opponents of the government in the Sovereignty, he had committed a great blunder, sent his principal councillor with a few attendants to watch the proceedings and bring him a report. Nearly all the traders in the country were there also. The assistant commissioners went to the meeting with only an escort of five lancers.

On their arrival they learned that a notorious criminal named Adriaan van der Kolff was present. This man, once church clerk at George, was a European adventurer who had for some months been the head of a band of Basuto and Koranas that had plundered the adherents of the English government far and wide. In communicating with Europeans he termed himself Moshesh's general, but to the Basuto and Bataung he represented himself as the agent of Mr. Pretorius. This scoundrel had not long before broken out of the prison at Potchefstroom, so that he was liable to be arrested on both sides of the Vaal, yet so strong was the bond which held together the opponents of British rule, that he could move about freely among the disaffected Sovereignty farmers.

Major Hogg made it a preliminary to further action that Mr. Pretorius should cause Van der Kolff to be arrested. Mr. Pretorius replied that he could not do so, as he was within the Sovereignty. Major Hogg then said he would issue a written order for the arrest and expect Mr. Pretorius

to have it carried out. But this coming to the knowledge of the Sovereignty farmers, one of them furnished Van der Kolff with a fleet horse, on which he rode to a rise in the ground at a short distance, and then capped his gun and halted as if to challenge the commissioners. Three lancers were thereupon sent in pursuit of the miscreant, but after a chase of a few miles he reached a band of Basuto and Koranas who were waiting for him. Moshesh's delegate, seeing the attempt made to arrest Van der Kolff, and that the farmers took no active steps to protect him, at once fled, in fear of like treatment for himself.

The negotiations were then entered into, and as each article was agreed upon the secretaries wrote it out and read it over in English and Dutch for approval. The secretaries were, on the part of the emigrants, Mr. J. H. Visagie, and on the part of the assistant commissioners, Mr. John Burnet. The last named gentleman had succeeded Mr. Isaac Dyason in May 1850 as clerk to the civil commissioner of Winburg, and was destined to take part in the most important events north of the Orange for the next sixteen years. Mr. Pretorius desired that the old district of Winburg should be included in the arrangement, but the assistant commissioners would not consent. He then vainly pressed that a general amnesty should be extended to those persons in the Sovereignty who had repudiated the government. Further, he desired to act as a mediator between the British authorities and the Basuto, but neither was this conceded.

The articles of agreement were arranged by Mr. Burnet, and on the following day, the 17th of January 1852, the document which has ever since been known as the Sand River convention was signed. It contained nine clauses, in the first of which the assistant commissioners 'guaranteed in the fullest manner, on the part of the British government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal river the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British government; and that no encroach-

ment should be made by the said government on the territory north of the Vaal river; with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British government was to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers then inhabiting, or who might thereafter inhabit, that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference was binding upon both parties.'

The other clauses provided for arbitration in case of dispute about the boundary over the Drakensberg, disclaimed all alliances by the British government with coloured tribes north of the Vaal, provided that no slavery should be permitted or practised by the emigrant farmers, made arrangements for free trade except in arms and ammunition, gave the emigrant farmers liberty to purchase supplies of ammunition in the British colonies but prohibited trade in war material with the coloured tribes on both sides of the river, provided for the extradition of criminals by both parties, acknowledged as valid certificates of marriage issued by the proper authorities north of the Vaal, and gave permission to any one except criminals and runaway debtors to move at pleasure from one side of the river to the other.

The convention was signed on behalf of the British government by the assistant commissioners W. S. Hogg and C. Mostyn Owen, and on behalf of the Transvaal emigrants by the delegates A. W. J. Pretorius, H. S. Lombard, W. F. Joubert, G. J. Kruger, J. N. Grobbelaar, P. E. Scholtz, F. G. Wolmarans, J. A. van Aswegen, F. J. Botes, N. J. S. Basson, J. P. Furstenberg, J. P. Pretorius, J. H. Grobbelaar, J. M. Lehman, P. Schutte, and J. C. Klopper. The two secretaries, John Burnet and J. H. Visagie, signed as witnesses.

On the 16th of March 1852 a great meeting of the emigrants took place at Rustenburg, a village recently founded on one of the sources of the Limpopo, about seventy miles due north of Potchefstroom. The situation is one of great beauty, being an amphitheatre on the

northern side of the great range which separates the feeders of the Limpopo from those of the Vaal, the country around is remarkably fertile, and the scenery is romantically grand. On the 11th Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter with a considerable following had arrived at the village. In the bitterness of party feeling, Mr. Pretorius and those who had acted with him were accused by the Zoutpansberg people of usurping power which did not belong to them, of making a treaty without legal authority to do so, and of aiming at domination over the whole land. It was feared by many that there would be civil war. Mr. Pretorius reached Rustenburg on the 15th. That night some of the most influential burghers entreated the elders to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the two leaders. Before sunrise on the 16th the elders induced them to meet in Mr. Potgieter's tent. The people waited anxiously to know the outcome, and there arose a shout of joy when the tent door was opened, and Pretorius and Potgieter were seen standing hand in hand with an open bible between them.

The volksraad met at Rustenburg in the course of the morning. Mr. J. Stuart, author of *De Hollandsche Afrikanen en hunne Republiek in Zuid Afrika*, acted as secretary. The members almost unanimously ratified the convention. Its details were made known by word of mouth to the assembled people, the only form of publication in a country without a printing press.

The emigrants had at last obtained what they had striven for so long and through so much suffering. To God, the same God who had led from misery to happiness another people whose history was on every tongue, their grateful thanks were due. And so they joined together to praise Him. The psalms that they sung might have sounded discordant to those whose ears are used to organ and choir, the prayers that the elders uttered might have seemed to modern divines to savour more of the teaching of Moses than of Paul; but psalm and prayer went up to the throne of

God from deeply grateful hearts, and men who had never been moved to shed a tear by all the blows that disaster had struck were strangely moved that day. The strife of sixteen years was over, and independence was won.

On the 31st of March 1852 Lieutenant-General the honourable George Cathcart succeeded Sir Harry Smith as high commissioner and governor of the Cape Colony. On the 13th of May he issued from Fort Beaufort a proclamation 'notifying to the Transvaal boers his assumption of the government of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, and expressing the great satisfaction it gave him, as one of the first acts of his administration, to approve of and fully confirm the convention.' And on the 24th of June Sir John Pakington, secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to General Cathcart 'signifying his approval of the convention and of the proclamation giving effect to it.'

At the time of the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the independence of the Transvaal emigrants, there were about five thousand families of Europeans in the country.

Before leaving the South African Republic, as the state north of the Vaal has been termed since its independence, the history of the Barolong clan under Montsiwa must be brought down to the date of the Sand River convention. One of the first acts of this captain after his father's death was to endeavour to obtain the services of a European adviser. He therefore sent his brother Molema to Thaba Ntshu, where the reverend Mr. Cameron was then residing, with a request that the Wesleyan society would provide him with a missionary. The request was laid before a district meeting of the clergymen of that body, with the result that in January 1850 the reverend Joseph Ludorf took up his residence at Lotlakana.

For two years Montsiwa got along fairly well with his neighbours, and there were no complaints on either side. All this time his strength was increasing, while the farmers were becoming more numerous in his neighbourhood. On the 14th of December 1851 Mr. Ludorf, in the name of the

chief, wrote a letter to Commandant-General Pretorius, complaining that certain farmers had encroached on his territory and had taken possession of some of the best fountains. Mr. Pretorius immediately caused a reply to be written by Commandant Adriaan Stander, to the effect that the commandant-general and his council had appointed a commission to put a stop to all dissatisfaction, and that he wished Montsiwa to be present with his headmen at a certain place on the Molopo on the 30th instant to fix a line between the farmers and his people.

A few days later the commandant-general himself addressed Montsiwa, whom he styled 'Worthy Chief and Ally,' regretting to hear that encroachments on his territory had been made, and notifying that the commission had full power 'to decide in the name of the emigrant farmers, and with his consent and approval, upon a boundary line, that they might continue to dwell together in friendship and love.'

On the 30th of December 1851 the emigrant commission and the heads of Montsiwa's clan met at a farm house belonging to Mr. Theunis Steyn on the southern bank of the Molopo. The commission consisted of the commandants Adriaan Stander and Pieter Scholtz, who were attended by two fieldcornets and ten burghers. Montsiwa was accompanied by two of his brothers, the reverend Mr. Ludorf, and ten councillors. After a friendly discussion, a boundary line between the Europeans and Montsiwa was agreed upon, which gave the Barolong an additional spring of water called Mooimeisjesfontein.

On the 8th of January 1852 Commandant-General Pretorius wrote to his 'worthy friend and ally Montsiwa,' that 'he had submitted the report of the commission to his council, who had approved of the boundary line; that he trusted no encroachments would be made in future, and that Montsiwa on his side would use every endeavour to keep his people under good rule and order, so that their friendship might long continue.'

All this looks very much as if Commandant-General Pretorius regarded Montsiwa as an independent chief. But this was certainly not his view of the matter. The style of his letters is exactly the same as that in which he was in the habit of addressing all the petty captains in the country who were living under the farmers' protection. We would term them vassals, but he chose to call them allies. The boundary line he regarded as we would the boundaries of a native location in the Cape Colony. That Montsiwa also took this view of the position is made equally certain by the following circumstance:—

A few months later Commandant Pieter Scholtz, who was then the highest local authority in that neighbourhood, convened a meeting of all the chiefs about the Molopo. The missionaries resident with them were also requested to attend, the object being to settle all disputes between them, to apportion land to those who complained that they had none, and generally to bring about a good understanding. Montsiwa attended the meeting, but Mr. Ludorf did not appear.

The conference was a friendly one. It took place at a mission station, and the reverend Mr. Edwards acted as interpreter for the commandant. The blacks present all admitted that the country they were in belonged to the emigrant farmers by right of conquest from Moselekatse. Some chiefs who had recently moved in had ground assigned to them on condition of paying the labour tax and a heifer every year. Montsiwa asked that a distinction should be made in his favour, as he was an old friend of the farmers. He desired to be released from payment of the labour tax. Commandant Scholtz asked if he would prefer to be placed in the same position as a burgher, that is to pay taxes in money and to render military service when called upon to do so. Montsiwa replied that he would be satisfied with such an arrangement, and an agreement to this effect was concluded between them, excepting that the amount of the money tax was left to be settled by the volksraad.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

EVENTS THAT LED TO THE ABANDONMENT OF THE
SOVEREIGNTY.

Condition of the republican party in the Sovereignty—Negotiations with Moshesh—Agreement of peace—Neglect of the Basuto to carry out the conditions—Devastation of the Batlokua country—Raid by the people of Carolus Baatje—Appointment of Mr. Henry Green as successor to Major Warden—Plunder of the Barolong by the Basuto—Meeting of representatives of the people at Bloemfontein—Tenor of the resolutions adopted—March of General Cathcart with a strong army to the Lesuto—Terms offered to Moshesh—Rejection of the terms by the Basuto—Battle of Berea—Retreat of General Cathcart—Prudent conduct of Moshesh—Declaration of peace by General Cathcart—Murmuring in the army—Retirement of General Cathcart from the Sovereignty—Consternation of the Europeans and allied clans—Decision of the imperial government to abandon the Sovereignty—Politie attitude of Moshesh—Ejection of Tulu from his location.

Effects of Moshesh's attitude upon the clans north of the Vaal—Correspondence concerning the supply of arms to the northern tribes—Campaign against the Bapedi—Events that led to hostilities with the Bakwena—Destruction of the reverend Dr. Livingstone's property at Kolobeng—Flight of Montsiwa's Barolong from Lotlakana—Trial of the reverend Messrs. Inglis and Edwards and their banishment from the South African Republic—Effects of the battle of Berea upon the northern tribes—Trouble with the Barolong of Montsiwa—Migration of this clan to the country north of the Molopo—Death of the commandants-general Hendrik Potgieter and Andries Pretorius—Appointment by the volksraad of their eldest sons as their successors—Arrival of a clergyman from the Netherlands—Last letter of Andries Pretorius—Form of government in the South African Republic.

Appointment of Sir George Clerk as special commissioner to withdraw British rule from the Sovereignty—Wretched condition of the country—State of affairs in the Griqua reserve—Meeting of delegates convened by the special commissioner—Proceedings of the delegates—Invitation to the republicans to elect a rival assembly—Mission of the reverend Mr. Murray and Dr. Fraser to England—Conquest of the Batlokua country by the Basuto—Death of Gert Taai Bosch in battle—Fate of Sikonyela—Memorials against abandonment—Investigation of charges made against the emigrant farmers—Meeting of the two assemblies at Bloemfontein in February 1854—Dissolution of the obstructionist assembly by Sir George Clerk—Agreement with the well-disposed assembly—Terms of the convention—Negotiations with Adam Kok—Failure of the mission of Messrs. Murray and Fraser.

THE disaffected farmers in the Sovereignty were now in a comparatively helpless position. They accused Mr. Pretorius

of having betrayed them, by agreeing with her Majesty's government to terms in which they were not included. He replied that he could do nothing for them unless they chose to move across the Vaal, but there they would be welcomed and would have ground assigned to them. Many therefore crossed the river. The assistant commissioners inflicted fines upon all who remained who could be proved to have ignored British authority, and by this means raised a sum of rather over 2,000*l*.

It was at this time by no means certain whether the Sovereignty would be retained as a British dependency, or be given up. On the 21st of October 1851 Earl Grey had written to Sir Harry Smith that 'its ultimate abandonment should be a settled point in the imperial policy.' The assistant commissioners, however, were convinced that British authority could not be withdrawn without breaking faith with many people, both white and black, and they were doing their utmost to put things in such order that the secretary of state might be induced to reverse his decision.

Immediately after the Sand River convention was signed they made an attempt to open up negotiations with Moshesh. They invited him and Molitsane to meet them at Winburg on the 22nd of January, but both the chiefs made excuses for not appearing. Moshesh expressed himself desirous of a meeting, but submitted several reasons why he could not go to Winburg, and requested that the conference might take place at Mekuatleng or Lishuane. The commissioners would not agree to this, lest they should seem at the outset to be willing to make any concessions demanded of them; but they postponed the meeting to the 30th, in order to give Moshesh time to consult his sub-chiefs, as he stated he wished to do. He and Molitsane still declined to appear in person, though they sent messengers with long and carefully drawn-up statements of all the important events that had occurred in connection with their tribes during the preceding twenty years.

At length, however, Moshesh named as delegates his

brother Moperi and his sons Molapo and Masupha, and a formal meeting was held at Winburg on the 7th of February. Molitsane appeared in person, and with him were his son Moiketsi and his nephew David Raliye. The reverend Mr. Daumas acted as interpreter. A lengthy discussion took place, at the close of which the commissioners stated the terms on which peace would be made. These were embodied in a document, which was signed by all the delegates on the 10th of February. In this agreement the Basuto and Bataung chiefs undertook to restore the balance of the plunder in their hands. The number of cattle to be given up was not, however, stated.

Immediately after the meeting Major Hogg went to Thaba Bosigo with the object of inducing Moshesh to fulfil the promises made by his delegates on his behalf. In an interview with the chief on the 12th he stated that after a thorough investigation of all that had taken place, he was of opinion that the grievances complained of by the Basuto were well founded, and he was therefore prepared to redress them. Moshesh expressed himself highly pleased with this admission, and on the 15th he and his son Letsie affixed their marks to the Winburg agreement.

On the 22nd of February Major Hogg met Moshesh again, at Bolokwane, near the Orange river. There were many Basuto present at this conference, which was held purposely to let all the people know the arrangements proposed by the commissioner and agreed to by the chief. Briefly stated, the offer made by Major Hogg was: to dismiss Major Warden, the British resident; to place Captain Bailie of the Fingo levies under arrest, to cause a thorough investigation into his conduct to be made, and to restore to their relatives certain Tembu children disposed of by him and Poshuli; to consider the boundary line between the Lesuto and the Caledon River district, as laid down by Major Warden and confirmed by Sir Harry Smith, to be no longer binding; to consider and treat the petty chiefs Poshuli and Morosi in future as subjects of

Moshesh ; to do away with all the boundaries proclaimed between the petty clans and the Basuto, retaining only the outer line as a division between Europeans and blacks ; and, finally, to interfere no more in purely native quarrels, but to leave the contending parties to settle their own disputes. In return for all these concessions, Major Hogg merely asked that the Winburg agreement should be carried out, and that a new line between the Basuto and the Europeans in the Caledon River district should be made and respected by the chief and his people.

Moshesh declared that he was perfectly satisfied, but whatever his own feelings were, the Basuto tribe was not disposed to make the slightest sacrifice in order to restore tranquillity to the country. All accepted the concessions of the assistant commissioner as a matter of course, but none were willing to surrender the captured cattle or to make compensation from their own herds. And Moshesh certainly had no means of compelling them to do so, for his authority rested entirely upon public opinion.

Of all the chiefs known to us at that time he was the one who could least afford to disregard the inclinations of his subjects. Every other prominent native ruler, both along the coast and in the interior, governed by hereditary right, but Moshesh had little claim on that ground. His own father was still living, representatives of elder branches of his family were numerous. Like all the paramount chiefs of Bantu tribes, he was merely the head of a number of clans, each with very large powers of self-government. Every one of his sub-chiefs expected to be consulted on all matters of importance, and if his advice was neglected, gave no assistance to his superior. Such a position, always a weak one, was made doubly so in Moshesh's case by the fact of his filling it merely because the different sections of the tribe accepted him as their head. In agreement with them he was strong, in opposition to them he was powerless.

To carry out the Winburg agreement to the satisfaction of the assistant commissioners, it would have been necessary

for Moshesh and Molitsane to give up several thousand head of cattle, together with at least a thousand horses, instead of which the two chiefs only sent in between them about two hundred cattle and a hundred and twenty horses, and these the most wretched animals in the country.

Still Moshesh continued to profess the strongest desire for peace and friendship with all men, and particularly with the British government. Mr. Owen wrote to him that he would not make any alteration in the boundary until the farmers' losses were compensated in full, and Moshesh then proposed that the farmers should go into his country, without giving any one but himself notice, and identify their cattle. The commissioner would not agree to this proposal, as he feared it would lead to disturbances, and it was also evident that the cattle were closely guarded in places difficult of access.

After this no further effort was made on either side towards the restoration of the stolen stock. On the 9th of June 1852 Major Hogg died suddenly in Bloemfontein, and Advocate J. W. Ebdon, his successor as assistant commissioner, was not appointed until the 22nd of September. Mr. Owen, who during this period was left to act by himself, considered it useless as well as humiliating to correspond longer on the subject with the Basuto chief, in whose professions he put not the slightest confidence, and who he was convinced could not be induced to give up the booty without force.

During this time thefts continued, though occasional spasmodic efforts were made by Moshesh to suppress them. On one occasion he restored sixty stolen horses to their owner, and punished one of the thieves with death. But constant vigilance was not displayed to prevent such acts, and robbers generally were left unscathed.

Sikonyela, who had never ceased his plundering forays, now drew upon himself the vengeance of his enemies. In May 1852 the district occupied by the Batlokua was overrun by a Basuto army under Moshesh in person, some fifty

warriors were killed, immense herds of cattle were seized, and large quantities of grain were carried away or destroyed. Sikonyela, who had but one stronghold left, was compelled to sue for peace. Moshesh was not unwilling to try to convert his old enemy into an obedient vassal, and granted him terms which under the circumstances were exceedingly liberal.

Shortly after this the half-breeds of Carolus Baatje, having obtained a supply of ammunition from Major Warden, made a sudden raid into Molitsane's district and swept off three thousand head of horned cattle and two hundred and eighty horses, with which booty they got safely away. The issue of ammunition to these raiders was nearly the last act of Major Warden as British resident. It was in direct antagonism to the principles which actuated the imperial authorities at the time, and would have made his retirement necessary even if instructions had not already been received from England concerning his removal. On the 23rd of July he was succeeded by Mr. Henry Green, previously an officer in the commissariat department. An executive council was at the same time appointed. It consisted of the British resident as presiding officer and five members named by the high commissioner.

The raid by the Platberg half-breeds was avenged by the Basuto upon the Barolong. A strong force under Masupha fell upon Moroko's cattle posts and carried off a large booty.

At this stage Mr. Owen abandoned all hope of restoring order. In a report to the high commissioner he expressed an opinion that the Sovereignty could not be maintained with dignity without the presence of a considerable armed force, and unless this expense was incurred it should be abandoned.

Shortly after the assumption by Sir George Cathcart of the duties of high commissioner, he requested Mr. Owen to convene a meeting of representatives to ascertain the opinion of the European inhabitants on the question whether Great Britain held the country with their concurrence or not. In

every ward representatives were elected on the principle of manhood suffrage, and on the 21st of June they met in Bloemfontein. There were seventy-nine members present. They chose Dr. A. J. Fraser as chairman, and during three days deliberated on the important matters submitted to them. The conclusion which they arrived at was in favour of the retention of British authority.

The three years having expired for which the members of the legislative council had been appointed, they desired that a legislative assembly, chiefly elective and composed of one member for each fieldcornetcy and seat of magistracy, with an additional member for Bloemfontein, should be established in its stead. The only non-elective members they thought should be the civil commissioners, to whom they proposed to give deliberative power, but not votes. They desired that a recorder's court should be substituted for the court of combined magistrates.

An important question laid before the assembly by Mr. Owen was 'whether the inhabitants of the Sovereignty would be willing to place themselves under a commando law to punish the aggressions of her Majesty's enemies, provided the policy of non-interference in the disputes of the native tribes were strictly adhered to, and with the proviso that the burghers should not be called out in any case except with the consent of the council?'

Sixty-nine votes were given in the affirmative, but with conditions attached. Thirty-five were in favour of it 'provided the government would assist them with a sufficient number of troops.' Thirty-four were in favour of it 'provided the existing disputes with Moshesh were first settled, and that five hundred soldiers were permanently stationed in the Sovereignty.'

A few members, representing the party which termed itself the philanthropists, maintained that it was the duty of Great Britain and of the European colonists to prevent inter-tribal wars. The Sovereignty government, they admitted, had broken down in trying to keep peace among the clans

along the Caledon, but that was because the mother country had not provided more soldiers and the farmers had not turned out in force to aid Major Warden. The consequence of non-interference, they asserted, would be the frequent precipitation of bands of fugitives upon the Europeans. It could never be supposed that a Christian community would attempt to force men, much less women and children, fleeing for their lives, to keep within a fixed boundary, without restraining their enemies. The system advocated by some, of receiving such fugitives, giving them small locations, imposing upon them a labour tax, and taking possession of the ground from which they had been driven, would never be allowed by England. Non-interference was thus not possible in practice.

This line of argument was that adopted of recent years by the missionaries with the weaker clans, but one searches in vain in the writings of those among the powerful tribes for similar views and expressions. It is observable also that some of those who, ten years earlier, were the advocates of the formation of great native states, were now the firmest upholders of the duty of Europeans to protect the weak clans against the strong.

During the session of the assembly Commandant-General Pretorius visited Bloemfontein, where he was received by the government with every mark of honour. At Mr. Owen's request he delivered an address to the representatives of the people, in which he counselled moderation and straightforwardness in all they did, but made no attempt to influence their decisions in any way.

It was now agreed by every one that nothing but physical force would bring the Basuto to terms. General Cathcart therefore resolved to visit the Sovereignty at the head of a strong body of troops, for the purpose of restoring British prestige. Having established on the eastern colonial frontier a condition of affairs which he called peace, he prepared to carry out this project in the last months of 1852.

In November of this year a splendidly equipped force,

consisting of nearly two thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, with two field-guns, marched by way of Burghersdorp to the banks of the Caledon. The governor hoped that the mere presence of such a body of troops would enable him to settle everything to his satisfaction, without the necessity of having recourse to hostilities. In a message to Moshesh, he informed that chief that upon himself would depend whether he should be treated as an enemy or not. And in a proclamation which he issued before he left the colony he announced that he was not going to make war, but to settle all disputes and establish the blessings of peace.

The army crossed the Orange without any difficulty, as the river was low, and then marched along the Caledon. On the 2nd of December General Cathcart sent forward summonses to Moshesh, Molitsane, Sikonyela, Moroko, and Gert Taaibosch, to meet him at Platberg on the 13th, and at the same time he appointed a commission to examine into and report upon the number of cattle stolen and the question of the retention or alteration of Major Warden's boundary line. The assistant commissioners Owen and Ebden, and Mr. Green, the British resident, after devoting six days to the consideration of these matters, delivered a report, in which they estimated the losses sustained through the depredations of the Basuto and Bataung at 25,000*l.*, and recommended that a demand should be made upon Moshesh for ten thousand head of full-grown cattle and fifteen hundred horses as compensation. They further advised that the chief should be required to surrender five hundred stand of arms as a token of submission and desire for peace, and that the boundary line of Major Warden should not be disturbed.

On the morning of the 13th the army arrived at Platberg, and encamped at the Wesleyan mission station, which was found deserted by every one except the reverend Mr. Giddy. Not one of the chiefs was there to meet the governor. Sikonyela sent an excuse that he dared not come, through fear of Moshesh. The Caledon being in flood, the Basuto

chief could not attend had he wished to do so. In the evening two of his sons swam over, and they remained in the camp that night, but the governor declined to admit them to an interview. On the 14th Mr. Owen returned with Moshesh's sons to Thaba Bosigo, carrying a letter from General Cathcart declaring that the time of talking was past, and demanding the delivery of ten thousand head of cattle and one thousand horses within three days, under penalty of being attacked.

Besides this, Moshesh was called upon, under penalty of the destruction of his tribe at some future time, to comply with the following requirements of the governor :—

1. The restoration to Sikonyela of the cattle taken from him, and peace with that chief.

2. The restoration of Platberg to the people of Carolus Baatje.

3. Observance of the boundaries fixed by Sir Harry Smith.

4. Peace with all the neighbouring peoples, and the cessation on the part of the Basuto of being a nation of thieves.

On the 15th Moshesh visited the camp, and a conference took place between him and the governor, in presence of the principal officers attending the English general. Among these were the assistant commissioners Owen and Ebdon, a brother of Lord John Russell acting as aide-de-camp, and the colonels Eyre, Cloete, and Bruce. Messrs. Casalis and Dyke accompanied the chief, the former of whom acted as interpreter. General Cathcart was unwilling to abate his demands. The chief, as usual, dwelt upon the blessings of peace, and stated that he had not power to collect as many cattle as were required in so short a time. He informed the governor in figurative language that an advance into the country would be resisted, as a dog when beaten will show his teeth. He promised, however, to do his best to meet the demand made upon him, but all that he obtained by his visit to the governor was an extension of time by one day.

The Basuto as a tribe preferred a trial of strength to the surrender of so many cattle and horses. They could have collected three times the number in twenty-four hours had they been so disposed, but there were few among them willing to purchase peace at so high a price. Moshesh personally was in favour of yielding, for he dreaded a contest with the English general as the greatest of misfortunes. It might cause the dismemberment of his tribe, it certainly would bring loss to himself. And therefore he did all that was possible under the circumstances, with the result that on the 18th his son Nehemiah was able to deliver at the camp three thousand five hundred head of cattle. Moshesh, it may be, thought that these would be received as sufficient for the present, and that the balance would be allowed to stand over.

On the 17th General Cathcart sent a small supply of ammunition to Sikonyela, with a message that he would expect assistance from him in the event of hostilities with the Basuto. But he was unwilling to complicate matters by employing any other native forces, and he issued positive orders to Moroko to take no part in the war. Of the cattle brought in by Nehemiah, he gave a thousand head to Moroko, two hundred and fifty to Carolus Baatje, and two hundred and fifty to Gert Taaibosch, sending those chiefs with the whole herd to Bloemfontein, and thus getting them out of the way.

On Sunday, the 19th, as no more cattle had arrived, General Cathcart issued orders for his cavalry and a brigade of infantry to march to the ford of the Caledon opposite the mission station of Berea, and encamp there. In the evening of this day, Moperi, brother of Moshesh, and the reverend Mr. Maitin waited upon the governor, by whom they were politely received. Moperi assured General Cathcart that Moshesh was doing everything in his power to collect the cattle required, and entreated him to suspend hostilities a little longer. He and the missionary left with the impression that their desire might possibly be acceded

to; but they must have mistaken the governor's reply, for that night the final orders to advance were issued.

At daybreak on the morning of Monday the 20th of December 1852, the British forces, leaving the camp protected by a strong guard, crossed the Caledon at the ford which has ever since been known as Cathcart's drift. Between them and Thaba Bosigo lay the Berea mountain, a long, irregular, table-topped mass of rock with precipitous sides. The mountain was seen to be covered with thousands of cattle. The troops were formed in three divisions, the plan of action being that one of these should march over the mountain, and one on each side, so as to secure the herds, and then to meet in front of the great chief's residence.

The cavalry brigade was composed of men of the 12th lancers and Cape mounted rifles, and was about two hundred and fifty strong. It was under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Napier. This division was ordered to march round the northern base of the Berea, but it had not proceeded far when it was tempted by the sight of the cattle to ascend the hill. Officers and men alike held the Basuto military power in the lightest esteem, and regarded the march as a pleasant excursion in which they were likely to get a good quantity of spoil without any hard blows. And the morning was well advanced before they were undeceived, for they met no opposition until they were in possession of a large herd of cattle.

Up to this time the only Basuto encountered were a multitude of terror-stricken women and children fleeing with such of their household goods as they could hastily lay hands upon. But hardly had the cattle been turned to be driven down the hill towards the drift, when a force of about seven hundred Basuto and Bataung horsemen under Molapo and the sons of Molitsane, that had hitherto been unobserved, made a sudden charge upon the scattered troops. All would have been lost but for the coolness and bravery of Colonel Napier, who collected a little band about him and tried to keep the enemy at bay until the stragglers could

rally or escape. The cattle were rushing down the mountain, and lancers and riflemen were following them. One small party mistook a ravine behind the mission station for the path by which they had ascended, and found themselves surrounded by enemies when they reached the bottom.

The little band under the gallant colonel kept the main Basuto force at a respectful distance, but detached parties of light horsemen pursued the retreating troops. Twenty-seven lancers and five riflemen were cut off. Several were killed close to the mission station. Fortunately, intelligence of the disaster was conveyed in time to the camp, and a company of the 74th highlanders was sent to Colonel Napier's assistance, which enabled him to fall back without further loss. He reached the camp with a herd of four thousand head of horned cattle, besides a few horses and some sheep and goats. Only four Basuto fell in this engagement, though when he prepared his report the colonel was under an impression that a large number had been killed.

Another of the three divisions was under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre. It consisted of two hundred and seventy-one men of the 73rd regiment, one hundred and two of the 43rd, ninety of the rifle brigade, thirteen artillerymen, twelve Cape mounted riflemen, and eleven of the 12th lancers, in all four hundred and ninety-nine rank and file, besides a few mounted Fingos to be employed as cattle herds. This division was under orders to march along the flat top of the Berea, driving the cattle before it, and effecting a junction with the other brigades before Thaba Bosigo.

On reaching the mountain where the path he had selected winds up it, Colonel Eyre found a Basuto force threatening to prevent his advance. The position occupied by the enemy was a strong one, but it was found possible to send detachments up in other places to turn it, so that the troops reached the summit with very little loss. On the plateau they found some thirty thousand head of cattle, of which they took possession, but these immense herds were unmanageable, and much time was lost in vainly endeavouring

to drive them onward. While the troops were thus engaged, Molapo's horsemen suddenly dashed upon them. The foremost men of the enemy were dressed in the uniforms of the lancers whom they had killed a couple of hours earlier, and carried their weapons, so that the soldiers mistook them for friends till they were close by. They cut off two or three men, and took Captain Faunce, an officer of the 73rd, prisoner.

All the cattle, except a herd of about fifteen hundred, were now abandoned, the brigade was called together and got into fighting order, and the onward march was resumed. But it was no longer the pleasant excursion that the soldiers had called it in the morning. The Basuto and Bataung under Molapo, seven or eight hundred strong, mounted on hardy ponies, and elated with their recent success, charged upon the detachment wherever the ground favoured them. The form and order of a body of disciplined troops were such, however, as to enable them easily to keep light cavalry at a distance, and about five o'clock in the afternoon Colonel Eyre effected a junction with the third division. The loss on the English side was five men killed and one officer made prisoner; of the Basuto eleven warriors were killed.

The remaining division was under command of General Cathcart in person. When it left the camp it consisted of rather less than three hundred troops, composed of a detachment of the 12th lancers, a detachment of Cape mounted riflemen, two companies of the 43rd, and some artillerymen with two field-pieces; but a little later in the day it was strengthened by another company of the 43rd, drawn from Colonel Eyre's brigade. It moved along the western and southern base of the Berea, and met with no molestation beyond an occasional shot fired from a distance, until about two o'clock, when it halted near the mission station of Thaba Bosigo. Here the three columns should have formed a junction, but one of them had already fallen back to the camp, and another was still miles away endeavouring to secure cattle.

At Thaba Bosigo a force of six thousand horsemen had assembled, all well armed with European weapons. They were not, however, trained to act in concert, and were consequently at an enormous disadvantage in a pitched battle with European troops. They approached in dense masses, but few of them came within rifle range. The most daring body was led by Nehemiah, whose horse was shot under him. Very heavy firing was kept up on both sides for more than two hours, with hardly any result. Yet it was a terrible position that General Cathcart's little band was in. So vastly outnumbered was it that only bravery and discipline prevented Isandlwana being anticipated by a generation in South Africa.

About half past four in the afternoon a thunderstorm, such as at that season of the year is of frequent occurrence in the Lesuto, burst over Thaba Bosigo; and while it lasted the firing ceased. But as soon as the sun came out again, the dense masses of Basuto horsemen were seen advancing in greater strength and more perfect order than before. Just at this critical moment, however, Colonel Eyre's column made its appearance, and speedily effected a junction with the commander-in-chief.

As night was falling, General Cathcart took up a position at an abandoned kraal among rocks where it would be difficult to attack him. The enemy followed, still keeping up a heavy fire from a distance, and it was not until eight o'clock that the rattle of musketry ceased.

In this engagement the casualties on the English side were two officers—one of whom was a nephew of the duke of Wellington—and six privates wounded, making the whole day's losses thirty-seven killed and fifteen wounded. The Basuto loss in warriors was twenty killed and the same number wounded. But this was not the whole, for a good many of their women were killed and wounded by our troops in the early part of the day. It is not the custom of these people to place their women in safety before an engagement, and it has often been found impossible to avoid killing them.

On this occasion many of them fell under the fire of the artillery. Whether the others were mistaken for men, or whether they were shot down indiscriminately by soldiers of the divisions under Colonel Napier and Colonel Eyre when not under their officers' eyes, will never be positively known. General Cathcart believed the last supposition to be the correct one, and expressed his deep regret on account of it. Captain Faunce, who was made prisoner by Molapo's horsemen, was murdered in revenge by relatives of some of the women killed, and his body was afterwards mutilated.

At daybreak on the morning of the 21st the general left the kraal where he had passed the night, and began his march back to the camp on the Caledon. A strong Basuto force marched in a parallel line along the top of the Berea to observe his movements, but did not attempt to molest him.

The night after the battle was one of anxiety for Moshesh as well as for General Cathcart. Our troops had fallen back, and our dead were lying unburied where they fell, but Moshesh was wise enough to see that his army was not a match for even that little band which was bivouacked not far away, still less then for the enormous reserves that he knew the governor could bring against him. The cool determined stand of the British infantry against the overwhelming forces that threatened them had made a deep impression upon the Basuto. They had not expected to see an unbroken line of fire and steel, but a rabble of dismayed fugitives entirely at their mercy. Already Moshesh heard his people talk of abandoning the open country, betaking themselves with their belongings to the most inaccessible mountains, and there acting on the defensive only.

At midnight the chief sent two of his attendants for Mr. Casalis. Under the eye of the missionary—in his account of these events he does not say to his dictation, but that may be inferred—Nehemiah wrote in his father's name the most politic document that has ever been penned in South Africa. It is impossible to condense it or to paraphrase its terse expressions without marring its effect.

‘THABA BOSIGO, Midnight,

‘20th December, 1852.

‘YOUR EXCELLENCY,—This day you have fought against my people, and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to have a compensation for boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you,—you have shown your power, you have chastised,—let it be enough, I pray you; and let me be no longer considered an enemy to the queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.

‘Your humble servant,

‘MOSHESH.’

It was some time before a messenger could be found who would venture near the English sentries, and when at length one left Thaba Bosigo with a flag of truce, General Cathcart was already retiring to his camp on the Caledon. The messenger followed and delivered the letter.

The English general, on his part, was not less anxious for peace than was Moshesh. He too had been deceived in the strength of the enemy, and he dreaded a war with a tribe so highly organised, so well armed, and with such strong natural fortresses. In his opinion there was nothing to be gained by such a war that could be placed in the balance against its difficulties and its cost. And so he eagerly availed himself of the opening for escape from a grave difficulty which Moshesh’s letter afforded. It gave him the privilege of using the language of a conqueror, and in such language he declared that he was satisfied with the number of cattle captured, that he considered past obligations fulfilled, and that he would send the army away and go back to the colony in a few days.

There was murmuring in the camp when this was known, for the fiery spirited among the officers and men were eager to avenge their fallen comrades and retrieve the check they had sustained. Colonel Eyre begged hard to be allowed to plant an ensign on Thaba Bosigo, or to perish

in the attempt. Other officers spoke bitterly of the disgrace of retreating and leaving the people of the Sovereignty to their fate, after making demands upon Moshesh which were not complied with. Mr. Owen delivered a written protest in strong words against the cessation of hostilities under such circumstances. General Cathcart, however, was determined not to involve the empire in an expensive war, and so he proclaimed peace with the Basuto.

On the 24th Mr. Owen paid a visit to Moshesh at Thaba Bosigo. The chief received him with civility and respect, and expressed his joy that he was no longer regarded as an enemy of the queen. He directed his sons Nehemiah and Masupha with a party of men to accompany Mr. Owen and the reverend Messrs. Casalis and Dyke over the battlefield, where the bodies of our slain soldiers were sought for, and such as could be found were decently interred.

Three days after the conclusion of peace the camp was broken up, and the army began its return march down the Caledon. A garrison of three hundred men in all, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was left to protect the Queen's fort in Bloemfontein. The Europeans in the Sovereignty were empowered to organise for their own defence in case the Basuto should attempt to overrun the country, and they were then left to take care of themselves as best they could. Before the end of the month the army had reached the Orange on its way back to the colony.

The consternation among the whites and those blacks who had aided the government was extreme. There was a great outcry about the disgrace to the empire of such a proceeding, but General Cathcart shut his ears to it all. Then followed petitions, signed even by men of such tried attachment to the English government as Mr. J. I. J. Fick, begging for military protection, or that the inhabitants might be left without interference of any kind to settle matters and to defend themselves in their own way. The latter of these alternatives was what the imperial authorities were about to comply with, for as soon as the news of Berea

reached England, the duke of Newcastle wrote to the high commissioner that 'her Majesty's government had decided to withdraw from the Orange River Sovereignty.' In Sir George Cathcart's despatches he described the encounter as a victory and his proclamation of peace as a satisfactory settlement, but the secretary of state was not deceived.

Yet it would be unjust to accuse the English minister of heartlessly leaving a few white people to the mercy of an opponent as strong as Moshesh, without looking at the question from his point of view also. In England it was generally believed that the war with the Basuto had been undertaken on behalf of the European settlers, and it was remembered that little more than four years had elapsed since a strong force had been moved to the Sovereignty to establish the queen's authority over the farmers. The opinion was freely expressed that they had got themselves into a mess, and ought to be left to get out of it as best they could, without expense to the British taxpayer. That the war had been undertaken by the representatives of the imperial authorities in opposition to the desire of the entire white population of the territory, a few missionaries and sympathisers with their views only excepted, was unknown in England. To conquer the Basuto would require many men and much treasure. The nation would be unwilling to bear the charge. The few English in the Sovereignty could be bought out. The farmers could return to the Cape Colony or go over the Vaal, if they could not take care of themselves. And so the ministry came to the conclusion that the best thing to do was to withdraw from the Sovereignty.

Immediately after the battle Moshesh sent messengers to the chiefs of the tribes far and near, to inform them that he had gained a great victory and had driven the English forces from his country. This version of what had taken place was universally credited, for it seemed to be verified by General Cathcart's speedy return to the colony. The reputation for power of the Basuto and their chief was from

this date greatly enhanced among the neighbouring tribes, though it was believed that their success was due less to prowess than to some magic substance employed against the white men.

Moshesh next requested the missionaries to appoint a day of thanksgiving to God for the restoration of peace, and required his people to observe it in a devout manner. But before the services were held, all who had been present at Berea observed the ancient ceremony of standing in battle array in a stream into which their priests threw charms to prevent the ghosts of those they had killed working evil upon them. Thus, too, they believed that they pacified the shades of their ancestors, for these would be wroth if the ancient customs were not observed.

Moshesh, notwithstanding his patronage of the missionaries, had really lost none of his faith in the religion of the Bantu, and was as fearful of offending the mighty dead as the most ignorant of his followers could have been. He always maintained to his people that he was a favourite with the spirits of their ancestors, and under their special guidance. There was a long period of his life when the missionaries believed that his vigorous mind rejected the Bantu belief in witchcraft and charms, and that he merely professed before his subjects to be a conservative in these matters, from diplomatic views. He was at this time fond of quoting passages from the bible, of the historical portions of which he had acquired a very considerable knowledge. Like all other individuals of the Bantu race in South Africa, he had no difficulty in reconciling a belief in the existence of one supreme God with the existence of protecting ancestral shades, but this great deity was to him a being who acted pretty much as mortals do, only with illimitable power. In his old age Moshesh was completely under the influence of Bantu priests, and as he at no time discarded them, it is not likely that he was ever troubled with feelings of scepticism. He showed himself to every one in the most advantageous light: to General Cathcart as a vanquished man begging for

peace and friendship, to his fellow-chiefs as a conqueror who had delivered his country from an invader, to the missionaries as a hopeful pupil, and to his people as a strict observer of their national customs.

Towards his neighbours in the Sovereignty he acted with greater moderation than might have been expected. The farmers on his border were subjected to many petty annoyances, but they were not driven from their homes, nor for many months were their herds molested. The Barolong under Moroko were permitted to retain possession of Thaba Ntshu, and were left undisturbed except by occasional thefts of cattle. The half-breeds were treated with equal consideration. Across the Orange, Morosi was restrained from plundering the people of Albert, who had suffered unceasingly from his depredations ever since the engagement at Viervoet.

This politic conduct of Moshesh and his people enabled the governor to affirm in his despatches that matters were in a satisfactory condition. Moroko rejected the small subsidy offered to him, and claimed restitution of all he had lost; Carolus Baatje acted in a similar manner; the farmers who had obeyed Major Warden's call to arms spoke sullenly and bitterly of the consequences of their loyalty; while General Cathcart was writing that all claims upon the British government had been sufficiently compensated and all wrongs had been redressed, that unless the colonists were the aggressors he anticipated such a degree of security and peace as had not been experienced since the establishment of her Majesty's rule in the Sovereignty.

Henceforth no interference was attempted by the government in matters solely affecting the coloured clans. Advice, indeed, was freely tendered to the different chiefs, but little or no notice was taken of it. They were left to arrange their relationship to each other as they chose, or as best they were able. The farmers were recommended to submit patiently to annoyances that could not be checked.

A few weeks after the battle of Berea the Korana captain

Gert Taaibosch returned to the Lesuto border, bringing with him in addition to his own followers a party of vagrants whom he had collected beyond the Vaal. These vagabonds were all well mounted, and being expert cattle-lifters, their neighbourhood necessarily became a scene of disorder. Sikonyela, who was still brooding with all the bitterness of wounded pride over his defeat and humiliation by Moshesh in the preceding winter, at once joined his forces to those of Taaibosch, and together they commenced a series of raids upon the nearest Bataung and Basuto kraals.

Moshesh contented himself with remonstrances and appeals to his enemies to keep the peace. He was endeavouring to form a coalition of all the clans in and around the Lesuto under his own leadership, and was therefore doing whatever he could to prevent them wasting their strength against each other. But the views of Taaibosch and Sikonyela were too limited and their repugnance to control of any kind was too great to allow of their entering into such a plan.

It will be remembered that when the Bataung chief Makwana sold the country between the Vet and Vaal rivers to the farmers, he reserved for his people a location at the head of Coalspruit. There he had died, and there his son and successor Tulu with his people had ever since been living.

Tulu was too weak to cause uneasiness to any one, and was living in fancied security when, in April 1853, he was attacked without warning by Sikonyela and Taaibosch, aided by a few renegade whites. The Bataung could make no resistance. They were despoiled of everything they possessed, and were obliged to abandon the location and take refuge with their kinsmen under Molitsane at Me-kuatling.

The marauders next made a raid upon a chief named Witsi, who occupied the tract of country still known as Witsi's Hoek, on the Natal border, north of the Lesuto. This chief and his people at an earlier date formed part

of a coast tribe that had been dispersed in the convulsions caused by Tshaka, and they had only been living a short time on the inland side of the mountains. The district in which they resided, indeed, had been given out in farms by the Sovereignty government, but the European occupants had been obliged to withdraw from it. The people of Witsi bore an evil reputation among their neighbours, European and coloured. The chief was not a vassal of Moshesh, though living in friendship with him and to some extent under his influence. The Korana and Batlokua raiders seized a large herd of cattle, but were pursued by the people they had plundered, who retook their stock and drove off the robbers.

The victory of the Basuto at Viervoet and the subsequent attitude of Moshesh towards the Sovereignty government had a disturbing effect upon the tribes as far as the Limpopo. Especially was this the case with the Bapedi, between whom and Moshesh's people there was the warmest sympathy. Sekwati, the Bapedi chief, began to think that as the southern Basuto had successfully resisted the white man, he might do the same. He had a country similarly fortified by nature to fight in, and he had recently obtained a good many guns. With these weapons, which they had not yet learned to use properly, the Bapedi were really not more formidable than with assagais and battle-axes; but the possession of guns with them, as with all native tribes, increased their confidence in themselves and created a warlike spirit.

The Sand River convention had hardly been signed when the question of arming the natives came up for discussion between the Transvaal government and the high commissioner. Commandant-General Pretorius complained that English hunters and traders were in the habit of entering the country north of the Vaal by the lower road, and that by keeping along the line of mission stations which had recently been established in the west of the republic, they

made their way to the interior, and supplied the tribes there with firearms and ammunition in defiance of the sixth clause of the convention. He requested that such persons should be required to pass through Potchefstroom, both in going and returning, that the number of their guns might be checked; and he notified that the lower road was closed. The high commissioner regarded these precautions as reasonable and necessary for the security of the new state, but the hunters and traders paid no regard to them.

There was no time to be lost. Prudence demanded that the danger should be suppressed before it attained larger dimensions. The Bapedi, feeling confidence in their strength, had already commenced to rob the neighbouring farmers of cattle, so the volksraad instructed Commandant-General Potgieter to proceed against them, exact compensation for the robberies, and disarm them. For this purpose the burghers of Zoutpansberg were called out.

On the 25th of August 1852 the commando reached the foot of the mountain on which Sekwati resided, and which he had strongly fortified. The place was held by a large garrison, and there were many thousands of cattle on it, so that there was no fear of hunger; but water was wanting. Potgieter had with him the commandants Schoeman and Van Wyk, six other officers, and three hundred and fifteen burghers. He invested the stronghold by stationing a guard at each opening to the summit, and then sent a message to Sekwati requiring him to surrender his guns. The answer of the chief was short and to the point: 'Come and take them.'

A close inspection showed that the mountain could not be carried by storm. Every approach was fortified with strong stone walls, behind which were warriors armed with guns, who could also roll down boulders on an advancing force. The commandant-general therefore resolved to blockade it closely, and to send out a patrol under Schoeman to scour the neighbouring country.

Commandant Schoeman found every hill defended by armed forces, and it was not without difficulty that he

succeeded in getting possession of several of them. During nine days he was almost constantly skirmishing, but in that time he secured five thousand head of horned cattle, six thousand sheep and goats, nine guns, and some ammunition, with a loss of one burgher—Stephanus Fouche—killed and three wounded.

On the third day of the investment of his stronghold Sekwati asked for peace, but refused to give up his guns. The want of water on the mountain was already causing much suffering. The commandant-general declined to grant any terms short of complete disarmament, and so the blockade continued. During the nights parties of women and children were sent out to obtain water. At first the burgher guards allowed the famished creatures to pass down, but not to return, till it was discovered that men were making their way out in this manner, when no more were permitted to go by.

Mr. Potgieter, who was in delicate health when the expedition left home, now became so seriously ill as to be unable to direct operations any longer. Mr. Schoeman therefore took the chief command. There was little else to do than to guard the outlets, and let thirst destroy the garrison. Women, children, and cattle were dying for want of water. Blood was the only liquid that kept life in the warriors. The burghers were not one to twenty of the men whose wives and children were thus famishing, and they were scattered about in little pickets, while the whole Bapedi force could be directed to one point. Under such circumstances, it might be expected that the most arrant cowards would have cut their way out; but the Bapedi, so confident when danger was at a distance, had now lost heart, and, except with women and children in front of them, did not dare to meet the farmers' bullets. Twenty days the blockade lasted. How many human beings perished cannot be stated with any pretension to accuracy, but the number must have been large. The air was polluted with the stench of thousands of dead cattle.

On the twentieth day a heavy storm of rain fell. Ammunition was becoming scarce in the farmers' camp, the horses were dying, and many of the men were sick. All were weary of the excessive discomfort to which they had been subject, and all were of opinion that the punishment of the Bapedi had been sufficiently severe. Commandant Schoeman therefore retired, and the burghers were disbanded. The main object of the expedition—the disarmament of the Bapedi—had not been attained. But Sekwati had been so chastised that it was long before his people troubled the farmers again.

Another military expedition of the same time was that against the Bakwena, which, owing to the destruction of Dr. Livingstone's property, has been heard of in every land where the English language is spoken.

The Bakwena tribe was one of those which had been nearly annihilated by Moselekatse. A remnant only escaped by taking refuge in the desert, where the Matabele could not follow, owing to their ignorance of the watering places. When Moselekatse was driven away, this remnant returned to its former home, and received from Mr. Potgieter permission to remain there. Being at a considerable distance from the settlement along the Mooi river, no labour tax was imposed upon the Bakwena, who were left in virtual independence. The only restriction placed upon them was that they should not possess guns, horses, or waggons, the object being to prevent them from acquiring military power. Their chief, Setyeli by name, was a man who in mental ability ranked among the southern Bantu second only to Moshesh, though he was considerably behind the great Mosuto.

In 1845 the reverend Dr. Livingstone had established a mission with Setyeli, and had acquired most astonishing influence over him. Far and wide it was told in the country that the chief of the Bakwena had been bewitched by a white man, who had him under complete control.

By the missionary's advice Setyeli had moved from the location assigned to him by Mr. Potgieter, and had esta-

blished himself on the Kolobeng river some forty miles to the westward, where water could be led out for irrigating purposes and where the tribe was at a greater distance from the farmers. Here Setyeli, or his missionary in his name, claimed to be perfectly independent.

In all South Africa there was no man more disliked by the farmers than the reverend Dr. Livingstone. His great abilities and his partisanship of the blacks brought him into prominence, while his disregard of the sentiments of the white inhabitants of the country and his want of sympathy with them caused him to be regarded as a formidable opponent. In the second chapter of his *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* he has given ample illustration of this. By the farmers he was not then, nor has he at any time since been, considered a missionary in the sense of being an instructor of the heathen in divine truths. Report and common belief represented him as bent upon arming the tribe and instigating the chief to oppose the republican government. The great contrast between the conduct of the Bakwena during his residence with them and the period when they were under the guidance of a German missionary was pointed out years later in the volksraad and by the press as proving beyond doubt that the opinions of 1845-52 were correct. Whether they were well founded or not is difficult to determine. That he carried on a trade in guns and ammunition, at any rate to a large extent, is not probable, despite the evidence that has been produced to the contrary; but that he saw no harm in it is evident from the statements in his well-known volume. Most likely the truth is that he, being in a situation where money was of no use in providing food or personal services, purchased what was necessary for the existence of himself and his family with guns and ammunition, articles which were in constant demand. That he went further in this direction is scarcely credible. The attempt of Commandant-General Pretorius to close the lower road to the interior certainly met with his unqualified opposition.

Owing to these circumstances the Bakwena were regarded with great distrust, but it was not until the winter of 1852 that Setyeli openly defied the republican government.

There was a branch of the Bahurutsi tribe living in a condition of vassalage on ground near the Marikwa assigned to it by Mr. Potgieter. These people called themselves the Bakatla, and had as their head a man named Moselele. Quiet and peaceable as long as it was believed that the white man's power was irresistible, ever since Viervoet the Bakatla had not ceased to be troublesome as cattle-lifters. At length the government resolved to call Moselele to account, and if necessary to punish him, whereupon the chief and most of his followers fled to the Bakwena. Setyeli received him gladly, promised him protection, and immediately sent to request some other chiefs in the neighbourhood to join him in resisting the white man.¹

The volksraad instructed Commandant-General Pretorius to see that the law was enforced. A commando of over three hundred men was therefore called out and placed under direction of Mr. Pieter Ernest Scholtz, whose orders were to demand the surrender of Moselele, and if Setyeli would not comply, to attack him.

The Barolong chief Montsiwa, it will be remembered, had shortly before, at his own request, been released from the labour tax and placed upon the footing of a burgher. He was now called upon by the commandant to supply, as a burgher, a contingent of twenty men to assist in arresting Moselele. Montsiwa sent excuses, but no men. The com-

¹ This account does not agree with that of Dr. Livingstone, and I feel under the necessity therefore of quoting my authorities. These are (a) the proceedings of the volksraad of the South African Republic as communicated at the time to the British officials in the Sovereignty, (b) the reports of Commandant-General Pretorius and Commandant P. E. Scholtz, (c) Setyeli's own statement published in the imperial blue-book on the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854, (d) at least twenty different statements made in later years by individuals who were actors in this matter, (e) the evidence given before the Bloemhof arbitrators, and (f) a large quantity of correspondence of the period, published and unpublished.

mando then moved on to Setyeli's kraal without any assistance from him.

On the afternoon of Saturday the 28th of August the burgher force arrived at Kolobeng. The Bakwena were found to have intrenched themselves, and to have obtained the assistance from other tribes that the chief had asked for. Commandant Scholtz at once sent a message in friendly words requiring the surrender of Moselele. Setyeli's answer was that he would not give up Moselele, that Scholtz must fight if he wanted him. So far, Setyeli's own account agrees with that of the Europeans. The chief adds that he had supplied his allies with powder and lead. Commandant Scholtz adds that Setyeli boasted of being amply furnished with guns and ammunition. 'The boers were in the pot,' he said, 'the next day was Sunday, but on Monday he would put on the lid.' On Sunday he sent to the camp to ask for some sugar. The commandant told the messenger that such a boaster needed pepper more than sugar. At the same time the chief pointed out where the oxen were to be sent to graze, because, he said, the grass elsewhere was poisonous, and he regarded the cattle already as his own.

On Monday morning Commandant Scholtz sent two men to Setyeli to ask him to come to terms. So much forbearance had the effect of strengthening the chief's confidence in his own power. He therefore challenged the commandant to fight, and tauntingly added that if the farmers had not sufficient ammunition he would lend them some. In the commandant's report, he adds that he sent two messages subsequently before the fighting commenced. Only the last of the two is referred to by Setyeli in his account. The message was that the women and children had better be sent to some place out of danger. Setyeli's reply was that the women and children were his, and that the commandant need not trouble himself about them.

The burghers then advanced to the attack. The Bakwena and their allies were posted in strong positions, which it was necessary to storm. Setyeli afterwards asserted

that his allies fled on the first shot being fired, but his own people certainly acted with greater courage than is commonly shown by Betshuana. It was only after six hours' hard fighting that the burghers obtained possession of the intrenchments and two of the ridges. Night was falling, and the Bakwena still held a rocky hill. During those six hours the burgher loss had been four men killed—Jan de Klerk, G. Wolmarans, Smit, and a half-breed—and five wounded. Setyeli gave his loss as eighty-nine killed. At dusk the commando returned to the camp.

Next morning a patrol of one hundred and fifty men, under Fieldcornet Paul Kruger, was sent out to see if the Bakwena were still on the hill. It was found that the warriors had fled during the night; so they were followed up, when they retired into the Kalahari desert. The women, children, and a few cattle were left behind.

On Wednesday the 1st of September Commandant P. Schutte was sent with a patrol to the old kraal of Kolobeng, some eight or nine miles distant, where the reverend Dr. Livingstone resided. The Bakwena had moved from this place some time before to the locality where the burghers met them. Upon his return the commandant reported that he had found the missionary's residence broken open, and his books and other property destroyed. Dr. Livingstone was not there at the time. He had gone to Capetown with his family, and, after sending his wife and children to England, was returning to Kolobeng when these occurrences took place. At Motito on his way back he met Setyeli, who was then proceeding to Capetown in hope of obtaining assistance from the English government, and from whom Dr. Livingstone received the account which has so often since been quoted as a true relation of what occurred. This is placed beyond question by a letter from Dr. Livingstone to the secretary of state for the colonies, written just after the meeting with Setyeli, in which the identical account is given which appears in the missionary's published volume. But Setyeli himself, on arriving in Capetown, gave an

account which is more in accord with that of the burgher leaders, much more so, indeed, in the principal points than with his other version published by Dr. Livingstone.

At the time, in a report to his commanding officer, which no one could then suppose would ever be published, Commandant Schutte stated that Dr. Livingstone's house had been broken open and pillaged before his arrival at Kolobeng. Repeated testimony from scores of persons who were present was given to the same effect from that date until the Bloemhof arbitration. That is the evidence on one side. On the other—that the house was broken open by the farmers—is the statement of Setyeli, made after his defeat, when he desired above all things to procure English assistance. There is further on one side the fact that the burghers regarded Dr. Livingstone as a very dangerous enemy, and were therefore not likely to have any scruples with respect to the destruction of his property. And on the other side, that the Bakwena were not likely to have any scruples either, that there was in the country at the time a band of desperadoes consisting chiefly of deserters from the army who would have no misgivings in plundering a solitary and unprotected house, and the fact that on the march of the burghers towards Kolobeng two men had been tried by court martial, and sentenced to take their choice between thirty lashes or renunciation of all commando privileges, for having pilfered some articles from a missionary's residence. The great structure raised in England upon Setyeli's statement, the charges against the emigrant farmers founded upon it, and made and re-made until a collection would fill many volumes, cannot be regarded as evidence. What is really to be weighed in coming to a judgment is here placed before the reader, who can form his own opinion.

There was a building used as a workshop, which was found locked. Some of the prisoners informed the commandant that there was ammunition in it, upon which he caused it to be opened, and found a quantity of tools which he described as gunmaker's and blacksmith's, and some

partially finished guns (probably under repair). The whole of the loose property upon the place was then confiscated and removed.

The commando retired with three thousand head of horned cattle, eleven horses, a few goats, two waggons, forty-eight guns, and all the loose property that was of value. A great many of the cattle were claimed by different persons as having been stolen from them, and when these were given up the troop was greatly reduced.

The reputation of the burghers would have suffered less in Europe if the account could be ended here. But when they retired, between two and three hundred women and children, who had been abandoned by the warriors, were taken as prisoners with them. This was held to be the simplest plan of bringing Setyeli to terms. Exactly the same thing has been done by gallant and humane Englishmen in more recent times, and when due care is taken that no abuse of any kind follows, the act can only be considered a justifiable proceeding in war with barbarians. Such a circumstance is regarded as a matter of course in intertribal quarrels, when the women and children are not put to death. But where the arm of the law is weak the practice must be condemned, as it opens a door to many abuses. In this case the primary object was to obtain something towards the cost of the expedition. It was expected that the relatives of the captives would offer cattle for their redemption, or that Setyeli would propose favourable terms on condition of their release. Only a very few, however, were redeemed by their friends. Nearly all, after a short captivity, escaped or were permitted to return to their tribe, and the remainder, being children, were apprenticed to various persons.

Moselele, for whose arrest the commando had been called out, was not captured. He fled to Gasiitsiwe, chief of the Bangwaketsi, who gave him shelter and protection.

When in the neighbourhood of Lotlakana on his return Commandant Scholtz sent to Montsiwa, requiring him to come to the camp and account for his refusal to furnish a

contingent to the expedition. A burgher acting similarly would have been treated in exactly the same way. The penalty was a fine. The chief, who professed to be afraid, sent the missionary Ludorf and two of his councillors to speak for him. The commandant declined to receive the missionary, and directed the councillors to return and inform Montsiwa that he must appear in person.

That night the Barolong clan held long and anxious council. The missionary states in his account that he put before them three courses that they could follow. His words are: 'I said there are three deaths, choose the which you will die. First, take some cattle and go to the boers, and pray to have peace; give up all your guns, pay taxes, and become their slaves. Or second, look without delay for a hiding place, but look to the consequence—no water, and a burning sun. Or third, stand and fight like men for your lives, property, and freedom. As for me, I cannot say which will be best for you.' Of the one course that was life—honest adherence to their engagements, which did not mean slavery or anything resembling slavery—this adviser had nothing to say.

At daybreak on the morning of the 15th of September 1852 the Barolong of Montsiwa, said by the missionary to be then sixteen or eighteen thousand in number, began to abandon Lotlakana and flee to the southwest. That there was not the slightest necessity for doing so is proved, not only by the subsequent statements of the commandants, but by the fact that the burgher force proceeded onward without any demonstration against the place, and that it was not until the 28th of the month, when the commando was far away, that the huts were set on fire by Montsiwa's order. That the chief would be fined for neglect to do his duty was indeed highly probable. But the destruction of his kraal was entirely his own act, and the flight of the clan was simply one of those sudden migrations to which the Barolong had been accustomed since the days of Tao. The reverend Mr. Ludorf accompanied the fugitives a short distance,

but after a few days he abandoned them and retired to Thaba Ntshu.

There were two missionaries of the London society residing with clans of the Bahurutsi on locations near the Marikwa. Their names were Walter Inglis and Roger Edwards. These individuals addressed a letter to Commandant Scholtz with reference to the recent proceedings, in which they used the following words: 'Many of the said captive children will probably be taken away and sold to other parties in distant places, where their parents may never see them more.' This letter might have passed unnoticed, but about the same time a copy of the *Commercial Advertiser* of the 19th of May 1852 came into possession of the republican government. This paper contained a report written by the reverend Mr. Edwards to the directors of the London society, which had been taken over from the *Missionary Journal*. So far as a description of the Bantu goes, this report was one of the most accurate and well-written documents of its kind that had then appeared. But idle tales and suppositions which had their birth in prejudice were recorded in it as if they were facts. The following paragraphs will illustrate this, the clauses given here in italics being those upon which the government took action.

'The native mind has of late been much unsettled by wars, or rumours of such, and held in suspense and uncertainty by the hostile movements of the emigrant boers, more especially to the eastward, where their inherent propensity for the constrained labour of the coloured man is ever seen. They allow the tribes to occupy land where, with one or two exceptions, irrigation is impossible from the scarcity of water; and even that favour is granted with the understanding that the latter are to supply servants as required by an imperative order from the boer officials, for ten, fifteen, or twenty men at the shortest notice, and without the least reference to the wish, or interest, or convenience of the natives. These arbitrary proceedings occasion much disquietude, and not unfrequently oppression and injustice. *If some Power do not interfere, either from policy or humanity, the ruin and slavery of the native tribes will inevitably follow at no distant period.*

'In the wars made upon the tribes eastward of this, the emigrants believed they had just cause to take away lives, capture cattle, young people, and children for servants or slaves; some of whom are sold to others not engaged in

those wars. Last year a Griqua brought a boy from the northern lake and sold him to a boer for a horse. A party of the Dutch emigrants have returned from thence last month, and also brought a number of children. A horse belonging to one of these whites fell into a game-pit and was killed; he demanded people in payment. The chief, fearing his wrath, gave him a man, his wife, and daughter. Such is the testimony of one who witnessed the transaction.'

It was never supposed that this report would meet the eyes of the farmers. Mr. Inglis made the following statement concerning it:—

'This paper, I am sorry to say, was given by me to one Murphy, a trader, who came to our house at the time the commando had gone out. A blunder on my part; I did not intend to have given it to him. He gave it to the boers, and such are the results.'

No government in the position of the South African Republic could allow such statements as those of Mr. Edwards to pass unnoticed. Their having been made in the supposition that the persons assailed would never see them was an irritating factor in the case. A public trial was the best means to test them. On the 20th of November 1852, therefore, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Inglis also were cited to appear before the court of landdrost and heemraden for the district of Rustenburg, in which they were residents. Mr. Inglis's account, published in the *Friend of the Sovereignty*, makes it clear that more consideration was shown to them than would have been the case if they had been on their trial for libel in England. There he would probably have been punished for contempt of court had he acted as he states he did when on trial at Rustenburg.

They were both condemned to banishment from the republic within fourteen days, and Edwards in addition to pay the costs of his trial, amounting to 7*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* If any one in South Africa doubted the justice of the sentence, Mr. Inglis soon proved that in his case at any rate it was judicious. He turned to the press, but his communications were so rabid that very shortly newspapers of respectability ceased to take notice of him.

Within ten days after the battle of Berea Moshesh's

messengers had traversed the country to Zoutpansberg, and immediately the effects were visible. Sekwati remembered his recent punishment, and kept tolerably quiet, but there was hardly another chief in the domains of the republic that did not give trouble. From Lydenburg all the way round by Makwasi Spruit to the Molopo, cattle-lifting was conducted on a larger scale than ever before. In many places the farmers were obliged to form lagers. In the Marikwa, to add to the distress, fever was prevalent.

In this quarter Montsiwa's Barolong plundered so extensively that Commandant-General Pretorius was obliged to proceed against them. The spoor of stolen cattle having been traced to their new kraal, the commando followed it up, and found some of the cattle among Montsiwa's herds. In a skirmish several farmers were wounded, and a few Barolong were killed. Some prisoners were taken, and Fieldcornet Paul Kruger was sent with them to Montsiwa to invite him to come to the camp and arrange matters amicably. Before reaching the place where the chief was it grew dark, so Mr. Kruger sent the message by the prisoners, who were all released, and he returned with his escort to the camp. Next morning it was discovered that Montsiwa had fled during the night. The commando therefore returned home.

During the next eight months the Barolong of Montsiwa were regarded as rebels, but as they kept out of the way no active steps were taken against them. On the 14th of October 1853 peace was concluded with them by Fieldcornet Jan Viljoen, acting for the government, and the location assigned to them by Messrs. Stander and Scholtz in December 1851 again became theirs. Montsiwa, however, did not return to Lotlakana, but went to reside in the country of the Bangwaketsi north of the Molopo.

Before this date the two most prominent leaders of the emigrants, Hendrik Potgieter and Andries Pretorius, had finished their career. The former died in March, and the latter on the 23rd of July 1853. The death of Mr. Pretorius

was an affecting scene. An attack of dropsy, for which no medical treatment could be obtained, brought his life to a close. For a month he lay upon a bed of sickness, where he continued to display those admirable qualities which had made him worthy of being the hero of the emigrants. He entreated those who assembled round his bedside to preserve cordial union among themselves after his death, and not to let party strife or ambition find a place among them. He recommended them to give heed to the exhortations of the minister, the reverend Dirk van der Hoff, who had reached the republic from Holland only two months before, and to promote morality and civilisation by every means in their power. Afterwards, several native chiefs were admitted to see him. They had heard of his illness, and had come to pay their respects. The relatives of the dying man were much affected on seeing these heathen exhibit intense grief, as they knelt successively and kissed his hand. Everything connected with this world having been settled, Pretorius devoted his remaining hours to praise and prayer. He expressed perfect resignation to the will of the Almighty, and satisfaction at the prospect of being speedily transferred to a region where trouble and sorrow are unknown. Then, having committed his soul to his Saviour, he calmly breathed his last. He died at the age of fifty-four years and eight months.

Mr. Pretorius had been twice married. By his first wife, Christina de Wit, he had three sons and five daughters. A year after her death he married again, and by his second wife, Petronella de Lange, he had three children, two of whom died before him.

Upon the death of Commandant-General Potgieter, the volksraad appointed his eldest son his successor. Practically his command was limited to the district of Zoutpansberg, for the people of Rustenburg and Potchefstroom were nearly all adherents of Mr. Pretorius. It had not been considered necessary to name a successor to Mr. Enslin when he died. The volksraad met at Rustenburg on the 8th of August, and appointed Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, eldest son of

the late leader, commandant-general of Rustenburg and Potchefstroom. The reverend Dirk van der Hoff held service at Rustenburg on this occasion, and before the sermon read a letter written by the late commandant-general ten days before his death and addressed to the officers composing the council of war, invoking God's blessing upon them, and advising them to continue steadfast in the Christian religion and to watch and pray that no seed of discord took root among them. The clergyman did well if his own exhortation to the congregation was half as touching.

The republic was at this time divided into four districts: Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, and Rustenburg. The volksraad had decided to form a fifth district out of portions of Lydenburg and Rustenburg, and to establish in the centre of the territory a new village to be called Pretoria after the late commandant-general. For this purpose Mr. M. W. Pretorius had purchased two farms from Messrs. Prinsloo and Van der Walt for the sum of 600*l.*, and it was understood that the volksraad would take them over. They were situated on a little stream called the Aapjes river, at the base of a range of mountains which, owing to a petty chief named Magali having been found near its western extremity by the first explorers, has since been known as Magalisberg. It was not, however, until a later date that this resolution was carried into effect, and the district of Pretoria was formed.

The supreme authority of the republic was the volksraad. The executive consisted of three commandants-general: M. W. Pretorius for Potchefstroom and Rustenburg, P. G. Potgieter for Zoutpansberg, and W. F. Joubert for Lydenburg; several commandants; a landdrost in each village, and a fieldcornet in each ward. There was no president. The nearest approach to a cabinet was the krygsraad, or council of war, which each commandant-general could summon for consultation. It consisted of the commandants and fieldcornets of the district. Every burgher was liable to be called out for military service. Taxation was very

light, for with a government so simple a large revenue was not needed.

The government was admittedly tentative, and already it was beginning to be recognised that it could not long exist in that form. But in what direction change was advisable was not so apparent. It was believed that time would show its defects, and that whenever necessary it could be adapted to meet the requirements of the people.

On the 6th of April 1853 a commission under the great seal was issued to Sir George Russell Clerk, appointing him 'special commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the Orange River Sovereignty,' in other words, he was sent out to withdraw British authority with the best grace possible. He arrived at Bloemfontein on the 8th of August.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by Adam Kok to keep the Griqua reserve intact, the village of Fauresmith—then generally called Sannah's Poort—had been founded early in 1850 on ground leased from a Griqua, and the district around it was practically as much in the European part of the Sovereignty as that round Bloemfontein. On the 29th of January 1850 Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation that the farmers must withdraw from the inalienable Griqua territory on the expiration of their leases, but these had some thirty years yet to run. Many of the Griquas were desirous of selling their ground, and there was a strong party among them headed by Hendrik Hendriks, once secretary to the Griqua council; in opposition to Adam Kok on this very point. They maintained that it was unjust to prevent them from selling their farms when large prices were being offered, and thus in defiance of the prohibition land was constantly changing hands. This was one of the difficulties awaiting solution.

There had been a considerable increase in the European population of the Sovereignty during late years, its numbers

being now about fifteen thousand; and there had been a change in its constituents. In the five villages, particularly in Bloemfontein and Smithfield, many English traders and mechanics had settled. There were one hundred and thirty-nine Englishmen owning farms in the Sovereignty, but some of them were absentees. The British resident himself was the largest landowner in the country, and several other officials were in possession of enormous tracts of ground. According to a return compiled for the special commissioner, these hundred and thirty-nine Englishmen were the proprietors of two hundred and sixty-four farms, comprising two million four hundred and sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-four acres of land, so that as a body they were not free from the reproach which Sir George Clerk cast upon them of being mere speculators. A considerable number of individuals belonging to old colonial families had come in, while of the former residents many of the extreme anti-English party had moved over the Vaal.

The total number of farms for which certificates or titles had been issued was one thousand two hundred and sixty-five, and the extent of ground thus alienated was estimated at eleven millions of acres. The different reserves for coloured people covered about thirteen millions of acres, and it was supposed—for no survey had been made—that about eight millions of acres remained unappropriated.

The country at the time was really in a state of anarchy, though in Sir George Cathcart's despatches it was constantly represented that tranquillity and order had been restored. Under such circumstances the position of the special commissioner was most humiliating. Representing the imperial government, professing friendship for all with whom he came in contact, he saw his advice unheeded and his authority set at naught. Armed bands of blacks traversed the country as they pleased; a son of Molitsane made a raid upon some Fingos who had taken refuge at Winburg, and there was no way of punishing him; the Koranas, Batlokua, Bataung, and others plundered and destroyed

whenever and wherever their inclinations led them. That matters were not even worse was solely owing to the circumstance that a long and severe drought had destroyed the pasturage, so that it was difficult for mounted men to move about.

On the 9th of August 1853 a notice was issued by the British resident, under instructions from the special commissioner, calling upon the inhabitants of the Sovereignty to elect delegates for the purpose of determining upon a form of self-government. On the 5th of September the delegates met at Bloemfontein. They were ninety-five in number, seventy-six of them being Dutch South Africans, and nineteen Englishmen. In an address which he made at the opening of the session, Sir George Clerk informed them that 'he had the instructions of her Majesty's government to direct them to prepare themselves for undertaking the government of the territory whenever British jurisdiction should be withdrawn.'

Dr. Fraser was elected chairman by sixty votes against thirty-five divided among four others, and the deliberations commenced. It was at once evident that the delegates were not inclined to do as they were desired. On the 8th they appointed a committee of twenty-five to confer with the special commissioner, so that the others might return to their homes and only meet again to settle matters finally. By a vote passed without opposition they gave the committee instructions not to entertain any proposals for the formation of an independent government until the following matters should have been adjusted by her Majesty's special commissioner to their entire satisfaction:—

1. The settlement of the Griqualand question.
2. The adjustment of the boundary line between the Basuto territory and the Sovereignty (that is the line between the Orange and the Caledon).
3. The question of the interference of the British government between natives and the European inhabitants of the country.

4. A guarantee that the allies of the British government or persons from beyond the Vaal river should not molest the inhabitants of the Sovereignty, more particularly in regard to confiscated farms.

5. Compensation for those who might find it necessary to leave the country and those who had sustained losses by war or otherwise.

6. The share justly belonging to the Sovereignty of the customs dues received at the ports of the Cape Colony and Natal, or the cession of a port in either of those colonies.

7. The complete or conditional absolution of the inhabitants from allegiance to the British crown.

8. The settlement of all disputes regarding boundaries of farms as yet undecided by the several land commissions.

9. The cancellation of all existing treaties with natives.

10. Permission to the future government to purchase munitions of war of all kinds in England or the British colonies, and a guarantee that no obstacle should be thrown in the way by the colonial governments to prevent such munitions of war from reaching the Orange River territory.

11. The refunding of all fines unlawfully imposed upon inhabitants of the Sovereignty, and the restoration of, or payment for, all farms unlawfully confiscated.

Some correspondence with Sir George Clerk followed, and the committee then separated. It met again on the 10th of November, when it decided upon the adoption of a constitution the same as that approved of by the delegates in June in the preceding year, *but under her Majesty's government.*

Sir George Clerk announced that as they were unwilling to take steps for the formation of an independent government, he would enter into negotiations with other persons. And then was seen the strange spectacle of an English commissioner of high rank and courteous demeanour addressing men who wished to be free of British control as the friendly and well-disposed inhabitants, while for those who desired to remain British subjects and who claimed that protection

to which they believed themselves entitled, he had no sympathising word. In the change of phraseology which took place with the change of policy, they had now become 'the obstructionists.'

At this stage Commandant Adriaan Stander, who had recently been living at the Marikwa, visited the Sovereignty, and rallied the republican party around him. Several of the elected delegates seceded, professing that they had only voted for the retention of the British government out of fear that the special commissioner's invitation was a device to entrap and then fine them. In a very short time addresses with nine hundred and fifty-nine names attached to them were presented to Sir George Clerk, offering to meet the wishes of the imperial government on the following conditions:—

1. The release of the inhabitants from her Majesty's authority.

2. The arrangement of matters concerning Griqualand.

3. The invalidation of all existing treaties with the surrounding tribes, and the non-interference of the British government between the burghers and the natives.

4. Compensation for confiscated farms and for fines unlawfully levied.

5. Permission to purchase munitions of war in England and all British colonies, and assurance that the same should be allowed to pass unhindered through the Cape Colony or Natal, as well as that a free passage should be allowed for all goods through those colonies to the territory.

The elected committee thereupon requested Dr. Fraser and the reverend Mr. Murray to proceed without delay to England, to lay their case before the imperial parliament, and to protest against the people of the Sovereignty being abandoned under the circumstances of the country.

As if to accentuate their despairing cry, just at this juncture Moshesh, in opposition to the advice and wishes of Sir George Clerk, crossed the Caledon at the head of a great army, and fell suddenly upon Sikonyela's stronghold. That

chief was at the moment unprepared for defence, as he was not expecting to be attacked, and had only a few warriors with him. His mountain fastness, though hitherto considered impregnable, was far from being such a formidable stronghold as Thaba Bosigo. There was but one narrow and steep path leading to its summit, but it was found possible to scale some of the precipices in the rear. The Basuto army attacked it in three divisions. While one division, under Masupha, stormed up the footpath, the others, under Moshesh and Letsie, scaled the precipices at different points, the warriors climbing over each other's shoulders.

On the tableland above, in a heavy storm of rain, a battle was fought which ended in complete victory for the Basuto. Sikonyela lost his eldest son Makitikiti and the bravest of his guard. Gert Taaibosch and the leading members of his band also fell in the engagement. The Batlokua chief, when all was lost, managed to conceal himself, and he lay in hiding for several days, while Moshesh remained on the mountain. During this time the Basuto scoured the district and seized the cattle, waggons, and everything else of value belonging to the Batlokua and Taaibosch's Koranas. When at length they left, Sikonyela crept from his hiding place, and with only sixty warriors at his back fled to Winburg.

As a man of note, the name of the once formidable Batlokua chief will henceforth disappear. The son of the terrible Ma Ntatisi was now struck down never more to rise to power. Sir George Clerk sent him to Bloemfontein, where he was provided with rations for himself and a few followers until the abandonment of the Sovereignty. Moshesh frequently invited him to return to his old residence, but his haughty spirit would not allow him to become a retainer of his ancient enemy. When he left Bloemfontein after a stay there of some months, it was to retire to the present district of Herschel, where he remained in obscurity until his death in 1856. His second son, Lehana by name, then became regent of that portion of the tribe

which retired to Herschel, and continued to act as such during the minority of Ledingwana, son of Makitikiti. This section of the Batlokua is now in Griqualand East.

Mota, brother of Sikonyela, with those members of the tribe who did not choose to follow their fallen chief, submitted to Moshesh for a time, then moved away to the district of Harrismith, and finally migrated to Zululand, where they are now to be found. The territory occupied by the conquered tribe was divided among several clans, subjects or vassals of the Basuto, Molapo and Molitsane obtaining the best portions of it.

This event, which to the European inhabitants was another proof of Moshesh's power and their danger, to Sir George Clerk was only an incentive to get away quickly.

In December he had a meeting at Jammerberg Drift with the Basuto chief and his eldest son Letsie. The farmers along the Warden line between the Caledon and the Orange had been invited to be present, and a good many of them attended. The special commissioner requested them and the chiefs to arrange another boundary, but said that he desired to be merely a witness of their proceedings. Moshesh replied that he thought the Orange river would be a good dividing line. After this there could be very little discussion, and nothing more was ever attempted by the special commissioner in this matter.

In the Cape Colony the announcement that the Sovereignty was about to be abandoned was received with great dissatisfaction. From all the important centres of population, petitions, numerously signed, were addressed to the queen, earnestly beseeching her Majesty to retain the country. One was from the presbytery of Swellendam, representing the Dutch reformed congregations of Swellendam, Caledon, George, Riversdale, Bredasdorp, Mossel Bay, Napier, Knysna, and Ladismith.

Very imprudently, some of these petitions were drawn up with a view to secure the co-operation of those well-meaning persons at home whose sympathies are easily

roused on behalf of coloured races. In these, grotesque and frightful pictures were drawn of the injuries inflicted by the farmers of the South African Republic upon the missionaries and black people there, and it was predicted that if the people of the Sovereignty were left to themselves they would behave in a similar manner. These petitions were made public through the colonial press, and tended very greatly to strengthen the republican party. There was a general cry of indignation from the farmers on both sides of the Vaal, coupled with a challenge for an impartial investigation of the events alluded to, and an expressed desire to be freed from all connection with persons who so 'defiled' them. From the date of the publication of these documents a large majority of the inhabitants of the territory were in favour of self-government, and the committee which had been elected no longer represented the people.

Sir George Clerk had made himself acquainted with the recent transactions beyond the Vaal, and knew how distorted the assertions of ill-treatment of the blacks by the emigrant farmers really were. The British and foreign anti-slavery society, the aborigines protection society, the London missionary society, the Wesleyan missionary society, and the peace society, without any hesitation or scruple accepted as correct the version of occurrences sent home by the missionaries, and besought the duke of Newcastle to interfere. The members of these great societies do not seem to have reflected that though they had an undoubted right to ask for the very closest investigation that could be made, ordinary justice demanded that the charges should be proved before they were entitled to condemn the farmers as they did. The secretary of state probably viewed the matter in this light, for his instructions to Sir George Clerk to remonstrate with the Transvaal authorities were conveyed in very weak language.

The special commissioner, however, apart from positive instructions, felt it his duty to look closely into this matter. One of the first documents put into his hands after his arrival

in the Sovereignty was a memorial from certain missionaries, and if the views expressed in it were well founded, he considered that the imperial government ought to be made acquainted with the facts. This memorial had its origin in a missionary meeting held at the reverend Holloway Helmore's station Likatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal rivers, on the 11th of July 1853. The reverend Robert Moffat, of Kuruman, presided at the conference. The missionaries who took part were those of the London society labouring with the Griquas at Griquatown and Philippolis and with the Batlapin at Kuruman, Taung, and Likatlong; of the Paris society labouring at Motito; and of the Berlin society labouring with the Koranas at Pniel and Bethany. Among them were some men of undoubted ability, the tenor of whose lives commanded the respect of all well-thinking persons, and whose opinions were entitled to be taken into the most careful consideration.

They resolved 'that a memorial be drawn up touching upon the state and prospects of the Transvaal natives and the missions established among them, and that a deputation consisting of the reverend Messrs. Moffat, Inglis, and Solomon be appointed to wait upon Sir George Russell Clerk, her Majesty's special commissioner, to present the memorial to him.'

In this document the missionaries expressed their satisfaction at the appointment of a commissioner to investigate matters. They complained of the conduct of the farmers towards the blacks and of the destruction of five missionary stations, four of the London society's and one Wesleyan. They stated it to be their 'firm conviction that the attacks were unprovoked on the part of the natives, and could be traced to no other sources than the love of plunder, the lust of power, and the desire of obtaining constrained and unpaid labour on the part of the boers.' They spoke of the banishment of the reverend Messrs. Edwards and Inglis 'on the most flimsy pretexts,' and the destruction or sacrifice of much missionary property. They stated that 'the whole system

pursued by the boers towards the tribes under their control was reducing them all to a state of servitude which could not be distinguished from slavery.' They complained of the permission given by the convention to the farmers to purchase munitions of war, while these were withheld from the blacks. They 'could not too earnestly deprecate the abandonment by her Majesty's government of the Orange River Sovereignty,' and they feared a general war resulting from a combination of the blacks against the emigrant farmers.

Shortly after the receipt of this memorial by Sir George Clerk, Commandant Scholtz visited Bloemfontein. The special commissioner caused the document to be translated into Dutch, and requested him to reply to the charges made in it. On the 6th of September the commandant delivered his statement to Mr. Owen.

He expressed 'astonishment and regret that such unfounded assertions could be brought forward.' He knew of no mission stations destroyed by the farmers, but he was aware that the reverend Mr. Ludorf had abandoned his charge, that the reverend Messrs. Inglis and Edwards had been expelled from the republic, and that the tribe with which the reverend Dr. Livingstone had been labouring had been defeated in an engagement brought on by themselves.

He denied that any natives had been wantonly attacked, or that any tribe whatever had been assailed for the sake of plunder. The people with whom the farmers had been fighting were living on ground taken by the emigrants from Moselekatse, they were subjects of the emigrant government and were required to perform service instead of paying taxes; there were also many persons apprenticed to individual farmers, but there were no slaves held by the emigrants. Every facility would be granted if the British government chose to send a commission of inquiry to find out the truth.

As for the case of the reverend Messrs. Inglis and Edwards, he referred to the records of their trial. He had heard that Mr. Edwards' station had been plundered by a

party of Griqua hunters and by a band of deserters from her Majesty's army. The farmers had nothing to do with it. From Dr. Livingstone's station he himself had brought away two immense firelocks and a gunsmith's outfit, but he considered that he was justified in doing so. He was not aware of any combination of black people against the emigrant farmers, nor was he apprehensive of any, 'should the missionaries not excite them against his countrymen.' And lastly, the conduct of the missionaries had been the cause of a great deal of mischief, and their interference in matters outside of their proper sphere of labour would no longer be permitted in the republic.

Here were two conflicting statements based on the same facts. Further inquiry brought to light that much of the difference between them arose from the various interpretations given to the word slavery.

(a) Was a clan which agreed with the republican government to contribute a stated amount of labour yearly, in return for the use of ground on which to live, in a condition of slavery?

(b) Certain farmers had leased ground to individual natives in consideration of receiving the service of their families at times when work was pressing. The system undoubtedly was a pernicious one, for tenants of this kind lived as a rule by plundering their landlords' neighbours. But that was not the question. It was, are such tenants in a condition of slavery?

(c) Natives wandering about in idleness, with no visible means of subsistence and not able to give a satisfactory account of themselves, destitute persons, orphan children, and sometimes children taken as were those from the Bakwena and afterwards unclaimed, were apprenticed to farmers for a term of years, without their consent being required. They received wages, and, with hardly an exception, were well cared for, though they were never regarded as the social equals of their employers, the feeling towards them being identical with that of an English squire towards

his dependents in olden times. Were they in a condition of bondage?

The missionaries declared all these to be in a state of servitude indistinguishable from slavery. The farmers denied this, and asked whether white people in England under the same circumstances were not termed free.

It was ascertained that there were in very truth numerous individuals along the western border of the republic in a condition of slavery, in the sense that their persons and everything they acquired were throughout life entirely at the disposal of others. These people were the Balala. They were the remnants of tribes broken by war in former years, and their owners were the same Betshuana who, according to the missionaries, were being oppressed by the farmers. The tendency of things under the emigrant government was to free the Balala from bondage, in the sense of giving them rights in property and control over their families and their persons, though without allowing them to become vagrants. This, at any rate, was something to weigh against the strict treatment to which the other natives were subject, though the missionaries had not taken it into consideration.

There were instances of real oppression of blacks by white men, but they were by no means numerous. One would not be justified in terming the farmers a race of oppressors on account of them any more than in terming the inhabitants of London a race of pilferers on account of the pickpockets in that city. These instances of oppression were made possible by the feebleness of the republican government, and the way to prevent them would be to strengthen that government. The missionaries, with the most upright intentions, were really advocating the destruction of all authority. The emigrant government could not exist if the tribes living on its soil were independent of its control, those tribes could not have been there at all if it had not been for the conquest of the Matabele by the farmers, and it did not seem unreasonable, therefore, that they should be required to pay a moderate tribute.

As for the differences of opinion between the emigrants and the missionaries, it was to be regretted that they did not all think alike ; but the existence of those differences would not warrant the British government in incurring the responsibility of keeping possession of distant and useless territory. If the missionary contention was correct, and all men are by nature equal, education and the belief in Christianity creating the existing difference between them, the farmers, in despite of themselves, would soon be compelled to alter their views. If, on the other hand, the farmers' contention was correct, and there are differences in the intellectual capacities of races which mark some as inferior to others, the best guarantee of the mild and just treatment of the lower race would be in securing the friendship of the higher.

The special commissioner, therefore, took no further action with regard to the missionary memorial.

On the 19th of January 1854 he published a notice inviting those persons who were prepared to form an independent government to meet in Bloemfontein on the 15th of February.

On that day two hostile committees assembled. One, under the presidency of Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, a farmer who had been residing at Jammerberg Drift since 1843, entered into negotiations with the special commissioner.

The other was the remnant of the committee appointed by the delegates in September preceding, now reduced by the absence of Dr. Fraser and by secession to thirteen members. Among them were the representatives of the Winburg loyalists, Commandant Wessels, J. van Rensburg, and J. Vergottini, true to their political creed to the very last. They passed resolutions declaring themselves in permanent session, and that any dealings which the special commissioner should have with any other body would be null and void, as they only had been properly elected and represented the people. On the 16th Sir George Clerk wrote

to Mr. H. J. Halse as the chairman, 'dissolving the committee in consequence of unauthorised proceedings, and recommending to such members of it as had not seceded to agree with those persons who, under his authority, were then engaged as representatives of a majority of the inhabitants in carrying out the intentions of her Majesty's government in regard to the territory.'

The 'obstructionists' then announced their intention to set at defiance any government that might be established in independence of the queen of England. Those of them who were of English blood declared that nothing short of an act of parliament should deprive them of their rights as British subjects. Those who were of Dutch descent indignantly exclaimed that after having adhered to the British government through weal and woe, and having thereby incurred the wrath of their republican fellow-countrymen, the special commissioner was now about to subject them to those whose friendship they had forfeited. They would nail the British ensign festooned with crape half-mast high, they declared, and hold out until the British parliament should decide their fate. Equally violent resolutions were adopted by a meeting held at Smithfield a few days later, when a 'committee of safety' was elected with acclamation.

From men labouring under such excitement, a dignified submission to the inevitable was not to be expected. A report had within the last few days been circulated of the discovery of gold in the neighbourhood of Smithfield, and the remnant of the old committee now wrote to the special commissioner begging him to delay proceedings until it should be seen whether there might not be a large influx of diggers. The object was to gain time for Messrs. Murray and Fraser to bring the matter before the house of commons. Sir George Clerk replied that the discovery of a gold field, no matter what its effects might be, would not alter the resolution of the imperial government. Indeed, though it was not then known in South Africa, a royal proclamation had already been signed—30th of January 1854—'abandon-

ing and renouncing all dominion and sovereignty over the Orange River territory.'

Gold had been freely employed to allay the spirit of resistance. Under the name of compensation for losses occasioned by the change of government, large sums were expended. The claimants for losses sustained through the robberies of the Basuto had a twelvemonth before received two shillings and threepence in the pound, being the amount raised by the sale of the cattle obtained from Moshesh before and at Berea. Sir George Clerk gave them seven shillings and ninepence in the pound more. No less a sum than 33,744*l.* was expended in this manner. The arrears of salary due to the civil servants were also paid out of imperial funds, 48,691*l.* in all having been drawn from the British treasury to meet the expenses connected with the abandonment of the Sovereignty. By these means the number of 'obstructionists' was so reduced that those who still held out were rendered powerless.

With the 'well-disposed' assembly the special commissioner soon came to terms. On the 17th of February he laid before the members a draft of a convention containing ten articles, in accordance with previous arrangements. The assembly then deliberated on the articles in order. The first was agreed to without change. The second read: 'The British government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange river, with the exception of the Griqua chief Captain Adam Kok.' The assembly was desirous of adding the words 'and shall hereafter make no treaties with them.' The special commissioner agreed to add 'and her Majesty's government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River government.'

The assembly desired information concerning the old treaties with Moshesh. Sir George Clerk replied in writing: 'War between two powers breaks all pre-existing treaties. The British government has no treaty with Moshesh.'

Instead of the third article as originally drafted, the assembly desired to substitute another of a different nature ; but upon Sir George Clerk engaging to use his best endeavours to gain Adam Kok's consent to a new treaty in conformity with their proposals, the draft was approved of.

Some of the other articles were slightly modified, and the ninth on the original draft was embodied in the fifth ; but no alterations of importance were made.

The arrangements having been completed, on the 23rd of February 1854 the convention was signed in the little building which now forms the vestibule of the museum at Bloemfontein, by Sir George Russell Clerk, as her Majesty's special commissioner, and the delegates for the district of Bloemfontein, Gerrit Johannes du Toit, Jacobus Johannes Venter, and Dirk Johannes Krafford, for the district of Smithfield, Josias Philip Hoffman, Hendrik Johannes Weber, Petrus Arnoldus Human, and Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, for Sannah's Poort, Gerrit Petrus Visser, Jacobus Groenendaal, Johannes Jacobus Rabie, Esias Rynier Snyman, Charl Pieter du Toit, and Hendrik Lodewyk du Toit, for the district of Winburg, Frederik Pieter Schnehage, Matthys Johannes Wessels, Cornelius Johannes Frederik du Plooy, Frederik Pieter Senekal, Petrus Lafras Moolman, and Johannes Izaak Jacobus Fick, and for the district of Harri-smith, Paul Michael Bester, Willem Adriaan van Aardt, Willem Jurgen Pretorius, Jan Jurgen Bornman, and Adriaan Hendrik Stander.

In the first article of the convention the special commissioner guaranteed, on the part of her Majesty's government, the future independence of the country and its government, and that its inhabitants should be free. The second article has already been quoted. The third provided for a modification of the treaty between the British government and Adam Kok, and for the removal of all restrictions preventing Griquas from selling their lands. The fourth provided that no vexatious proceedings should be adopted by the new government towards those persons who had been loyal to her

Majesty. The fifth provided for the extradition of criminals and for common access to courts of law. The sixth provided that certificates of marriage issued by proper authorities should mutually be regarded as legal. The seventh prohibited slavery or trade in slaves in the territory. The eighth gave the new government the right to purchase supplies of ammunition in any British possession in South Africa, and included a promise by the special commissioner to recommend to the colonial government that privileges of a liberal character in connection with import duties should be granted. And the ninth provided for the stationing of a consul or agent of the British government near the frontier of the Cape Colony to promote mutual facilities and liberty to traders and travellers.

A few days later some other matters were arranged, and a memorandum relating to them was signed by the special commissioner. It provided for the gift by her Majesty to the new government of three thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed among persons who had suffered special hardship under the late administration; for arbitration concerning disputed claims as to the extent of farms on the Basuto line; for indemnification by the British government in cases where unjust appropriations had been ratified by British authority; and for the presentation to the new government of the Queen's fort and certain public buildings.

While the negotiations were proceeding, Adam Kok visited Bloemfontein and had an interview with the special commissioner. The Griqua captain was understood as having consented to allow the sale of land in the reserve, but he afterwards denied that he had done so. It was arranged that the British resident should proceed in a few days to Philippolis to confer with him and his council upon all the questions requiring settlement. Accordingly on the 1st of March Mr. Green arrived at the Griqua village, and laid before Kok's government the proposals of the burgher assembly in the form of a treaty, which he requested the captain and his council to sign.

It provided that the Griquas should have the right to sell their farms when they felt so disposed, but only through an agent of the British government; that persons of European descent purchasing farms in the Griqua reserve should become subjects of the new government; that Captain Kok should retain authority over his own subjects in the reserve, except on the farm on which the village of Fauresmith was built, where a landdrost should be stationed by the new government; that Adam Kok should continue to be paid from the imperial treasury during his lifetime the sum of 300*l.* a year, as stipulated in his agreement with Sir Harry Smith; that all Griquas who lost farms in the territory between the Riet and Modder rivers by the agreement with Sir Harry Smith should be paid for them at once by the imperial government at rates varying from 37*l.* 10*s.* to 187*l.* 10*s.* each, according to their value; and that if at any future time Kok and his people should desire to move over the Orange river into the Cape Colony, the British government would afford them every facility to do so.

The Griqua council refused its assent to the first article, upon which Mr. Green informed them in writing that the special commissioner had declared the sales legal; but in consequence of their refusal 'to work with his Excellency for the public good, the offer of payment which he had made for lands beyond the Riet river was withdrawn, as the object in offering it—the preservation of peace—would probably be frustrated through the unsettled state in which the land tenures must be left in consequence of their resolution.'

On the 7th of March the missionary at Philippolis wrote in Adam Kok's name to Sir George Clerk that 'the most important point of these proposals was that the restriction preventing sales of farms in the inalienable territory should be removed. He had brought this point before his people, and his council had frequently had it under their consideration, but the resolve was that they could not give their consent to such a proposal. It was not a modification but a reversal of the existing treaty, the leading principle of

which was that the inalienable territory should remain for the use of the Griqua people.' At the same time the writer desired Sir George Clerk to compensate individual Grikwas for all claims they might advance to farms between the Riet and Modder rivers, that is the alienable territory of Sir Peregrine Maitland.

Before the departure of the special commissioner from Bloemfontein, Moshesh visited that town, and was received in the most friendly manner by the members of the provisional government. At a public dinner he made a speech that would have been creditable to an educated and Christian ruler. He was on the most friendly terms with Moroko, who accompanied him, and he made liberal offers, though without effect, to Sikonyela. Sir George Clerk spoke to him of a British officer being stationed on the border as a channel of communication between the colonial government and the heads of the communities north of the Orange. Moshesh desired that he might be placed in the Lesuto, but did not press the matter. He inquired if the Warden line was still considered his boundary, and was requested by the commissioner not to speak of it—'it was a dead horse that had long been buried, to raise it would be offensive.' Thus the Basuto chief was led to believe that the line was not considered binding by the imperial government, while the farmers had every reason to believe that it was.

On the 11th of March the flag of England was hoisted for the last time over the Queen's fort, but only to be saluted. When it was lowered that of the new republic took its place, and the special commissioner, the troops, and the British officials were leaving Bloemfontein. Just as they set out a soldier suddenly dropped down dead, and they were obliged to halt until the corpse was buried in the military cemetery on the hill just behind the fort. Moshesh and the other chiefs accompanied them the first stage of the journey towards the Cape Colony. Then in apparent friendship the commissioner, the chiefs, and the members of the new government bade each other farewell, and the

farmers and Basuto were left to settle as they could the relation in which they were to stand to each other.

At Philippolis Sir George Clerk remained some time, vainly endeavouring to induce Adam Kok to come to terms. Individual Griquas were anxious to sell ground for which they had little or no use, and individual farmers were ready to buy it. There was no enforcement of law or order in the district. Under these circumstances, the commissioner said, it was useless trying to retain the reserve intact. It would be better to legalise the sales than to have the district filled with people, Europeans and Griquas, setting him and his council at defiance. But the captain would not yield. Sir George Clerk then told him that the treaty upon which he based his pretensions would be set aside. The captain asked him to state that in writing, but the commissioner declined to do so. On another occasion Kok pressed for compensation for farms claimed by his people outside the reserve, which had been allotted by the Sovereignty government to burghers. The commissioner stated that he would make liberal compensation if the Griqua government would ratify the sales which were being made in defiance of it. But arguments, threats, and promises were alike useless, and the commissioner was obliged to leave the complicated Griqua question for solution by the new government.

Meantime the delegates, Messrs. Fraser and Murray, had arrived in England. On the 16th of March they were admitted to an interview with the duke of Newcastle, who informed them that it was too late to discuss the question of the abandonment of the Sovereignty. In his opinion, the queen's authority had been extended too far in this country. It was impossible for England to supply troops to defend constantly advancing outposts, especially as Cape-town and the port of Table Bay were all she really required in South Africa.

The delegates then tried to get the question discussed in the house of commons. At their instance Mr. C. B. Adderley, on the 9th of May, moved an address to her Majesty, pray-

ing that she would be pleased to reconsider the order in council renouncing sovereignty over the Orange River territory. In his speech he confined himself chiefly to the question whether it was legal for the crown to alienate British territory and absolve British subjects from their allegiance without the consent of parliament. Of the advantage of retaining the country he said but little.

A few members spoke on the government side, among them being the attorney-general. All of them regarded the abandonment as expedient and perfectly legal. Sir John Pakington and Sir Frederick Thesiger thought it would have been better if the legislature had been consulted, but concurred in the expediency of the abandonment.

Being without a single supporter, Mr. Adderley then withdrew his motion.

APPENDIX.

BOOKS REFERRING TO THE PERIOD EMBRACED IN THIS VOLUME.

Owen, Captain W. F. W.: *Narrative of voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H.M. ships Leven and Barracouta.* Two octavo volumes published at London in 1833. This work contains some information upon the wars of Tshaka, also an interesting account of occurrences at Delagoa Bay.

Introductory remarks to a narrative of the irruption of the Kafir hordes into the eastern province of the Cape of Good Hope in the years 1834-5. By the editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*. An octavo volume of two hundred and seventy pages, published in two parts at Grahamstown in 1835 and 1836. This book contains much authentic information.

Godlonton, Robert: *A narrative of the irruption of the Kafir hordes into the eastern province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-5.* An octavo volume of two hundred and eighty pages, published at Grahamstown in 1836. This is on the whole a trustworthy account of the war, being founded upon official reports and the author's personal knowledge of much that occurred at the time. It was hastily prepared, however, and might have been improved by careful revision a few years later. There are a great many misprints. The relationship to each other of some of the chiefs is incorrectly described, and the spelling of Kaffir names is such as often almost to defy recognition.

Isaacs, Nathaniel: *Travels and adventures in Eastern Africa, descriptive of the Zoolus, their manners, customs, &c., &c., with a sketch of Natal.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1836. A very interesting book, indispensable to a student of early events in Natal.

Smith, Dr. Andrew: *Report of an exploring expedition into the interior of South Africa as far as the Limpopo river.* An octavo volume of one hundred and thirty pages, published at Capetown in 1836. A book of very considerable value.

Gardiner, Captain Allen F., R.N.: *Narrative of a journey to the Zoolu country in South Africa, undertaken in 1835.* An octavo volume of four hundred and twelve pages, published at London in 1836. There is much information in this volume concerning missions in Kaffirland and early events in Natal.

Shaw, William, Wesleyan missionary: *Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Hodgson, compiled from materials furnished by her husband the Rev. T. L. Hodgson; comprising also an account of the commencement and progress of the Wesleyan mission amongst the Griqua and Bechuana tribes of Southern Africa.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and fifty-two pages, published at London in 1836. Some useful information is to be obtained from this book.

Alexander, Captain James Edward, K.L.S.: *Narrative of a voyage of observation among the colonies of Western Africa in the flagship Thalía, and of a campaign in Kaffirland on the staff of the commander-in-chief in 1835.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1837. Part of the first and the whole of the second volume are devoted to an account of the Kaffir war of 1834-5, which is well written and thoroughly accurate. The work is illustrated with maps and plates by Major Michell, the surveyor-general, who was the author's father-in-law.

Copy of minutes of proceedings of the court of inquiry held at Fort Willshire in the months of August and September 1836, of which the honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Hare, C.B. and K.H., 27th regiment, was president, to investigate and report upon the circumstances attendant on the fate of the Caffre chief Hintza. A crown octavo volume of one hundred and ninety pages, published at Capetown in 1837.

The wrongs of the Caffre nation. By Justus. A crown octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-three pages, published at London in 1837. The statements in this book are not only untrustworthy, but many of them to South African readers are utterly absurd. The author of such a production could not be expected to put his name to it. See a very good review of his rubbish in the reverend W. B. Boyce's *Notes on South African affairs from 1834 to 1838.*

Alexander, James Edward: *An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa, through the hitherto undescribed countries of the Great Namaquas, Boschmans, and Hill Damaras, performed under the auspices of her Majesty's government and the royal geographical society.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1838. This is a very well-written work, and is accurate in details. It gives a most interesting account of the author's journey through Great Namaqualand, the condition of the different people encountered, and other particulars.

Boyce, William B., Wesleyan missionary: *Notes on South African affairs from 1834 to 1838, with reference to the civil, political, and religious condition of the colonists and aborigines.* An octavo volume of two hundred and eighty-six pages, published at Grahamstown in 1838. Without agreeing with all the speculative remarks in this book, it must be pronounced most accurate in the facts which it records. It is one of the very best volumes of its time with reference to South Africa, for its author was not only an intelligent, but a fearlessly outspoken and honest man, who tried to tell the truth both of white people and black.

Moffat, Rev. Robert: *Missionary labours and scenes in Southern Africa.* A royal octavo volume of six hundred and twenty-four pages, published at Lon-

don in 1842. This is a most interesting and useful book, full of information upon the Betshuana tribes and the early missions to those people.

Martin, R. Montgomery: *History of Southern Africa, comprising the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Seychelles, &c.* The second edition is a crown octavo volume of four hundred and nineteen pages, published at London in 1843. The title is misleading, as the work is a descriptive handbook, not a history of the country. Though there are some gross blunders in it, it is in general fairly accurate, much of it having been taken from official documents.

Chase, John Centlivres: *The Cape of Good Hope and the eastern province of Algoa Bay, &c., &c., with statistics of the colony.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-eight pages, edited by Mr. Joseph S. Christopher, and published at London in 1843. This is an excellent handbook of the eastern districts, but some of the names of places are hardly recognisable, and it is evident the proof reader was altogether unacquainted with South African geography. Some interpolations made by the editor in England also detract from the value of the work.

Backhouse, James: *A narrative of a visit to the Mauritius and South Africa.* A demy octavo volume of six hundred and forty-eight pages, published at London in 1844. The author was a member of the society of Friends, and was travelling for the purpose of visiting mission stations and aiding in works of philanthropy. The book contains some useful information, but it has to be extracted from a mass of matter of no interest to the general reader.

Morrell's narrative of a voyage to the south and west coast of Africa, containing the information from whence originated the present trade in guano found on certain islands on that coast. With a prefatory advertisement by Lieutenant Petrie, R.N., and an appendix comprising notices of the nature and chemical history of guano, &c., &c. A crown octavo volume of one hundred and forty-four pages, published at London in 1844. This is a reprint of the narrative of a voyage published some time earlier by Captain Morrell, of the original of which I have not yet been able to obtain a copy. It is an interesting little volume, but its author coloured portions of his subject much too highly. He fancied a fortune could be made by purchasing cattle from the Hottentots and jerking beef on the coast opposite Ichaboe, and merely mentions that there was a deposit of guano on that island twenty-five feet in depth. He was there in 1828 and 1829 in the American schooner *Antarctic*, collecting seal skins and oil, and carefully examined the islands and coast for a long distance.

Memorials of the British settlers of South Africa, being records of public services held in 1844 in commemoration of their landing in Algoa Bay in the year 1820. Compiled by the editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*. A compact little volume of one hundred and sixty-two pages, published at Grahamstown in 1844. This work has been largely drawn from by later writers, and there is much accurate information in it. The list of the ships in which the British settlers arrived has been taken over from it so often that it is necessary I should allude to it, because I have omitted to mention the *Medusa*, named therein. The brig *Medusa* arrived in Simon's Bay on the 17th of June 1820 with naval stores for the dockyard. She brought out one family of five

individuals and one unmarried man belonging to the party of British settlers. These were transferred to another vessel, and the *Medusa* proceeded to the Knysna for materials needed in the dockyard. I do not know why Mr. Godlonton included her in his list. She was not one of the transports regularly engaged for the conveyance of the emigrants, and if she is included, several other vessels that left England about the same time, and that brought out four or five individuals, should also be.

Sutherland, Lieutenant-Colonel: *Memoir respecting the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjesmans of South Africa*. Two octavo volumes, published at Capetown in 1845 and 1846. This work consists chiefly of extracts from documents published by Lieutenant Moodie and of the writings of Dos Santos, with comments upon them. The author, a military officer in the service of the East India Company, but who had political charge of some of the border tribes in Hindostan, was on furlough in South Africa, where his eccentric conduct is still remembered. He drew up a scheme for the formation of regiments of Kaffir troops, and wrote much on that subject which never appeared in print. The extracts in his two published volumes are of value, but the original matter can only be described as a curiosity of literature.

Methuen, Henry H.: *Life in the wilderness, or wanderings in South Africa*. An octavo volume of three hundred and sixteen pages, published at London in 1846. The author penetrated the interior as far as the junction of the Marikwa and Limpopo rivers, and has given in this book an account of his travels which is fairly interesting, especially to those who are fond of sporting subjects. The volume is illustrated with portraits of antelopes and some other plates which are not less true to life.

Tancred, Aug. Jos., D.D.: *Letters to Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., governor of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, on the present Kaffir war*. A volume in two parts, together comprising one hundred and forty-five octavo pages, published at Capetown in 1846 and 1847. This is the production of an able but eccentric individual, who lost all his property by the inroad of the Kaffirs, and who denounced the government with great warmth.

Case of the colonists of the eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope in reference to the Kaffir invasions of 1835 and 1846. By the editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*. A foolscap octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-six pages, published at Grahamstown in 1847. This production of Mr. Godlonton's pen has been written carefully and with the most complete knowledge of the subject.

Delegorgue, Adulphe: *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe, notamment dans le territoire de Natal, &c., exécuté durant les années 1838-1844*. Two octavo volumes, published at Paris in 1847. There is a good deal concerning the emigrant farmers in Natal in these volumes, but the information is not to be entirely depended upon.

Ward, Harriet: *Five years in Kaffirland, with sketches of the late war in that country to the conclusion of peace*. Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1848. The authoress was wife of Captain Ward, of the 91st regiment, and was on the frontier, in the very best position for obtaining accurate information, during the whole period of the war of the axe. The

leading events of that war are faithfully described, and a correct view is given of the occurrences that led to it. Much sympathy is displayed for the suffering colonists, though as respects the ill-feeling between the burghers and soldiers, the part of the latter is decidedly taken. The errors consist in a misapprehension of Kosa words, and in a confusion of Zulus, Pondos, and Galekas; but they only reduce to a slight extent the value of a well-written and otherwise carefully compiled work.

Ward, Harriet: *The Cape and the Kaffirs: a diary of five years' residence in Kaffirland; with a chapter of advice to emigrants, based on the latest official returns and the most recent information regarding the colony.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-eight pages, the third edition of which was issued at London in 1851. The greater part of this book is an abridgment of the volumes referred to above, and the remainder is of no value.

Bunbury, Charles J. F.: *Journal of a residence at the Cape of Good Hope, with excursions into the interior, and notes on the natural history and the native tribes.* An octavo volume of two hundred and ninety-seven pages, published at London in 1848. This book is considerably above the general average of works on South Africa by casual visitors. Many of the historical references are erroneous, but the author's botanical observations, his account of Sir George Napier's first visit to the Kaffir border, his remarks on the Stockenström treaties, and his description of the public schools in the colony are accurate and interesting. Sir John Herschel's memorandum on education is embodied in this book.

Stockenström, Sir Andries: *Narrative of transactions connected with the Kafir war of 1846 and 1847, embracing correspondence between Sir P. Maitland, Lieutenant-Colonel M. Johnstone, Sir A. Stockenström, and others.* An octavo volume of one hundred and forty-nine pages, published at Grahamstown in 1848. It is necessary to study this volume when preparing a history of the colony, but an ordinary blue-book is light reading compared with it.

Ordinances, proclamations, &c., &c., relating to the colony of Natal. An octavo volume of two hundred pages, published officially at Capetown in 1848.

Nicholson, George: *The Cape and its colonists, with hints to settlers.* An octavo volume of two hundred and ninety pages, published at London in 1849. The author spent a few years as a farmer in the district of Graaff-Reinet, but not being able to make his occupation pay, he returned to England. His account of the colony is rather gloomy, but not altogether incorrect, though there is not much to be learned from a perusal of his book.

Napier, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Elers: *Excursions in Southern Africa, including a history of the Cape Colony, an account of the native tribes, &c., &c.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1850. The author was an officer sent out on special service during the war of 1846-7. He was not long enough in the country to gather material for a correct and complete history or for a description of the native tribes; but he produced a fairly good book, though somewhat discursive.

Freeman, Rev. J. J.: *A tour in South Africa, with notices of Natal, &c.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and sixty-five pages, published at London in 1851. The author of this work was home secretary of the London

missionary society, and was deputed by that body to visit its stations in South Africa. A single quotation from this book will show how distorted were the views of its author. Referring to the war of the axe, he says: 'Sir Peregrine Maitland made war against the Kaffirs in 1846, and a more unjustifiable resort to the dreadful appeal to arms history does not record.'

Harris, Captain William Cornwallis: *The wild sports of Southern Africa, being the narrative of a hunting expedition through the territories of the chief Moselekatse to the tropic of Capricorn*. A very handsome royal octavo volume, with map and numerous coloured illustrations. The fifth edition was published at London in 1852. Captain—afterwards General—Harris travelled and hunted in the interior of South Africa in 1836, when he visited the chief Moselekatse. His account of the country and the people is one of the very best ever given, and his book contains also a great deal of accurate information upon the disasters that befell the first parties of emigrant farmers.

Earl Grey: *The colonial policy of Lord John Russell's administration*. Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1853.

Adderley, Right Hon. C. B.: *Review of Earl Grey's colonial policy of Lord John Russell's administration*. An octavo volume of one hundred and ninety-two pages, published at London in 1869.

Correspondence of Lieutenant-General the hon. Sir George Cathcart. A royal octavo volume of four hundred and one pages, published at London in 1856. It is chiefly a reprint from blue-books.

Stuart, J.: *De Hollandsche Afrikanen en hunne republiek in Zuid Afrika*. An octavo volume of four hundred and forty-five pages, published at Amsterdam in 1854. A large portion of this book is of little or no value now, but there is some information upon the emigrant farmers in it that is not obtainable elsewhere.

Newman, Rev. W. A.: *Biographical memoir of John Montagu, with a sketch of some of the public affairs connected with the colony of the Cape of Good Hope during his administration as colonial secretary from 1843 to 1853*. An octavo volume of six hundred and twelve pages, published at London in 1855. This is an admirable description of the best side of Mr. Montagu's character, and an accurate account of various transactions with which he was connected; but he is shown in too favourable a light, and the book cannot be regarded as perfectly impartial. The hardness of the man's character, his pitiless collection of the arrear taxes in cases which involved great misery, and his dislike—amounting to disdain—of the old South African colonists are never once alluded to.

Shooter, Rev. Joseph: *The Kaffirs of Natal and the Zulu country*. An octavo volume of four hundred and three pages, published at London in 1857. The author lived over four years in Natal, and being of an inquiring turn of mind, spent his spare time in making investigations into Bantu customs and beliefs. His work is largely a compilation, but it has been fairly well put together, and will repay perusal.

Calderwood, Rev. H.: *Caffres and Caffre missions, with preliminary chapters on the Cape Colony as a field for emigration and basis of missionary operation*. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-four pages, published at

London in 1858. An excellent little book, though it does not contain much historical information.

History of the Basutus. By the *Argus* commissioner. A little volume of one hundred and forty-three pages, published at Capetown in 1858. As a guide to Basuto history this work is valuable, but its author had not seen the documents referring to the tribe in the colonial archives, and he was a strong partisan of Moshesh.

Grout, Rev. Lewis : *Zululand, or life among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zululand, South Africa.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and fifty-one pages, published at London after 1860, date not given. Mr. Grout had been fifteen years a missionary of the American board among the Zulus when he wrote this book, and he had prepared a grammar of the Zulu language. His work is interesting, generally trustworthy, and indispensable to a student of Bantu customs and of mission work in South Africa.

Livingstone, David, M.D. : *A popular account of missionary travels and researches in South Africa.* A crown octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-six pages, published at London in 1861. Probably no volume upon South Africa has ever been more widely circulated than this, and its merits are unquestionably of a very high order. But Dr. Livingstone's extreme prejudice against the emigrant farmers has given a false colouring to the portions of the work referring to them, and some of his statements have over and over again been proved to be incorrect.

Casalis, Rev. E. : *The Basutos, or twenty-three years in South Africa.* An octavo volume of three hundred and fifty-five pages, published at London in 1861. There is no better book in existence than this concerning the habits and customs of the Basuto people, and it is written in a very pleasing style. It is impossible to say as much of the political portion of it, though that also is of service to a historian as showing the views adopted by the French missionaries in the Lesuto, and which caused them to be regarded as the champions of the wildest pretensions of Moshesh.

Broadbent, Rev. Samuel : *A narrative of the first introduction of Christianity amongst the Barolong tribe of Bechuanas, South Africa ; with a brief summary of the subsequent history of the Wesleyan mission to the same people.* A little volume of two hundred and four pages, published at London in 1865. An interesting and reliable work.

A compendium of Kaffir laws and customs, including genealogical tables of Kaffir chiefs and various tribal census returns. Compiled by direction of Colonel Maclean, C.B., chief commissioner in British Kaffraria. An octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-four pages, the second edition of which was published at Capetown by the government in 1866. It is a valuable text-book upon the subject to which it refers.

Holden, Rev. William : *The past and future of the Kaffir races ; in three parts : their history, their manners and customs, and the means needful for their preservation and improvement.* An octavo volume of five hundred and sixteen pages, published at London in 1866. The first part of this book is fairly accurate, the second part is correct to a letter, but with the progress of time the speculative remarks in the third part have ceased to be of interest.

Chapman, James, F.R.G.S. : *Travels in the interior of South Africa, comprising fifteen years' hunting and trading ; with journeys across the continent from Natal to Walvisch Bay, and visits to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1868. As regards the tribes of the interior this book contains a great deal of information, but it is as unfriendly to the emigrant farmers as even the celebrated work of Dr. Livingstone. The hunting adventures are told with the zest of a Gordon Cumming.

Callaway, Rev. Canon, M.D. : *Nursery tales, traditions, and histories of the Zulus in their own words, with a translation into English, and notes.* An octavo volume of three hundred and seventy-four pages, printed in Natal and published at London in 1868. No other published collection of tales illustrating Bantu ideas and power of thought equals this in value. From an intimate knowledge of the subject I can vouch for the absolute accuracy of its contents.

McCarter, Rev. John : *The Dutch reformed church in South Africa, with notices of the other denominations.* A small volume of one hundred and fifty-two pages, published at Edinburgh in 1869. The historical sketch is very brief, and does not profess to enter into details, but the general information given is correct. The book was intended to bring the condition of the church to the notice of people in Scotland.

Wilmot and Chase : *History of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope ; from its discovery to the year 1819 by A. Wilmot, Esq., from 1820 to 1868 by the hon. John Centlivres Chase, M.L.C.* An octavo volume of five hundred and forty-seven pages, published at Capetown in 1869. Mr. Wilmot made all the use that was possible of printed matter upon the colony before 1820, but he had not access to the manuscript archives. Mr. Chase was one of the British settlers of 1820, and wrote from personal knowledge, but more as a politician advocating the division of the colony into two than as an impartial historian. As a pioneer work this book must be spoken of with respect, and assuredly no small amount of time and labour was bestowed upon the preparation of the first portion of it. It is now out of print, and is rarely met with. Before 1892 there was not a copy even in the South African public library at Capetown.

Cumming, Roualeyn Gordon : *Five years' adventures in the far interior of South Africa, with notices of the native tribes and savage animals.* The seventh edition is a crown octavo volume of three hundred and seventy-three pages, published at London in 1873. There is a considerable amount of information upon the interior tribes in this book, mixed with accounts of slaughter of animals by one who revelled in the destruction of whatever had life. Any one who reads the work, and reflects upon the result of the trade in guns which its author carried on between 1843 and 1849, will not be surprised at the efforts made by the emigrant farmers to put a stop to commerce of this kind.

Theal, George McCall : *Kaffir folklore, or a selection from the traditional tales current among the people living on the eastern border of the Cape Colony. With copious explanatory notes.* An octavo volume of two hundred and twenty-four pages, published at London in 1882. The tales in this volume are some

of those collected by me during a residence of many years on the Kaffir border, when I was in close intercourse with various sections of the Kosa tribe.

Theal, George M'Call: *South Africa as it is*. A pamphlet of sixty-four closely printed pages, published at King-Williamstown in 1870. It is of no value now, as its contents have been expanded into the volumes next named.

Theal, George M'Call: *Compendium of South African history and geography*. The first edition of this book was published at the Lovedale missionary institution in 1874, the third edition in 1877. The last is in two parts, together four hundred and forty-four demy pages in small type. The information in this work was derived from blue-books, printed books upon South Africa, intercourse with colonists, Kaffir traditions, and knowledge obtained while editing a newspaper. Since it was prepared I have been almost constantly engaged in researches in the manuscript archives of this country, and in consequence of the additional knowledge gained am now obliged to pronounce my own former work defective and incorrect in many respects.

Brooks, Henry: *Natal, a history and description of the colony, including its natural features, productions, industrial condition, and prospects*. By Henry Brooks, for many years a resident there. Edited by Dr. R. J. Mann, late superintendent general of education in Natal. An octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-six pages, published at London in 1876. This is an excellent work, and is beautifully illustrated.

The history of Southern and Central Africa: its topography, geography, natural productions, &c., &c.; the whole embracing the results of the travels and researches of the most celebrated and eminent African explorers. A quarto volume of nine hundred and forty-eight pages, of which one hundred and sixty are devoted to South Africa. It was published at London, but the compiler's name is not given, nor the date of publication, which was subsequent to 1876. The chapters relating to South Africa are chiefly composed of extracts from other works, many of which are trustworthy; but there are several very misleading statements in the portions which appear to be original.

Hofstede, H. J.: *Geschiedenis van den Oranje-Vrijstaat, in verband met eene korte geschiedenis der aangrenzende kolonien, vooral der Kaap Kolonie, volgens bezworen verklaringen der voortrekkers, en de archieven, documenten, en proclamatiën; met schetsen en kaarten opgeluisterd*. An octavo volume of two hundred and fifty-one pages, published at the Hague in 1876. Mr. Hofstede has not made such good use of the material at his disposal as he might have done, and his book cannot be regarded as either reliable or interesting.

Noble, John: *South Africa past and present: a short history of the European settlements at the Cape*. A crown octavo volume of three hundred and forty-five pages, published at London in 1877. This is an excellent book, clearly and fairly written. Mr. Noble, who holds the position of clerk of the house of assembly of the Cape Colony, has also prepared three different handbooks of the Cape Colony, published in 1875, 1878, and 1886. Further, he has edited *Poems, essays, and sketches by W. R. Thomson, with a memoir*, Capetown, 1868; and *Afar in the desert and other South African poems by Thomas Pringle, with a memoir*, Capetown and London, 1881.

Cannon, Richard, principal clerk of the adjutant-general's office: *History of the Cape mounted riflemen, with a brief account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Illustrated with drawings of the standards and the costume of an officer of the corps.* Forty octavo pages, London, (date obliterated in the copy before me). This is one of the little volumes of *Historical records of the British army, comprising the history of every regiment in the service*, prepared by command of William IV., and published under the patronage of her Majesty the queen. The brief account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is full of errors.

Oates, Frank: *Matabeleland and the Victoria Falls, a naturalist's wanderings in the interior of South Africa.* From the letters and journals of the late Frank Oates, F.R.G.S. Edited by C. G. Oates. An octavo volume of four hundred and nineteen pages, published at London in 1881. This volume contains an excellent description of the difficulties that a traveller in the interior of South Africa not so long since had to encounter and overcome. The information concerning the Matabele and the tribes subject to them, though somewhat scant, is very correct. A large portion of the book—one hundred and twelve pages—is taken up with descriptions by competent men of specimens of natural history collected by Mr. Oates, and sent to England after his death. After visiting the great falls on the Zambezi, the talented traveller succumbed to fever on the 5th of February 1875, and was buried by his companions some distance north of Tati. The volume is well illustrated with maps and plates.

Kermode, William: *Natal, its early history, rise, progress, and future prospects.* A fairly interesting handbook of two hundred and twenty-seven crown octavo pages, published at London in 1882.

Basutoland records: copies of official documents of various kinds, accounts of travellers, &c. With maps and sketches of boundary lines. Collected and arranged by order of the hon. J. W. Sauer, Esq., secretary for native affairs, by George McCall Theal, then first clerk in the native affairs department of the Cape Colony. Three royal octavo volumes, together two thousand one hundred and forty-two pages, covering the period from 1833 to 1868, were published at Capetown in 1883. Sufficient material for another volume was in readiness for the printer when the Cape Colony was relieved of the administration of Basutoland, and a continuation of the work was not needed. The volumes printed contain everything in the archives of the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and the Paris evangelical missionary society, relating to Basutoland from 1833 to 1868, besides many extracts from newspapers and accounts of travellers.

While preparing my chapters upon Natal I had before me the following books, some of which were useful in their day, but have since given place to more elaborate productions, while others are permanently interesting, but need no remarks: *Natal, Cape of Good Hope, comprising descriptions of this well-endowed colony from the year 1575 to the present time by government officials and travellers.* By J. S. Christopher, of Natal. An octavo volume of one hundred and forty-six pages, published at London in 1850. *A journal of the bishop's visitation tour through the Cape Colony in 1850.* A small volume of two hundred and twenty-seven pages, published at London in 1852. A portion of this volume is devoted to Natal and the Orange River Sovereignty. *The dorp and*

the veld, or six months in Natal. By Charles Barter, B.C.L. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and fifty-nine pages, published at London in 1852. *History of the colony of Natal, South Africa, to which is added an appendix containing a brief history of the Orange River Sovereignty.* By the reverend William C. Holden, upwards of fifteen years a resident in the colony. A demy octavo volume of four hundred and sixty-three pages, published at London in 1855. *Ten weeks in Natal.* By John William Colenso, D.D., bishop of the diocese. A small but very interesting volume of two hundred and seventy-one pages, published at Cambridge in 1855. *Life with the Zulus of Natal, South Africa.* By G. H. Mason. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-two pages, published at London in 1855. *The settler's guide to the Cape of Good Hope and Natal.* By W. Irons. A small volume of two hundred and thirty pages, published at London in 1858. *The colony of Natal.* By Robert James Mann, M.D., F.R.A.S., superintendent of education in Natal. A demy octavo volume of two hundred and twenty-nine pages, published at London in 1859. *Emigrants' guide-book to Port Natal.* By James Arbutnot. A small volume of one hundred and forty-three pages, published at Aberdeen in 1862. *Natal en Nieuw Gelderland.* Door W. K. Ente. A pamphlet of forty pages, published at Arnhem in 1862. *Narrative of the entrance of the Conch at Port Natal with troops to relieve Captain Smith.* By William Bell, who commanded the *Conch*. A pamphlet of twenty-four pages, published at Durban in 1869. *Notes on Natal.* By John Robinson, F.R.G.S. A small volume of two hundred and twenty-seven pages, published at Durban in 1872. *Among the Zulus and Amatongas, with sketches of the natives, &c.* By the late David Leslie. Edited by the hon. W. H. Drummond. A crown octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-six pages, published at Glasgow in 1875. *Natal, Transvaal, and Zululand.* By W. Hartley, thirty years a resident in Natal Colony. A pamphlet of ninety-two pages, published at Leeds in 1879. *The Zulus and Boers of South Africa.* By Robert James Mann, M.D., late superintendent of education in Natal. A pamphlet of eighty pages, published at London in 1879. *Amazulu: the Zulus, their past history, manners, customs, and language, with observations on the country and its productions.* By Thomas B. Jenkinson, B.A., late canon of Maritzburg. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and fourteen pages, published at London in 1882. *Our colony of Natal.* By Walter Peace, Natal government emigration agent. An octavo volume of one hundred and seventy-four pages, published at London in 1883.

The autobiography of the late Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart., sometime lieutenant-governor of the eastern province of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Edited by his son-in-law, the honourable C. W. Hutton, M.E.C., Cape of Good Hope. With a preface by his honour S. G. A. Shiphard, C.M.G., administrator of British Bechuanaland. Two thick crown octavo volumes, published at Capetown in 1887. A less conscientious man than Mr. Hutton would have expunged a very great deal that appears in these volumes. The word autobiography is to some extent misleading, for the matter consists of extracts from Stockenstrom's journal, despatches, and other documents, with connecting paragraphs by the editor. The effect is produced, however, of

representing the man as he saw himself, which is what an autobiography purports to do. A simple biography by an impartial writer would certainly show him in a more favourable light. His jealousy of Colonel Somerset, the vituperative language in which he was wont to indulge when referring to his opponents, his habit of making undefined charges, his persistence in maintaining accusations after the most absolute proof of their being unfounded, are all represented without an effort at concealment. Even the connecting paragraphs are skilfully made to correspond in style with the other matter. Thus we read of conspirators and of a conspiracy being unmasked after it was proved that there was no such thing as a conspiracy at all. The work does not pretend in the slightest degree to be an impartial account of Stockenstrom's actions. There is no representation whatever of the views of those who disagreed with him. Thus in the celebrated trial, the opinions of Attorney-General Oliphant alone are quoted, Mr. Oliphant having been his principal advocate on that occasion. The whole of his own address before the military court appears, but not a word of the summing up on the other side. To such an extent is this principle acted upon throughout the book that matters of the very greatest importance in Stockenstrom's career, such as his evidence before the committee of the commons, are almost completely ignored. It follows also that many of the best points in his character have not had justice done to them. One must know a great deal of the history of the times, and look deeply between the lines of this work, to discover the really good qualities of the man. In short, though these volumes present an exceedingly accurate picture of Stockenstrom's manner of defending himself against adversaries, the general reader need not expect to derive much further information from them.

Hewitt, Rev. James Alexander: *Sketches of English church history in South Africa from 1795 to 1848*. A crown octavo volume of one hundred and thirty-seven pages, published at Capetown in 1887. This little volume bears evidence of a large amount of research, yet when a second edition is called for it would be possible to make several improvements. The conversion of the paper rixdollar into English money at the rate of one shilling and six pence, for instance, is incorrect before 1825. Mr. De Mist's regulations also were not intended to operate as represented. The omission of any notice of the ecclesiastical board in London, to which reports by clergymen in South Africa had to be sent, is also a defect, though perhaps a trifling one. The word *probably* might be left out in reference to the reason for St. Frances' church at Simonstown bearing that designation. This edifice is not the only one in South Africa that owes its name to a modern patroness, as may be seen from the following copy of a document deposited on the 6th of October 1825 under the corner stone of the church at Port Elizabeth in the adjoining parish to that of which Mr. Hewitt is at present rector, when that stone was laid by Captain Evatt as proxy for the governor: 'THIS CHURCH WAS ERECTED BY THE LAUDABLE EXERTIONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF PORT ELIZABETH UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF

. MARY

THE TRULY AMIABLE CONSORT OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD CHARLES SOMERSET,' &c., &c. While noticing a few mistakes of small importance, it is but right to add that the information given in this volume is in general exceedingly accurate.

The Annals of Natal, 1495 to 1845. Arranged by John Bird, late of the civil service, Natal. Two royal octavo volumes, together twelve hundred and sixteen pages, published at Pietermaritzburg in 1888. This work has been very carefully and faithfully executed by Mr. Bird. Some years before he commenced his task, I went through the documents which he afterwards collected and arranged, otherwise his compilation would have been of great service to me. I know of no English document of importance that is not included in it, and of very few Dutch. It is a work of permanent value for historical purposes.

Galton, Francis : *Narrative of an explorer in tropical South Africa, being an account of a visit to Damaraland in 1851.* Copies of the original edition of this work, crown octavo, three hundred and fourteen pages, issued in 1853, are now rarely obtainable, but a reprint was published at London in 1889 in one hundred and ninety-two crown octavo pages. It is a most interesting and trustworthy book.

Russell, Robert : *Natal, the land and its story. A geography and history for the use of schools.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and seventy-five pages, published at Maritzburg in 1891. This book is upon the whole correctly written, but there are several statements in it that need revision. Thus the Orange river is said to have been discovered by Colonel Gordon in 1778, whereas it was known to Europeans long before that date. The native tribes in Natal are stated to have lived for hundreds of years before the time of Tshaka in peace and comfort, without being disturbed by wars or rumours of wars. In point of fact, there was tranquillity in the country for a short period before the time of Tshaka, and those who escaped from his spears loved as old age crept upon them to talk of that happy period ; but as soon as one gets beneath the surface of Bantu traditions anywhere in South Africa, it becomes certain that the normal condition of things was pillage and bloodshed. As to the number of natives in Natal when the Dutch entered it, Mr. Russell should consult the accounts of numerous English travellers, hunters, and residents who have left records on that subject. Several other inaccuracies might be pointed out, but the merits of the book far exceed its defects.

Among the magazines and pamphlets published during this period, the following are the most important :—

The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette. A monthly magazine in quarto form published at Capetown from 1831 to 1833.

The South African Quarterly Journal. Published in octavo form at Capetown from October 1829 to October 1831, and from October 1833 to October 1835. There are some papers of great value in this journal.

The Cape of Good Hope Literary Magazine. Published monthly in octavo form at Capetown during 1847 and 1848.

Further papers illustrative of the case of the Roman catholic church at the Cape of Good Hope. An octavo pamphlet of seventy-nine pages, published at Capetown in 1833.

Summary of the Kaffir war of 1834-5. By the editor of the *Zuid Afrikaan*. An octavo pamphlet of sixteen pages, published at Capetown in 1836. The facts are correctly stated, but the account is too short to be of much value.

The causes of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 explained, and a plan for the preservation of peace and the security of the frontier proposed. An octavo pamphlet of forty pages, published at Capetown in 1836. The author's name is not given. He bases his statements on the view that there is no difference between the Kaffir and the white man but such as is caused by education and the light of religion. His history is very misleading, and his conclusions cannot be sustained.

Abstract of proceedings of the board of relief for the destitute, appointed in Grahamstown by his Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban, K.C.B., governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, with a view to mitigate the sufferings of the frontier inhabitants occasioned by the irruption of the Caffir tribes into the eastern province of that colony during the years 1834-5. A pamphlet of ninety-seven pages, published at Capetown in 1836.

A succinct account of the Kaffer's case, comprising facts illustrative of the causes of the late war and of the influence of Christian missions, in a letter to T. Fowell Buxton, Esq., M.P., &c., &c. By Stephen Kay, late missionary. An octavo pamphlet of ninety-two pages, published at London in 1837. The author's facts should in many cases have been termed fancies. His accusations of the colonial government, and especially his strictures upon the commando against the Amangwane, are altogether overdrawn. The pamphlet is in full accord with the sentiments of Earl Glenelg.

Wood, William: *Statements respecting Dingan, king of the Zoolahs.* A pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, published at Capetown in 1840. Wood was for some time a resident at Umkungunhlovu, and relates what he saw there.

Report of the proceedings at a public meeting held in the commercial hall, Capetown, on the 24th of August 1841, to petition the home government for a representative legislative assembly. With notes in illustration, and a correspondence which ensued between his Excellency Sir George Napier, K.C.B., the honourable John Bardwell Ebdon, and Mr. Justice Menzies. An octavo pamphlet of sixty-seven pages, published at Capetown in 1841.

Report of the central board of relief for destitute sufferers by the Kaffir war in 1846. A pamphlet of forty-nine pages, published at Grahamstown in 1847.

Redevoering bij het tweede eeuw-feest, ter herinnering aan de vestiging der Christelijke kerk in Zuid Afrika, gehouden in de groote kerk in de Kaapstad op Dingsdag den 6 den April 1852 door Abraham Faure. A pamphlet of ninety-one pages, published at Capetown in 1852.

Stretch, C. Lennox: *Blockdrift.* A pamphlet of twenty-five pages, published at Grahamstown in 1855.

Geschiedenis van het ontstaan der Nederduitsch gereformeerde gemeente van Kruisvallei. A collection of documents arranged by Mr. Johannes Jacobus Bosman, forming a pamphlet of one hundred and four pages, published at Capetown in 1886.

Griqualand West Government-Gazette. With reference to particulars given by me at the beginning of the forty-seventh chapter, the *Gazette* here named

may be consulted. Without reference to the authorities which have been at my disposal, probably without even a knowledge of the existence of many of them, the land court of Griqualand West, which was specially constituted to investigate and decide disputes about the ownership of ground, arrived at precisely the same conclusion with regard to the Griqua claims to the territory north of the Modder river and south of the Vaal. After hearing evidence continuously for several months, on the 16th of March 1876 Judge Stockenström delivered an elaborate judgment upon the various classes of claims to land in what was then the crown colony of Griqualand West, in 1871 cession having been taken by the high commissioner from Nicholas Waterboer, son of Andries, of the territory containing the diamond fields. The evidence before the court was conclusive that Waterboer had no right whatever to that part of the country. The judgment enters deeply into the history of the Griqua people. It fills sixteen columns of the *Diamond News and Griqualand West Government Gazette*.

The principal blue-books of this period are the following:—

Return to an address of the honourable the house of commons, dated 8th March 1836, for copies or extracts of any despatches which have been received from, or addressed to, the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the last Caffre war, and to the death of Hintsä. Also copies of the instructions given to the lieutenant-governor of the frontier districts. A blue-book of one hundred and twenty-two pages, published at London in 1836.

Return to an address of the honourable the house of commons, dated 8th June 1837, for copies or extracts of any further despatches which have been received from, or addressed to, the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the last Caffre war, since the papers presented to the house of commons on 10th March 1836. A blue-book of three hundred and fifty-four pages, published at London in 1837.

Report from the governor of the Cape of Good Hope to the secretary of the colonies relative to the condition and treatment of the children sent out by the Children's Friend Society. A blue-book of thirty-five pages, published at London in 1840.

Despatch 154 of the right honourable Sir Henry Pottinger, Baronet, G.C.B., governor of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to the right honourable the Earl Grey, one of her Majesty's principal secretaries of state. With annexures. A blue-book of two hundred and fifty-three pages, published at Capetown in 1848.

Documents relative to the question of a separate government for the eastern districts of the Cape Colony. A blue-book of one hundred and seventy-five pages, published at Grahamstown in 1847.

Correspondence with the governor of the Cape of Good Hope relative to the state of the Kafir tribes on the eastern frontier of the colony. A blue-book of one hundred and ninety-nine pages, and a map, published at London in 1847. Continuation of the above. One hundred and fifty-two pages. London, 1848. Further continuation. Eighty-two pages and two maps. London, 1848. Still further continuation. Forty-five pages. London, 1849.

Correspondence with the governor of the Cape of Good Hope relative to assumption of sovereignty over the territory between the Vaal and Orange rivers. A blue-book of ninety-nine pages, published at London in 1851.

Further correspondence relative to the state of the Orange River territory. A blue-book of one hundred and thirty-four pages, published at London in 1853. Continuation of above. Ninety-three pages. London, 1854.

Evidence taken at Bloemhof before the commissioners appointed to investigate the claims of the South African Republic, Captain N. Waterboer, and certain other native chiefs, to portions of the territory on the Vaal river now known as the diamond fields. A blue-book of three hundred and ninety-two pages, published at Capetown in 1871. No care was taken in correcting the proofs of this important volume, and proper names are so misspelt that the book is almost useless to any one not well acquainted with the subject.

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Berrange, Rev. J. F.: in 1844 becomes the first resident clergyman of Richmond, 238

Bester, Paul: takes part against the British forces in the battle of Boomplaats, but afterwards surrenders, 443; and is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Harrismith, 449

Bethany mission station: in December 1835 is founded on the Riet river by the Berlin society, 441

Bethesda mission station: in 1843 is founded in the Lesuto by the Paris evangelical society, 411

Bezant, Charles: on the 6th of July 1838 is murdered at Pato's kraal, 179

Biddulph, T. J.: on the 8th of March 1848 is appointed first civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Winburg, 429; on the 22nd of May is installed in office, 430; on the 21st of June retires to Bloemfontein owing to threats of the disaffected farmers, 431; but is required by the British resident to return to his post, 431; on the 12th of July makes his escape from Winburg just before Mr. Pretorius enters the village, 431; on the 29th of August is wounded in the battle of Boomplaats, 441

- Biggar, Alexander: in 1820 arrives in South Africa as head of a party of British settlers, 133; in 1834 establishes himself as a trader at Port Natal, 133; in May 1838 is appointed landdrost of Port Natal, but declines to perform the duties, 147; on the 23rd of December 1838 is killed in battle with the Zulus, 151
- Biggar, George, son of Alexander: in 1834 arrives in Natal, 135; on the 17th of February 1838 is murdered by the Zulus in the great massacre of the emigrant farmers, 140
- Biggar, Robert, son of Alexander: is in nominal command of a force which marches from Port Natal against Dingan and which succeeds in securing a good deal of plunder, when it is broken up by internal dissension, 142; a few days later, when in command of another expedition, on the 17th of April 1838 is killed in battle with the Zulus, 145
- Bloem, Jan, Korana captain: in 1849 is provided with a location along the southern bank of the Vaal river, 463
- Bloemfontein, town of: in 1846 is founded, 409; on the 17th of July 1848 is surrendered by Major Warden to Commandant-General Pretorius, 432; is the seat of government of the Orange River Sovereignty
- *Blue-books containing information on events from 1834 to 1854: list of the principal, 563
- Board of executors for administering estates: in 1838 is founded in Capetown, 217
- Board of relief: is constituted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban soon after the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 to alleviate the misery of the ruined colonists, 14; on the 8th of May 1846 a similar board is appointed by Sir Peregrine Maitland for the same purpose, 269
- *Books referring to South Africa during the period 1834 to 1854: notes upon, 549
- Books upon Natal: titles of, 558
- Boshof, Jacobus Nicholas: in May 1838 arrives in Natal, 146; thereafter takes a leading part in affairs in that country, 146
- *Botumane, captain of a section of the Imidange clan: in December 1834 sends his followers to lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 7; continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to terms of peace and becomes a British subject, 40; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66; on the 2nd of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180; on the 21st of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252; in March 1846 declines to surrender some criminals in accordance with that treaty, 259; from April to November 1846 takes an active part in the war against the Cape Colony, 291; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a tract of land in British Kaffraria assigned to him, 314
- *Boundaries of the Cape Colony: see Extension
- Boundary between the districts of Albany and Somerset East: in October 1837 is defined, 79

Boundaries of the colony of Natal : see Natal

Boundaries of the republic of Natal, 318

Bowker, John Mitford : in 1835 at the close of the sixth Kaffir war is appointed agent with the Gunukwebes and the Fingos, and is stationed at Fort Peddie, 46 ; in February 1839 is succeeded in that office by Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, 183

Boyce, Rev. William : at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is obliged to abandon his station, 27 ; assists in the negotiations by which the war is brought to an end, 38 ; upon the conclusion of peace reoccupies the mission station Mount Coke, 47 ; note on a book written by, 550

van Breda, Michiel : in June 1842 takes a leading part in resistance to the British troops at Natal, 343 ; in July is excepted from the general amnesty agreed to by Colonel Cloete, 349 ; a reward of 250*l.* is offered by Sir George Napier for his apprehension, but no one molests him, 350

van Breda, Servaas : in June 1842 takes a leading part in resistance to the British troops at Natal, 343 ; in July is excepted from the general amnesty agreed to by Colonel Cloete, 349 ; a reward of 250*l.* is offered by Sir George Napier for his apprehension, but no one molests him, 350

Bredasdorp, village of : in May 1838 is founded, 210

Bredasdorp, Dutch reformed church at : in May 1839 the first consistory commences duty, 210

Brink, Rev. J. J. : in May 1839 becomes the first resident clergyman of Bredasdorp, 210

British Kaffraria, province of : on the 17th of December 1847 is annexed to the queen's dominions, 311 ; regulations for the government of, 312

Broadbent, Rev. S. : note on a book written by, 555

Brooks, Henry : note on a book written by, 557

Brownlee, Charles : in October 1846 is appointed clerk to the Gaika commissioner, 291 ; in December 1847 is appointed assistant commissioner, and is stationed at Fort Cox, 312

*Brownlee, Rev. John, missionary with the Tinde clan : at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 with his family takes refuge at Wesleyville, 15 ; and is there rescued by a party of volunteers, 15 ; upon the conclusion of peace re-establishes the mission with Tshatshu's people, 47 ; when the war of 1846-7 commences has full confidence in the good faith of the Tinde clan towards the Cape Colony, but is soon undeceived, and is compelled to abandon his station, 260 ; which at the close of the war he again occupies, 314

Brownlee, James : visits Dingan a few hours after the massacre of Pieter Retief and his party, 139

Buchanau, Thomas : in July 1840 opens in Capetown the first normal school in the Cape Colony, 204

Buffalo river mouth, on the south-eastern coast of Africa : in November 1836 is first used as a place for landing and shipping goods, 50 ; in April 1847 supplies for troops are landed there, 299 ; and from that date the port is constantly used, 299

*du Buis, Coenraad : in 1815 flees from Swellendam to the neighbourhood of

Klaarwater, north of the Orange river, where he leads a lawless life, 97 ; after a time moves farther northward and spends the remainder of his days on the banks of the Limpopo, 98

Buku, right-hand son of Kawuta, Kosa chief : on the 1st of May 1835 is given by his half-brother Hintsa to Sir Benjamin D'Urban as a hostage for the fulfilment of terms of peace, 28 ; is detained two months and is then set at liberty, 33 ; takes part in the war of 1846-7 against the Cape Colony, and on the 13th of November 1847 cuts off and kills five English officers, 306 ; on the 7th of January 1848 concludes peace with Sir Harry Smith, 316

Bunbury, Charles : accompanies Sir George Napier to South Africa, 166 ; note on a book written by, 553

*Buntingville mission station : is abandoned during the Kaffir war of 1834-5, but early in 1836 is reoccupied, 47

Burger, Jacobus Johannes : from 1840 to 1842 is secretary of the volksraad of Natal, 324 ; in July 1842 is excepted from the general amnesty agreed to by Colonel Cloete, 349 ; a reward of 250*l.* is offered by Sir George Napier for his apprehension, but no one molests him, 350

Burghersdorp, village of : in March 1847 is founded, 239

Burghersdorp, Dutch reformed church at : in January 1847 the first consistory commences duty, 240

Burnet, John : in May 1850 becomes clerk to the civil commissioner of Winburg, 484 ; in January 1852 is secretary to the British commissioners when concluding the Sand river convention, 484

Burnshill mission station : in June 1830 is founded on the upper Keiskama, 15 ; is named after the reverend John Burns, one of the founders of the Glasgow missionary society, 47 ; during the wars of 1834-5 and 1846-7 is abandoned, but on the conclusion of peace is again occupied, 46 and 269

*Bushmen : between 1826 and 1836 are exterminated by the Griquas in the territory between the Orange and Modder rivers, 384

*Butterworth mission station : during the war of 1834-5 is destroyed by the Kosas, 25 ; early in 1836 is occupied again, 47 ; at the commencement of the war of 1846-7 is abandoned, but in 1848 is reoccupied, when Kreli compensates the Wesleyan society for the damage done, 316

*Buxton, Fowell : in 1835 is chairman of a committee of the house of commons appointed to take evidence regarding the aborigines in British settlements, 53

CALDERWOOD, Rev. Henry : before the war of 1846-7 is a missionary of the London society residing at a station named Birklands, near Fort Beaufort, 290 ; in September 1846 becomes the chief adviser of the governor on matters connected with the Kosas, 290 ; in October is appointed commissioner for the settlement of the Gaika, Imidange, and Tinde clans, 291 ; and fixes his residence at Blockdrift, 291 ; note on a book written by, 554

*Caledon, earl of : on the 8th of April 1839 dies, 224

Caledon, district of : in January 1839 is created, 220

Callaway, Rev. Dr. : note on a book written by, 556

*Campbell, Duncan, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Albany :
in 1838 retires on a pension, 174

*Campbell, Rev. John : in 1813 frames a code of regulations for the government of the Griquas, 382

Cane, John : in 1824 accompanies Mr. Farewell to Natal, and remains in that country, 118 ; in 1828 is sent to Capetown by Tshaka to greet the governor, 122 ; after Mr. Farewell's death in September 1829 becomes chief of a party of blacks, 125 ; in October 1830 is sent by Dingan with a present of ivory to the governor of the Cape Colony, but is not allowed to proceed farther than Grahamstown, and the present is declined, 126 ; returns to Natal, 126 ; in November 1837 accompanies Pieter Retief to Umkungunhlovu, 133 ; early in April 1838 takes part in an attack upon Dingan's army, 142 ; and on the 17th of that month is killed in battle with the Zulus, 145

*Cape mounted riflemen, regiment of : has been allowed to fall off greatly in number, and in 1834 consists of two hundred and forty-seven officers and men, 3 ; in 1837 is raised to four hundred and sixty-two horsemen, and three hundred footmen are attached to the corps, 72 ; on the 19th of February 1838 a number of the men mutiny, 168 ; in June 1839 the regiment is reduced to four hundred and eighty rank and file, 171 ; in 1846 two companies of Hottentot levies are attached to it provisionally for a short time, 275 ; in March 1847 it is increased by four hundred men, 298

Cape of Good Hope bank : in August 1837 is established in Capetown, 82

Cape of Good Hope fire assurance company : in 1835 is founded in Capetown, 217

Cape of Good Hope marine assurance company : in 1838 is founded in Capetown, 218

Cape of Good Hope punishment bill : in August 1836 is passed by the imperial parliament at the instance of Earl Glenelg, 63 ; provisions of, 132

*Capetown : on the 3rd of March 1840 is created a municipality, 81 ; is considerably improved in appearance during the government of Sir George Napier, 219

Casa, petty captain of the Amambala clan : in December 1834 attacks a military patrol, but is called back by his chief, 4 ; as a punishment is required by Colonel Somerset to leave the ceded territory, 4

*Casalis, Rev. E. : note on a book written by, 555

Cathcart, Sir George : on the 31st of March 1852 succeeds Sir Harry Smith as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner, 487 ; in November with a strong army marches from the Kaffir frontier to the Orange River Sovereignty to restore British prestige there, 498 ; on the 14th of December sends an ultimatum to Moshesh, 499 ; with the terms of which the chief only partially complies, 500 ; so on the 20th of December the army enters the Lesuto, 501 ; and is defeated in the battle of Berea, 504 ; the general, however, accepts an overture from Moshesh, declares peace, and returns with the troops to the Cape Colony, 506

- Catherine*, British barque : on the 5th of October 1846 is wrecked at Waterloo Bay, 285
- Causes of the great emigration of Dutch-speaking people from the Cape Colony in and after 1836, 89
- Census in 1835 of Bantu between the Fish and Kei rivers south of the Amatola range, 46
- Chalmers, Rev. William, missionary at the Tyumie : in December 1834 is required by the chief Tyali to act as his secretary, 6 ; on the 20th of January 1835 is rescued by a military patrol, 15 ; at the close of the war returns to his station at the Tyumie, 46
- Champion, Rev. Mr., American missionary : in February 1836 assists to found the first mission station in Natal, 131 ; in April 1838 leaves Natal owing to the disturbances there, and never returns, 145
- Chapman, James : note on a book written by, 556
- Charters, Major Samuel, military secretary to Sir George Napier : in November 1838 is sent with a body of troops to occupy Port Natal, 153 ; constructs a stockaded camp there which he names Fort Victoria, 154 ; takes possession of all the ammunition in store at the port, 154 ; as soon as the troops are settled returns to Capetown, leaving Captain Henry Jervis in command, 155
- Chase, John Centlivres : note on a book written by, 551
- Chase *versus* Fairbairn : particulars of an action for libel in the *Commercial Advertiser*, 76
- Children's Friend Society : particulars concerning, 186
- Christophers, Joseph H. : in 1843 inaugurates a system of immigration by which a few artisans arrive at Port Elizabeth, 186
- *Church building, Dutch reformed, in Table Valley : in 1836 the greater part of the building erected at the commencement of the eighteenth century is broken down for the purpose of enlargement, and in 1841 the present edifice on the same site is opened for use, 219
- Cilliers, Carel, a pious farmer of puritan simplicity : accompanies the second large body of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 95 ; is one of a party that between May and September 1836 explores the country from the Vaal river to the Zoutpansberg, 96 ; in October assists in the defence of the camp at Vechtkop when attacked by the Matabele, 101 : in January 1837 accompanies a commando which defeats the Matabele at Mosega, 107 ; in November of the same year takes part in the expedition that drives the Matabele beyond the Limpopo, 114 ; is one of the ablest and most valiant warriors in the commando that on the 16th of December 1838 inflicts a crushing defeat upon Dinga, 151
- Clanwilliam, district of : on the first of January 1837 is separated from Worcester, having previously been only a sub-district, 80
- *Clarkebury mission station : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is abandoned, but early in 1836 is reoccupied, 47
- Clarkson, Moravian mission station : in 1838 is founded for the benefit of Fingos at Zitzikama, 170
- Clerk, Sir George Russell : on the 6th of April 1853 is appointed special com-

missioner for the Orange River Sovereignty, 528 ; on the 8th of August arrives in Bloemfontein, 528 ; on the 9th calls upon the inhabitants of the Sovereignty to elect delegates to take over the government, 530 ; on the 5th of September the delegates meet in Bloemfontein, 530 ; but refuse to take over the government except under conditions to which the special commissioner cannot agree, 530 ; the republican party, however, offers to comply with his wishes, 532 ; in December he has an interview with Moshesh, but makes no arrangements with him, 534 ; he investigates charges against the emigrant farmers made by missionaries, 536 ; on the 19th of January 1854 invites delegates from the republican party to meet in Bloemfontein, 540 ; and on the 23rd of February signs the convention by which the Orange River Sovereignty ceases to exist, 543 ; he is unable to induce Adam Kok to come to any arrangement, 547 ; and he then declares the treaty with that captain null and void, 547 ; on the 11th of March with the British troops and officials he leaves Bloemfontein for Capetown, 546

*Cloete, Advocate Henry : on the 12th of May 1843 is sent to Natal as a commissioner to collect information, 353 ; on the 8th of August receives the submission of the volksraad to the conditions imposed by the secretary of state for the colonies, 360 ; on the first of October visits Panda, 363 ; and obtains that chief's consent to a new boundary between Zululand and Natal, 364 ; at the same time obtains from Panda the cession of St. Lucia Bay to the queen of England, 364 ; on the 13th of November 1845 is appointed recorder of Natal, 370

Cloete, Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. : in June 1842 is sent from Capetown with troops to succour the British force beleaguered in Natal, 345 ; and succeeds in that object, 346 ; calls upon the farmers to submit to the queen's authority, 348 ; on the 15th of July receives the submission of the volksraad, 349 ; and then returns to Capetown, leaving Major Smith in command of the troops in Natal, 349

Cock, William : makes great efforts to improve Port Frances, 193 ; in October 1847 becomes a member of the legislative council of the Cape Colony, 232

Cole, Eldred Mowbray : on the 1st of May 1847 is appointed Tembu commissioner and is stationed at Shiloh, 313

*Cole, Lieutenant-General Sir Galbraith Lowry : on the 4th of October 1842 dies, 224

Colesberg, district of : on the 6th of February 1837 is created, 78

Collis, James : in August 1831 settles at Port Natal, 127 ; in 1835 is killed there by an explosion of gunpowder, 128

Colonial bank : in 1844 is established in Capetown, 235

**Commercial Advertiser, the South African* : during the war of 1834-5 creates irritation on the frontier of the Cape Colony by advocating the Kaffir cause, 9 ; is the organ of the party opposed to Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrangements after the close of the war, 52 ; supports the measures carried out by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, 71 ; in the war of 1846-7 advocates the same principles as all other colonial newspapers, 274

*Consistories of the Dutch reformed church : constitution of, 214

Constitution of nine articles: on the 6th of June 1837 is adopted by the emigrant farmers at Winburg, 111

Construction of roads in the Cape Colony by convict labour: particulars of the system introduced in 1843, 222

Convention of Bloemfontein of the 23rd of February 1854: terms of, 543

Cowie, Dr.: with Mr. Benjamin Green in 1829 travels from the Cape Colony by way of Natal to Delagoa Bay, 126; and perishes of fever when trying to return, 126

Cowie, William: in May 1838 is appointed fieldcornet of Port Natal, 147; on the 22nd of December 1844 is appointed first postmaster at Durban, 370

Cox, Major William: in January 1835, during the sixth Kaffir war, commands the patrol that commences operations against the Kosas, 12; in March commands one of the four divisions of the army which enters Kaffirland, 19; five months later assists in the conferences by which the war is brought to an end, 39

Cradock, district of: on the 6th of February 1837 is created, 78

Craig, John Moore: from the 10th of June 1841 to the 23rd of April 1843 acts as secretary to government in the Cape Colony, 206

Cumming, R. G.: note on a book written by, 556

*Customs duties of the Cape Colony: particulars concerning various charges between 1834 and 1850, 197

DANSER, David, Korana captain: in 1839 sells a tract of land containing the present diamond mines to David Stephanus Fourie, 405; in 1849 is provided with a location along the southern bank of the Vaal river, 463

Daumas, Rev. Mr., of the Paris evangelical society: in 1837 commences a mission at Mekuatleng with the Bataung under Molitsane, 374

*Davids, Peter, Griqua captain: in January 1837 assists the emigrant farmers against the Matabele, 106; complains of the injustice done to him by the treaty of 1843 between Sir George Napier and the Basuto chief Moshesh, 392; in June 1846 assists Major Warden to disperse the adherents of Jan Kock, 409; shortly after this event the members of his little clan move away in different directions, and he ceases to be of any importance, 410

Davies, Lieutenant David, of the 90th regiment: in January 1847 is appointed superintendent of Kaffir police, and is stationed at Alice, 297

Davis, Rev. W. J., missionary at Clarkeburg: in April 1835 during the Kaffir war is rescued by a military patrol, 27

Debt, colonial public: is paid off during the governments of Sir George Napier and Sir Peregrine Maitland, 190

*Delagoa Bay: in 1829 is visited by an exploring expedition from the Cape Colony, 126; see Lourenço Marques

Delancey, Captain Peter: in January 1836 is sent on a diplomatic mission to the chiefs Kreli, Vadana, Faku, and Ncapayi, 47

Delegorgue, Adulphe: note on a book written by, 552

Denyssen, Advocate Pieter Jan: is the first secretary of the municipality of Capetown, 82

*Dingan : on the 23rd of September 1828 with two others murders his brother Tshaka, 123 ; shortly afterwards with his own hand assassinates one of his fellow-conspirators, 124 ; and then becomes chief of the Zulu tribe, 124 ; in which capacity he displays the vilest qualities, 124 ; he invites the Europeans at Port Natal to remain there for trading purposes, 125 ; in October 1830 sends an embassy with a present of ivory to the governor of the Cape Colony, but it is not received, 126 ; which greatly irritates him, 126 ; in 1834 to give confidence to the Europeans at Port Natal he withdraws his soldiers from the southern side of the lower Tugela, 128 ; in June 1835 makes Captain Gardiner chief of the Natal people and gives him permission to establish two mission stations, 131 ; also gives the American missionaries leave to form stations in his country, 131 ; claims dominion over the whole territory between the Drakensberg and the sea as far south as the Umzimvubu, 132 ; during the winter of 1837 sends an expedition against Moselekatse, 113 ; which secures much spoil, 113 ; in November 1837 promises Pieter Retief a tract of land on condition of recovering some cattle that have been stolen from the Zulus by Sikonyela's Batlokua, 134 ; the condition being fulfilled, on the 4th of February 1838 he cedes to the emigrant farmers the territory between the Tugela and Umzimvubu rivers, 136 ; having succeeded in throwing Retief and his companions off their guard, on the 6th he causes them all to be murdered, 136 ; immediately afterwards sends his warriors to exterminate the emigrants in Natal, 139 ; and on the 17th of February another dreadful massacre takes place, 139 ; some of the emigrants, however, receive warning in time, and successfully defend themselves in lagers, 139 ; on the 11th of April his army defeats an emigrant commando under H. Potgieter and P. Uys, 143 ; and on the 17th of the same month in a desperate battle almost annihilates the Englishmen and blacks of Natal, 144 ; the army afterwards destroys everything of value at Durban, 145 ; in August it is again sent against the emigrants in Natal, but is beaten back with heavy loss, 147 ; on the 16th of December 1838 at the Blood river it suffers a crushing defeat from the emigrant farmers under Commandant-General Pretorius, 150 ; Dingan then sets fire to his kraal and takes shelter in the thickets along the Umvolosi river, 151 ; in and after March 1839 he makes insincere overtures for peace to the emigrant farmers, 156 ; in September of this year his brother Panda conspires against him, 160 ; the emigrant farmers assist the rebel, 161 ; on the 30th of January 1840 Dingan's army is defeated with very heavy loss, and he then flees to the border of the Swazi country, 163 ; where he is shortly afterwards assassinated, 164 ; his destruction enables the remnants of dispersed tribes to emerge from their hiding-places and form themselves into settled communities, 373

District : this word is defined by a proclamation of Sir George Napier on the 5th of February 1839 to mean the area under the jurisdiction of a resident magistrate, 220

Division : this word is defined by a proclamation of Sir George Napier on the 5th of February 1839 to mean the area under the administration of a civil commissioner, 220

Doncaster, the: on the 17th of July 1836 is wrecked near Cape Agulhas, 236

**Donkin*, Sir Rufane Shawe: on the 1st of May 1841 dies, 224

Dreyer, Thomas: takes part in the battle of Boomplaats against the British forces, is afterwards captured and is punished with death, 442

Drost dies: during the governments of Sir George Napier and Sir Peregrine Maitland all except the one at Worcester are sold to aid in the extinction of the colonial debt, 230

Dugmore, Rev. Mr., missionary at Mount Coke: at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 takes refuge at Wesleyville, 15; and is there rescued by a party of volunteers, 15

Duplooy, Commandant Jacobus: is head of a party of emigrant farmers in the territory north of the Orange river, and assists in hostilities against the Griquas of Adam Kok, 397; on the 2nd of May 1845 takes part in the skirmish at Zwartkopjes against British troops and Griquas, 399; after the defeat flees to Winburg, 400; in September 1847 is sent from Winburg to Grahamstown to seek redress from Sir Henry Pottinger for some acts of Major Warden, 416; but cannot even obtain an interview with the high commissioner, 416

**D'Urban*, Sir Benjamin, governor of the Cape Colony: on the 20th of January 1835 arrives in Grahamstown and assumes command of the forces collected to oppose the Kosas, 13; after the cessation of resistance by the Rarabe clans, on the 15th of April crosses the Kei into the Galeka territory, 24; on the 30th of April concludes peace with Hintsa, 28; and on the 19th of May, after Hintsa's death, with the young chief Kreli, 32; on the 10th of May issues a proclamation annexing to the British dominions the territory from the frontier of the Cape Colony to the Kei river, 30; on the 11th of June transfers the direct command of the forces in the field to Colonel Smith, 36; and on the 17th of September brings the sixth Kaffir war to an end by receiving the Rarabe clans as British subjects, 40; forms an excellent plan for the government of the Kaffirs in the province of Queen Adelaide, 45; on the 14th of October extends the north-eastern boundary of the colony to the Kraai river, 48; on the 30th of December reaches Capetown again, 50; is greatly esteemed by the colonists, 51; but is very unfavourably regarded by Earl Glenelg, secretary of state, 60; as they hold different views on many subjects, 82; and the tone of his despatches gives great offence, 84; in January 1837 he becomes a lieutenant-general, 85; but a few months later is dismissed from office as governor, 84; on the 22nd of January 1838 transfers the duty to his successor, 85; but remains until April 1846 in South Africa, 85; is then appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, 86; and acts in that capacity until the 25th of May 1849, when he dies at Montreal, 86

D'Urban, Lady: in 1836 founds a girls' school of industry at Wynberg, 85; on the 23rd of August 1843 dies in Capetown, 85

Durban, town of: on the 23rd of June 1835 is laid out and named by some Englishmen living at Port Natal, 129

Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony : particulars concerning the ordinance of November 1843, 213

*Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony, extension of : for the congregation of Riebeeck East on the 9th of March 1830 the civil commissioner of Albany was directed by the secretary to government to nominate elders and deacons for the governor's approval. The next letter on the subject to be found in Capetown is from the reverend Alexander Smith, of Uitenhage, stating that he had ordained the elders and deacons in January 1831, and that on the 22nd of April 1831 the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet had appointed the reverend Mr. Morgan, of Somerset East, consulent of the new congregation. The church at Stockenström was founded by the reverend William Ritchie Thomson, of the Glasgow mission, who in July 1830 was introduced to the members of the Dutch church there by the reverend Mr. Morgan, of Somerset East, but who found no persons competent to fill the offices of elders and deacons. On the 2nd of June 1831 Mr. Thomson joined the Dutch reformed church. Provisional officers acted until the 5th of April 1834, when elders and deacons nominated by the civil commissioner of Albany were ordained by Mr. Thomson, though they were not formally confirmed by the governor until the 11th of December 1834. The church at Piketberg was organised by the reverend William Robertson, of Clanwilliam, in accordance with a recommendation of the presbytery of the Cape in 1831, which received the full approval of the governor. Elders and deacons nominated by the civil commissioner of the Cape were ordained by Mr. Robertson about or before the 17th of October 1833, but none were formally approved by the governor until the 23rd of October 1834, when the clergyman of Malmesbury was appointed consulent. On the 27th of April 1839 elders and deacons were approved by the governor for the church in Riversdale ; on the 27th of April 1839 for the church in Bredasdorp ; on the 22nd of June 1840 for the church in Wellington ; on the 24th of November 1842 for the church in Prince Albert ; on the 2nd of November 1843 for the church in Richmond. For Victoria West a list of names for approval of elders and deacons was submitted by the presbytery of Beaufort to the governor, who on the 3rd of November 1843 declined to confirm them on the ground that the establishment of a congregation there had not been sanctioned by him. To a further communication the secretary to government was directed to reply to the presbytery clerk, 12th of December 1843, that 'his Excellency saw no occasion for submitting the names of any consistories for his approval, and much less the names of consistories in congregations not supported by government.' The churches from this date forward were free of control in the appointment of their elders and deacons, though as a matter of courtesy the governor approved on the 9th of May 1845 of the names submitted to him for the consistory of the new congregation at French Hoek. See Burghersdorp, Kruisvallei, Mossel Bay, and Victoria West. After the 14th of May 1845 the salaries of church clerks, sextons, organists, and bellringers ceased to be paid by government, and the churches were left free in the appointments to these offices

- EASTERN province of the Cape Colony: the inhabitants desire to have a government separate from that of the western province, 233; but in November 1847 the last lieutenant-governor is withdrawn, 234
- Eastern Province bank: in 1839 is founded in Grahamstown, 218
- Eastern Province fire and life assurance company: in 1839 is founded in Grahamstown, 218
- Ebden, Advocate J. W.: on the 22nd of September 1852 is appointed assistant commissioner in the Orange River Sovereignty, 494
- Education of children: see Schools
- Edwards, Rev. Roger: in 1852 is a missionary of the London society residing with a Bahurutsi clan near the Marikwa, 523; is brought to trial for libel and sentenced to banishment from the South African Republic, 524
- Elizabeth and Susan*, a small schooner: in 1828 is built on the southern shore of Port Natal, 122; in December of the same year is seized at Algoa Bay and detained by the authorities for being without a license, 125
- England, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard: in 1834 is in command of the garrison of Grahamstown, 3; on the 11th of February 1835 with a division of the British forces attacks the hostile Kosas in the thickets along the Fish river, 17; when the army enters Kaffirland in the following month he is left in command of the line of defence, 19
- *English episcopal church: at the beginning of 1844 has nine congregations with clergymen in the Cape Colony, 215; its clergymen are under the superintendence of an ecclesiastical board in London, and to some extent also under the supervision of the senior chaplain in Capetown, 215; particulars concerning its progress until the close of 1847, 242
- *Eno, chief of the Amambala clan of Kosas: in November 1834 is implicated in a theft of horses from the colony, 3; but upon Colonel Somerset's demand gives redress for this and other acts of violence by his people, 4; in December sends his followers to plunder and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 7; in January 1835 is attacked by a patrol under Major Cox, and suffers some loss, 12; continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to become a British subject, 40; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66; on the 2nd of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252; on the 1st of April 1846 dies, and is succeeded by his son Stokwe, 265
- Enslin, J. A.: in January 1851 is appointed by the volksraad commandant-general of the western border of the South African Republic, 482
- Erasmus, Commandant Pieter: in 1848 assists the British forces under Sir Harry Smith against the emigrant farmers in the Orange River Sovereignty, 435; in September of the same year is appointed a member of the war tribute commission, 444
- Erasmus, Stephanus: is attacked by a band of Matabele warriors in 1836 while on a hunting excursion north of the Vaal, 99; when four white men and a number of coloured servants are murdered, 99

- *Executive council of the Cape Colony : on the 26th of June 1840 is enlarged by a seat being given to the collector of customs, 206
- *Exports of South African produce from 1836 to 1850 : particulars concerning, 199
- *Extension of the Cape Colony : on the 14th of October 1835 the colony is extended by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to the Kraai river on the north-east, 48 ; but on the 5th of December 1836 is contracted again by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom to the Stormberg spruit, 65 ; on the 17th of December 1847 it is extended by Sir Harry Smith to the Keiskama, Tyumie, Klipplaats, Zwart Kei, Klaas Smit's, and Kraai rivers on the east, and to the Orange river on the north, 310
- *FAIRBAIRN, John : takes a very active part in the improvement of the public school system, 202
- Faku, paramount chief of the Pondo tribe : in July 1828 is visited by Major Dundas, 325 ; his country has recently been overrun by Tshaka's army, and he and his people are living in the valley of the Umgazi river in great poverty, 325 ; he sends messengers to Tshaka to beg to be received as a vassal, and they reach their destination on the very day of the Zulu chief's assassination, 325 ; in May 1829 he is visited by the reverend William Shaw, 325 ; he is then in better circumstances than in the preceding year, 325 ; immediately afterwards missionaries of the Wesleyan society settle in his country, 325 ; his tribe is then weak, is entirely confined to the western side of the Umzimvubu, and is living in constant turmoil, 326 ; in 1835 he promises friendship to the Cape Colony during the war with the Kosas, 20 ; in February 1836 he is visited by Captain P. Delancey, 47 ; early in 1838 in alliance with the Baca chief Ncapayi he sweeps the Tembu country of cattle, 327 ; he exchanges friendly messages with the emigrant farmers immediately after they enter Natal, 327 : on the 10th and 11th of March 1838 he and his people cross the Umzimvubu and build new kraals on the Umzimhlava, 328 ; early in 1839 he is informed by the reverend Mr. Jenkins—without authority—that Sir George Napier guarantees to him the whole territory northward to the Umzimkulu, 328 ; by the close of this year he and his people are in a fairly prosperous condition, 330 ; in April 1840 he makes war with Ncapayi, 330 ; in December 1840, owing to an attack by the emigrant farmers upon the Bacas of Ncapayi, he calls the missionaries in his neighbourhood together to give him advice, 332 ; in his name and with his consent the missionaries write to Sir George Napier craving protection and claiming the territory northward to the Umzimkulu, 332 ; a body of troops is then sent to form a camp on the Umgazi for his defence, 333 ; on the 7th of October 1844 he enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, in which all the territory south of the Umzimkulu is surrendered to him, 367 ; after which he puts forward claims of supremacy over other chiefs which perpetuate the old wars and confusion, 368
- Farewell, Francis George : in 1823 visits Natal on a trading expedition, 117 ;

is so impressed with the capabilities of the country that he resolves to establish himself there, 117; induces about twenty-five individuals to join him in the enterprise, 117; in June 1824 settles on the northern shore of the inlet, 118; shortly afterwards is abandoned by all of the adventurers except four, 118; in July visits Tshaka, 119; on the 7th of August receives from Tshaka a grant of a large tract of land round Port Natal, 119; on the 1st of December 1828 leaves Natal to procure goods in the Cape Colony, 125; when returning overland in September 1829 is murdered by the Amakwabi, 125

Faunce, Captain, of the 73rd regiment: on the 20th of December 1852 is made prisoner by the Basuto in the battle of Berea, 503; and is put to death by them, 505

Faure, Rev. P. E.: at the end of 1848 goes on a mission to the emigrants north of the Orange, 447

Fauresmith, village of: early in 1850 is founded, 528

Fawn, the: from 1842 to 1844 serves as a floating fort at Port Natal, 349

*Fingos: differ in disposition from Kosas, 26; in 1835 are found living in a miserable condition among the Galekas, 26; individuals among them being often subject to oppressive treatment, though they are not slaves, 26; some of them are taken under British protection, 27; these are attacked by the Galekas, but are not destroyed, as Hintsa is compelled by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to recall his warriors, 28; they are removed to a block of land between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 29: in 1837 a location in the Zitzikama is given to some of them, 71; in August of the same year those around Fort Peddie are attacked by Kaffirs and pillaged, 71; they give Sir George Napier a good deal of trouble, 170; in the war of 1846-7 they take part with the Europeans against the Kosas, 266; in January 1847 about three thousand more are brought from Butterworth and located west of the Tyumie, 293; see Jama, Jokweni, Mabandla, Matomela, Umhlambiso, and Umsutu

Fodo, son of the Hlangweni chief Nombewu: after the death of his father roams about until a tract of land south of the Umzimkulu is given to him by the emigrant farmers, 330; in December 1840 he assists the emigrant farmers against Ncapayi, 331

Fort Adelaide (afterwards Fort Armstrong): during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is a place of refuge for the Hottentots of the Kat river, 13

Fort Beresford: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the upper Buffalo river, 34; in September 1836 is abandoned, 64

Fort Cox: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the upper Keiskama river, 35; in December 1836 is abandoned, 66; at the beginning of August 1846 is again occupied, 278; and is one of the positions at which troops are stationed after the annexation of British Kaffraria to the queen's dominions, 313

Fort Dacres: is built at the mouth of the Fish river and occupied during the war of 1846-7, 276

Fort Glamorgan: in April 1847 is built on the western bank of the mouth of

- the Buffalo river, 298; is one of the positions occupied by troops after the annexation of British Kaffraria to the queen's dominions, 313
- Fort Grey: in December 1847 is occupied as an outpost of Fort Glamorgan, 313
- Fort Hare: in August 1847 is built on the eastern bank of the Tyumie, 303; and is one of the stations occupied by troops after the annexation of British Kaffraria to the queen's dominions, 313
- Fort Montgomery Williams: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the western bank of the Keiskama river, 35; in January 1837 is abandoned, 68
- Fort Murray: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the western bank of the Buffalo river, 34; in September 1836 is abandoned, 64; in April 1847 is rebuilt, 298; and is one of the positions at which troops are stationed after the annexation of British Kaffraria to the queen's dominions, 313
- Fort Napier: in 1843 is built at Maritzburg, 361
- Fort Peddie: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built in the centre of the ground allotted to Fingos between the Fish river and the Keiskama, 35; upon the abandonment of the territory east of the Fish river a garrison is retained in this fort for the defence of the Fingos, 68; on the 28th of May 1846 it is attacked by the Kaffirs, but without success, 271
- Fort Thomson: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built near the junction of the Gaga and Tyumie rivers, 35; in March 1837 is abandoned, 68
- Fort Warden: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built near the Kei river, 35; in September 1836 is abandoned, 64
- Fort Waterloo: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built near the Nahoon river, 35; in October 1836 is abandoned, 64; in 1847 is reoccupied, and troops are stationed in it after the annexation of British Kaffraria to the queen's dominions, 314
- Fort Wellington: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built near the source of the Gonubie river, 34; in September 1836 is abandoned, 64; the old fort is never again occupied, but in December 1847 one is built on the Tshalumna river, to which this name is given, 312; and in which troops are stationed after the annexation of British Kaffraria to the queen's dominions, 314
- Fort White: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is built on the Debe river, 35; in December 1836 is abandoned, 66; in July 1847 is rebuilt, 304; and is one of the stations occupied by troops after the annexation of British Kaffraria to the queen's dominions, 314
- *Fort Willshire: on the outbreak of war in December 1834 is abandoned by its feeble garrison, 8; at the end of January 1835 is reoccupied, 16; but in March 1837 is finally abandoned, 68
- Forty-fifth regiment: on the 1st of May 1843 the first battalion arrives in South Africa from Cork, 181; on the 30th of July 1846 the second battalion arrives from Monte Video, 285
- Fourie, David Stephanus: in 1839 purchases a tract of land containing the present diamond mines from the Korana captain David Danser, 405
- Francis Spaight, the: on the 7th of January 1846 is wrecked in Table Bay, 245
- Fraser, Dr.: on the 5th of September 1853 is elected chairman of the

assembly of delegates in Bloemfontein, 530; is afterwards sent to England by the delegates to protest against the abandonment of the Sovereignty, 532

Frederick Huth, British barque: in April 1847 takes a cargo of military stores to the mouth of the Buffalo river, 299

Freeman, Rev. J. J.: note on a book written by, 553

French Hoek, Dutch reformed church at: in May 1845 the first consistory commences duty, 241

Friend of the Free State newspaper: on the 10th of June 1850 the first number is issued at Bloemfontein, 462

Frontier Commercial and Agricultural bank: in 1847 is established in Grahamstown, 235

Fynn, Henry Francis: in April 1824 settles at Natal, 118; in July visits Tshaka, 119; whose favour he secures by skilful surgical treatment, 119; he collects a number of blacks together, and with Tshaka's consent becomes their chief, 121; receives from Tshaka a grant of a large tract of land, 121; early in 1831 flees from Natal to Buntingville, being in fear of Dingan, 127; but in August returns, 127; in September 1834 leaves Natal and moves to the Cape Colony, 128; in March 1835 is sent by Sir Benjamin D'Urban on a mission to Faku, chief of the Pondos, 20; a few months later guides a party of volunteers to Wesleyville to rescue some refugees, 15; in December 1836 is appointed British agent with Mapasa, 69; after the outbreak of war in 1846 his office is abolished, 291

Fynn, William Macdowell: in 1828 joins his brother in Natal, 123; early in 1831, being apprehensive of danger from Dingan, retires from Natal to Buntingville, 127; but in August returns, 127; in September 1834 removes to the Cape Colony, 128; in January 1836 acts as interpreter to the expedition under Captain P. Delancey, 47; in December of this year is appointed British agent with Kreli, 69; in November 1844 is sent to Pondoland to obtain the signature of the chief Faku to a treaty, 367; in April 1846 is obliged to flee from Butterworth to Clarkebury, and a little later to take refuge at Buntingville, 269; in December 1847 is appointed assistant commissioner in British Kaffraria, and is stationed at Fort Waterloo, 312

GALEKAS: in December 1834 assist the Rarabes to invade the Cape Colony, 7; and again in May 1846, 265

Galton, Francis: note on a book written by, 561

Gardiner, Captain Allen F.: in January 1835 arrives in Natal as a missionary, 128; on the 6th of May on behalf of the Europeans at Port Natal enters into a treaty with Dingan, 130; in accordance with which he shortly afterwards surrenders four fugitives to the Zulu chief, by whose orders they are starved to death, 131; he is now permitted to establish two mission stations, 131; and therefore returns to England to procure men to occupy them, 131; in June 1837 arrives in Natal again with the

reverend Mr. Owen, 131; and takes up his residence at the station which on his former visit he had named Berea, 131; attempts to act as a magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, but is repudiated by the Europeans in Natal, 132; in May 1838 leaves the country, 145; note on a book written by, 549

Gasela, Kosa captain: takes part against the colony in the sixth Kaffir war, but on the 17th of September 1835 agrees to become a British subject, 41; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66; on the 31st of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 251; in March 1845 dies and is succeeded by his son Toyise, 257

Gaslight: in 1846 is first used in Capetown, 237

Gentoo, the: on the 29th of April 1846 is wrecked near Cape Agulhas, 236

*George, district of: in August 1836 is separated from Uitenhage, to which in 1834 it had been attached for fiscal—not for judicial—purposes, 80

Gilfillan, William: in February 1837 is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the new district of Cradock, 79

Gladstone, W. E.: on the 23rd of December 1845 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, 232; on the 7th of July 1846 is succeeded by Earl Grey, 285

Glenelg, Earl: in April 1835 becomes secretary of state for the colonies in Viscount Melville's cabinet, 57; is in full sympathy with the party represented in South Africa by the reverend Dr. Philip, 57; on the 26th of December 1835 writes a despatch justifying the Kaffirs for making war upon the Cape Colony, and announcing that Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrangements with regard to the province of Queen Adelaide must be reversed, 58; sends out Captain Stockenstrom as lieutenant-governor with instructions to undo all that Sir Benjamin D'Urban has done, 59; is the author of the act usually known as the Cape of Good Hope punishment bill, 63; orders all the land east of the Fish and Kat rivers, except the Fingo locations, to be given to the Kaffirs, 66; dismisses Sir Benjamin D'Urban from office as governor of the Cape Colony, 84; after causing unbounded discontent and inflicting severe losses upon the Cape Colony, on the 8th of February 1839 he is forced by his colleagues to resign as secretary of state, 174

Godlonton, Robert: notes on books written by, 549, 551, and 552

*Gold: in 1836 is seen in the form of rings of native manufacture in possession of Bantu at the Zoutpansberg, 97

Goliath Yzerbek, a petty Korana captain: in 1849 is provided by the Sovereignty government with a location along the southern bank of the Vaal river, 463

*Gontse, Barolong captain: in 1841 moves from Thaba Ntshu over the Vaal, 375; and has a tract of land assigned to him by Commandant Potgieter, 375; upon which he lives as a favoured subject of the emigrant farmers, 376; subsequently wanders from one place to another until his death, when he is succeeded by Masisi, 376

- *Government bank : on the 31st of December 1842 is closed, 195
- *Grahamstown : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 presents a scene of great misery, 9
- Green, Benjamin : with Dr. Cowie in 1829 travels from the Cape Colony by way of Natal to Delagoa Bay, 126 ; perishes of fever when trying to return, 126
- Green, Henry : in 1848 is in charge of the commissariat train that accompanies Sir Harry Smith's expedition to restore British authority north of the Orange, 435 ; on the 23rd of July 1852 becomes British resident in the Orange River Sovereignty, 495 ; and retains that office until the abandonment of the country by the British government, 544
- Grey, Earl : on the 7th of July 1846 succeeds Mr. Gladstone as secretary of state for the colonies, 285
- Griffith, right reverend Patriek Raymond, first bishop of the Roman catholic church in South Africa : on the 14th of April 1838 arrives in Capetown from Europe, 217
- *Griquas : history of the people so called, 379 ; see Barends, Davids, Kok, and Waterboer
- Griquatown : in 1803 is founded as a mission station, 380 ; in 1813 receives its present name from the reverend John Campbell, 382
- Groepe, Fieldcornet Christiaan : at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 takes command of the half-breeds of the Kat river who rally to the support of the government, 13 ; and performs excellent service against the enemy, 17 ; in the war of 1846-7 is again commandant of the same people, 279
- Grout, Rev. Aldin, American missionary : in February 1836 assists to found the first mission station in Natal, 131 ; in April 1838 leaves Natal on account of disturbances caused by the Zulus, 145 ; in June 1840 returns and resumes mission work, 320
- Grout, Rev. Lewis : note on a book written by, 555
- Guano : particulars concerning the discovery of a vast quantity of guano on some small islands off the coast of Great Namaqualand, and its removal, 227
- Guano islands off the coast of Great Namaqualand : on the 5th of May 1866 are taken possession of for Great Britain, 229 ; and on the 16th of July in the same year are annexed to the Cape Colony, 229 ; see Ichaboe
- *Gwalana post : at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is abandoned, and is never again occupied, 8
- HAM, Rev. Pieter Nicolaas : is sent out by a society in Holland to minister to the emigrant farmers in Natal, but on his arrival there on the 8th of May 1843 is not permitted by the English authorities to land, 354 ; proceeds to Delagoa Bay, where his wife dies, 355 ; in 1844 leaves Lourenço Marques and proceeds to Capetown, 366 ; early in 1845 becomes the first resident clergyman of French-Hoek, 241
- Harbour improvements in Table Bay : particulars concerning, 192

- Harbour works at Algoa Bay: particulars concerning, 192
- Harbour works at Port Frances: particulars concerning, 193
- *Harding, Walter: on the 13th of November 1845 is appointed crown prosecutor of Natal, 370
- Hard road over the Cape flats: between July 1844 and September 1846 is opened for use in sections, 237
- Hare, Lieutenant-Colonel John, of the 27th regiment: on the 9th of August 1838 becomes acting lieutenant-governor of the eastern province, 173; in September 1839 is confirmed in the appointment, 177; in March 1846 calls upon Sandile to surrender some criminals, and as he meets with a refusal sends a military force to occupy the chief's kraal, which is the commencement of the seventh Kaffir war, 260; in July and August 1846 commands the first division of the army of operations, 276; in September 1846 leaves South Africa to return to England, 283; but dies at sea four days after embarking, 284
- Harris, Captain Cornwallis: in 1836 visits the Matabele chief Moselekatse and hunts along the Limpopo river, 96; note on a book written by, 554
- Harrismith, village of: in May 1849 is founded, 449
- Harvey, William Henry: on the 18th of October 1836 becomes treasurer-general of the Cape Colony, 207: is author of three volumes of the *Flora Capensis*, 207; on the 7th of December 1841 leaves for Europe suffering from aberration of mind, 207
- *Heads of the Cape government, succession of: Sir Benjamin D'Urban, governor, from 16th January 1834 to 22nd January 1838; Sir George Thomas Napier, governor, from 22nd January 1838 to 18th March 1844; Sir Peregrine Maitland, governor, from 18th March 1844 to 27th January 1847; Sir Henry Pottinger, governor and high commissioner, from 27th January to 1st December 1847; Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith, governor and high commissioner, from 1st December 1847 to 31st March 1852
- *Hintsa, paramount chief of the Kosa tribe: at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes to be a neutral, but really takes an active part against the colony, 24; is a very poor specimen of a Kosa, 25; in February and again in March 1835 is called upon by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to cease aiding the Rarabe clans, but does not comply with the demand, 19; after the entrance of an army into his country declines to give satisfaction for his hostile conduct, 27; but after losing a large number of cattle, on the 29th of April comes to the British camp to ask for peace, 28; and there on the following day agrees to the governor's terms, 28; remains in the camp as a hostage for the fulfilment of the conditions of peace, 28; as the cattle which he agreed to surrender are not brought in by his people he proposes to go with a patrol of the British forces to collect them, 30; this offer being accepted, the patrol sets out, when he attempts to make his escape, and is killed in doing so, 31; is succeeded in the chieftainship by his son Kreli, 32
- Hebron mission station: in 1847 is founded south of the Lesuto by the French evangelical society, 411

- van den Heever, Lukas: in 1844 is one of the leaders of the emigrant farmers in the district of Philippolis who are favourable to British rule, 396
- Hermanus, a Kaffir for some time employed as an interpreter: during the war of 1846-7 assists the Europeans, 265; in January 1848 is rewarded by a grant of land near Fort Beaufort, 316
- Hermion mission station: in 1847 is founded in the Lesuto by the French evangelical society, 411
- *Herschel, Sir John: takes a very warm interest in matters relating to education, 202; at the request of Sir George Napier draws up a plan for the improvement of the public schools, 202; in March 1838 returns to Europe, 204; at the governor's request selects teachers for the most important public schools, 204
- Herschel system of schools: in 1839 is commenced in the Cape Colony, 203
- Hewitt, Rev. J. A.: note on a book written by, 560
- High commissioner: the office is first held in South Africa by Sir Henry Pottinger, 295
- Hill, Captain John Montgomery: in January 1839 becomes the first resident magistrate of Malmesbury, 220
- Hlangweni tribe: see Fodo and Nombewu
- van der Hoff, Rev. Dirk: in May 1853 arrives in the South African Republic from Holland, and for some time is the only clergyman there, 526
- Hoffman, Josias Philip: in February 1854 is chairman of the assembly of delegates that takes over the government of the Orange River Sovereignty from Sir George Clerk, 540
- Hofstede, H. J.: note on a book written by, 557
- Hogg, Captain William S., of the 7th dragoon guards: in August 1846 commands an expedition against Mapasa, 281; serves afterwards until the close of the war of 1846-7 as commandant of Hottentot levies, 293; is appointed assistant commissioner, and in that capacity on the 27th of November 1851 arrives at Bloemfontein with large powers, 477; investigates matters in the Orange River Sovereignty, 479; on the 17th of January 1852 concludes the Sand River Convention with delegates from the Transvaal emigrants, 485; in February opens negotiations with Moshesh, 492; but cannot bring that chief to do anything practical towards the restoration of peace, 494; on the 9th of June 1852 dies at Bloemfontein, 494
- Holden, Rev. W.: note on a book written by, 555
- Holstead, Thomas: in 1824 accompanies Mr. Farewell to Natal, 118; in October 1830 is sent by Dingaan with a present of ivory to the governor of the Cape Colony, but he is not allowed to proceed farther than Grahams-town, and the present is declined, 126; returns to Natal, 126; in November 1837 accompanies Pieter Retief to Umkungunhlovu as an interpreter, 133; three months later again proceeds to Umkungunhlovu as interpreter to Pieter Retief, 135; and there on the 6th of February 1838 is murdered with the others of the party, 136
- Hope*, the, the first steamer employed on the South African coast: on the 8th

- of December 1838 arrives from England, 218; on the 11th of March 1840 is wrecked near Cape St. Francis, 218
- *Hottentots of the Kat river : at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 are in a very discontented condition owing to injudicious teaching, and are suspected of an intention to join the Kosas, 12; but under the judicious management of Captain Armstrong are led to commit themselves on the colonial side, 13; during the war it is necessary to maintain them and their families at the public expense, 14; as also during the war of 1846-7, when the settlement is found to be a very heavy drain upon the public resources, 270
- *Hudson, Hougham: at the close of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is appointed agent-general for the province of Queen Adelaide and resident magistrate of Grahamstown, 45; in September 1836 becomes secretary to the lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, 68
- Hume, David : in 1835 explores the country along the Limpopo river, 96
- ICHABOE Island: description of, 228; on the 21st of June 1861 is taken possession of for Great Britain, 229; and on the 16th of July 1866 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 229
- *Immigrants from Europe : between the years 1823 and 1844 very few arrive in South Africa, 185; particulars of a plan adopted in 1844 under which over four thousand individuals are added to the population of the Cape Colony, 230; see *Christophers and Juvenile Immigrants*
- *Immigrants of coloured blood: during the whole of this period, and particularly during the government of Sir George Napier, a great many negroes rescued from slave ships by British cruisers are brought into the Cape Colony, 189
- *Imports: particulars concerning goods imported between 1835 and 1850 into the Cape Colony, 198
- Inglis, Rev. Walter: in 1852 is a missionary of the London society residing with a Bahurutsi clan near the Marikwa, 523; is brought to trial for libel, and sentenced to banishment from the South African Republic, 524
- *Innes, James Rose: on the 11th of May 1839 is appointed first superintendent-general of education in the Cape Colony, 203; in May 1840 proceeds to Scotland to procure teachers, 204; in March 1841 returns with several, 204; manages to thwart an attempt to wreck the new system of education, 205
- Isaacs, Nathaniel: in October 1825 becomes a resident at Port Natal, 120; is severely wounded while accompanying a Zulu military expedition, 121; in December 1828 leaves Natal, 125; but in April 1830 returns, 125; early in 1831 finally leaves Natal, 127; note on a book written by, 549
- JACOB, a Kaffir: has been a convict on Robben Island, and is sent by the Cape government as an interpreter to Captain Owen in the surveying ship *Leven*, 117; in July 1823 is transferred by Captain Owen to Mr. Farewell, who is proceeding along the coast on a trading expedition, 117;

- runs away at St. Lucia Bay, and becomes a favourite of Tshaka, 119; in October 1830 is sent by Dingan with a present of ivory to the governor of the Cape Colony, but he is not allowed to proceed farther than Grahams-town, and the present is declined, 126; returns to Natal, 126; in 1831 by Dingan's order is put to death, 127
- Jacobs, Pieter: in 1837 is leader of a large party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 112
- Jacobs, Willem: in October 1847 is elected landdrost of Winburg by the emigrant farmers who are opposed to the British government, 415
- Jalusa, Kosa captain: towards the close of 1835 with a band of turbulent characters moves to the neighbourhood of Thaba Bosigo, where he leads the life of a robber, 103; in September 1836 the band is almost entirely destroyed by the Basuto, 103
- Jama, chief of a remnant of the Amakuze tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Kosas, 25; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 29
- Jenkins, Mrs., wife of the reverend Thomas Jenkins: in 1838 goes to reside in Pondoland, 328; gives a description of the Pondo tribe at that time, 328
- Jervis, Captain Henry: in January 1839 is left in command of the troops at Port Natal, 155; attempts to bring about peace between the emigrant farmers and the Zulus, 156; on the 24th of December 1839 when the British troops are withdrawn he leaves Natal, 159
- Jokweni, chief of a remnant of the Amazizi tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Kosas, 25; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 29; in December 1836 as an independent chief enters into a treaty with the British government, 68; on the 29th of December 1840 consents to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252
- Joubert, Gideon: in May 1838 visits the emigrant camp in Natal as a commissioner of the Cape government, 146; in November 1838 visits Natal again in the same capacity, 148; in July and August 1845 is sent by Sir Peregrine Maitland on a tour of investigation through the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers, 404; in the war of 1846-7 is commandant of the Colesberg burghers, 279
- Joubert, W. F.: in January 1851 is appointed by the volksraad commandant-general for Lydenburg, 482; is one of the parties to the Sand River Convention, 485
- Juvenile immigrants: in 1839 cease to be sent to South Africa, owing to the collapse of the Children's Friend Society; 186
- KAFFIR police: in 1835 after the close of the sixth Kaffir war a small body is enrolled to serve in the province of Queen Adelaide, 46; the men are employed by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom in the colony, where

they are worse than useless, 71; in 1846 they are disbanded, 296; in January 1847 a hundred men are again enrolled and are stationed at Alice, 296; in March the number is increased by Sir Henry Pottinger to two hundred men, 298; and a few months later to four hundred and forty-six men, 312

Kama, Gunukwebe captain and a professed Christian: in the war of 1834-5 acts as a neutral, 14; on the 17th of September 1835 agrees to become a British subject, 41; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66; on the 19th of June 1838 enters into a closer treaty of alliance framed by Sir George Napier, 169; on the 29th of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications in these treaties, 180; in June 1843 moves to the vicinity of the Lesuto, 184; in the war of 1846-7 assists the Europeans, 265; in January 1848 is rewarded for his fidelity by a grant of the land still known as Kamastone, 316

Kausop: see Scheel Kobus

Kayser, Rev. Frederick, of the London society: upon the conclusion of peace in 1835 re-establishes the mission station Knappshope on the Keiskama river, 47

*Keiskama River: in December 1847 becomes the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony, 310

Kekewich, Judge: on the 12th of October 1843 retires on pension, 207

Kermode, W.: note on a book written by, 558

Keto, chief of the Amakwabi: in 1828 is obliged to flee from Dingan, and commits dreadful ravages south of the Umzimvubu, 124; in September 1829 murders Mr. Farewell and his companions, 125

*Kicherer, Rev. J. J.: on the 1st of April 1825 dies, 212

King, James Saunders: in 1823 visits Natal as master of a vessel, 117; proceeds to England and applies to Earl Bathurst for countenance in opening a trading establishment at Port Natal, 120; receives a letter of recommendation to Lord Charles Somerset, 120; returns to South Africa, and on the 1st of October 1825 reaches Natal, but loses his vessel in attempting to cross the bar, 120; in April 1828 leaves Natal with two of Tshaka's indunas as an embassy to the Cape government, 122; but is obliged to return as he came, the government declining to receive him as Tshaka's representative, 122; in September 1828 dies at Natal, 123

King, Richard: in May 1842 rides express from Durban to Grahamstown to seek assistance for the British troops beleaguered there, 343

King-Williamstown: on the 24th of May 1835 is founded on the eastern bank of the Buffalo river, 34; in December 1836 is abandoned, 66; during the war of 1846-7 it is reoccupied, 293; Sir George Berkeley makes it the head-quarters of the troops in the field, 313; in December 1847 Sir Harry Smith makes it the seat of government of the new province of British Kaffraria, 312

Kobe, Gunukwebe captain: during the war of 1834-5 of his own free will goes to Grahamstown as a hostage for the good conduct of his brothers, 15; on the 17th of September 1835 agrees to become a British subject, 41; on

the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66 ; on the 19th of June 1838 enters into a closer treaty of alliance framed by Sir George Napier, 169 ; on the 29th of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications in these treaties, 180 ; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252 ; in May 1846 joins the other Kosas against the Cape Colony, 265 ; and continues in arms longer than most of them, 292 ; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a tract of land in British Kaffraria assigned to him, 314

Kock, Commandant Jan : is one of the leaders of the emigrant farmers in the district of Philippolis who are opposed to British rule, 395 ; in July 1843 strives to prevent the volksraad of Natal coming to an arrangement with Commissioner Cloete concerning the government of the country as a British colony, 359 ; but fails in his object, 359 ; on the 2nd of May 1845 takes part in the skirmish at Zwartkopjes against British troops and Griquas, 399 ; after the defeat flees to Winburg, 400 ; in June 1846 is driven from Winburg by Major Warden, 409 ; on the 29th of August 1848 commands the right wing of the emigrant army in the battle of Boomplaats, 439

Kok, Adam I., a half-breed : is allowed by the Dutch East India Company to collect together a band of Hottentots and people of mixed blood, and to become a captain in Little Namaqualand, 380

*Kok, Cornelis I., son of the first Adam Kok : with a band of half-breeds follows his sons from Little Namaqualand to Griquatown, 380

Kok, Adam II., eldest son of the first Cornelis : early in the nineteenth century moves from Little Namaqualand to Griquatown with a few followers, 380 ; in 1820 moves away from Griquatown, 382 ; and sets up an independent government at Campbell, 383 ; in May 1824 resigns, and is succeeded as captain of Campbell by his brother Cornelis Kok II., 383 ; for a time leads a wandering life, 383 ; is joined by a number of rovers who elect him to be their captain, 383 ; at the invitation of the reverend Dr. Philip in 1826 settles with these people at Philippolis, 384 ; in 1835 visits Capetown, and when returning home in September of that year dies at the Berg river, 385

Kok, Cornelis II., second son of the first Cornelis : early in the nineteenth century moves from Little Namaqualand to Griquatown with a few followers, 380 ; in May 1824 is elected captain of the Griquas at Campbell, 383 ; from September 1837 to the beginning of 1841 assists Abraham Kok against his younger brother Adam in the struggle for the captaincy of Philippolis, 386 ; by Sir Harry Smith his jurisdiction is confined to the right bank of the Vaal, 464

Kok, Abraham, eldest son of Adam Kok II. : in 1835 upon the death of his father is elected captain of Philippolis, 385 ; in February 1837 through the efforts of the missionaries enters into close alliance with Andries Waterboer, 385 ; in September of the same year is driven from Philippolis by his younger brother Adam, 386 ; carries on hostilities with his brother until the beginning of 1841, when he is finally deposed, 386

Kok, Adam III., younger son of Adam Kok II.: conspires against his elder brother Abraham, and in September 1837 by the influence of the missionaries is elected captain of Philippolis, 386; carries on hostilities with his brother until the beginning of 1841, when his success is complete, 386; in November 1838 enters into a treaty with Andries Waterboer, in which they divide on paper an immense region between them, 386; in October 1842 applies for British protection against the emigrant farmers, 389; on the 29th of November 1843 enters into treaty alliance with the British government, 391; early in 1844 gives the emigrant farmers great provocation, 394; in January 1845 requests Sir Peregrine Maitland to establish a military post at Philippolis for his protection, 397; and receives a reply which prompts him to irritate the farmers into hostilities, 397; he attempts to have a farmer arrested, when his messengers commit acts of great violence, 397; thereupon the burghers take up arms, and the Griquas do the same, 397; some skirmishing follows, 398; the Griquas are supplied with muskets and ammunition by the civil commissioner of Colesberg, 398; and two hundred soldiers are sent to occupy Philippolis, 398; as the leaders of the emigrant farmers decline the terms proposed by the civil commissioner of Colesberg, 398; a strong military force is sent to assist the Griquas, 399; on the 2nd of May 1845 the emigrant farmers are completely routed at Zwartkopjes, 399; and their camp at Touwfontein is seized, 400; the farmers who are opposed to British authority then retire to Winburg, and those who are well-affected come to the British camp and take the oath of allegiance to the queen, 400; at the close of June Sir Peregrine Maitland arrives at Touwfontein, where Kok has a conference with him, 401; and makes most extravagant pretensions as to his authority over residents in the territory, 401; subsequently, however, he moderates his tone and agrees to proposals of the governor, 402; which are embodied in a treaty signed by both parties in the following February, 403; on the 25th of January 1848 he gives his consent to an arrangement proposed by Sir Harry Smith which greatly reduces the territory previously acknowledged as his, 421; in August of this year he assists the British forces under Sir Harry Smith against the emigrant farmers in the Orange River Sovereignty, 435; finds it impossible to prevent his people selling their land, 528; in 1854 he declines all proposals made to him by Sir George Clerk, whereupon that officer declares the treaty with him abrogated, and he is left to his fate, 545

Koko, Kosa captain, son of Gaika: in December 1834, just before the outbreak of war, is slightly wounded in attacking a military patrol, 5; upon the death of Tyali on the 1st of May 1842 is chosen regent of that chief's clan during the minority of Oba and Fini, 182; from April to November 1846 is in arms against the Cape Colony, 263; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, 314

Kolo tribe: history of the, 121

Kona, eldest son of Makoma: in 1847 governs his father's clan during the elder chief's residence at Port Elizabeth, 304; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, 314

Kosa tribe : see Anta, Botumane, Buku, Casa, Eno, Gasela, Hintsu, Jalusa, Kama, Kobe, Koko, Kona, Kreli, Makoma, Matwa, Nonibe, Pato, Sandile, Siwani, Siyolo, Sonto, Stokwe, Sutu, Tente, Tola, Toyise, Tshatshu, Tyali, Umhala, and Umkayi

Kramer, Rev. Mr. : is one of the early missionaries to the Griquas, 380

Kreli, son of Hintsu : during the war of 1834-5 is left by his father in the British camp as a hostage for the fulfilment of terms of peace, 30 ; upon the death of his father becomes paramount chief of the Kosa tribe, and on the 19th of May 1835 concludes peace with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 32 ; under the terms of which he gives up over three thousand head of cattle, and on the 11th of December cedes a slip of territory to the British government, 49 ; the land, however, is restored to him by order of the secretary of state for the colonies, 66 ; in November 1844 he enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 250 ; takes part in the war of 1846-7 against the Cape Colony, 265 ; in August 1846 completely outwits Sir Andries Stockenstrom in a conference, 279 ; on the 17th of January 1848 concludes peace with the British government, 316

Krige, Rev. W. A. : in October 1844 becomes the first resident clergyman of Victoria West, 240

Kruger, S. J. Paul : in 1852 serves as a fieldcornet in the expedition against Setyeli, 519 ; in 1853 serves with a commando against Montsiwa, 525

Kruisvallei congregation : in 1843 is formed at Tulbagh in the Cape Colony, 212

Kuys, Rev. A. G. M. : in September 1852 becomes the first resident clergyman of Napier, 211

LABOUR tax imposed by the emigrant farmers upon some of their Bantu subjects : description of, 376

Laing, Rev. James : in 1831 arrives in South Africa as an agent of the Glasgow society and goes to reside at Burnshill on the Keiskama ; when leaving Kaffirland during the war of 1834-5 is accompanied to Grahams-town by Matwa and Tente, two sons of Gaika, 16 ; at the close of the war returns to Burnshill, 46 ; during the war of 1846-7 is again compelled to abandon his station, 269 ; but as soon as peace is concluded resumes his work, 314

Landman, Carel Pieter : in April 1838 arrives in Natal as leader of a party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 146 ; immediately afterwards is sent by the volksraad to the port as a commissioner to arrange matters there, 147 ; in July of the same year becomes the head of all the emigrants in Natal, 148

de Lange, Jan : in July 1844 is killed in the district of Albany by Kaffir robbers, 248

*Legislative council of the Cape Colony : in 1836 unanimously approves of the measures adopted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban with regard to the Kaffirs, 62 ; under Sir George Napier's commission undergoes some important changes in its constitution, 206 ; after 1844 holds regular yearly sessions,

- 231 ; has no claim to be regarded as representing the colonists, 231 ; in 1846 is enlarged by the admission of the senior military officer in the garrison of Capetown, 232 ; succession of members of, 207 and 232
- Lehana : in 1856 upon the death of his father Sikonyela becomes regent of a remnant of the Batlokua tribe, 533
- *Leper asylum : in 1846 is removed from Hemel en Aarde to Robben Island, 238
- Lesuto, the : see Basutoland
- Levant*, the, American trading brig : in August 1841 discharges cargo at Port Natal, 335
- Lighthouse on Cape Agulhas : on the 1st of March 1849 is first lit, 237
- Lighthouse on Cape Recife : on the 1st of April 1851 is first lit, 237
- Lighthouse on Mouille Point : on the 1st of July 1842 is first lit, 192
- Lightship in Simon's Bay : on the 10th of January 1845 first displays a light, 235
- Linde, Commandant Jacobus : though seventy-five years old takes a very active part in the Kaffir war of 1834-5, 23
- Linde, Jan : in the war of 1846-7 is commandant of the Swellendam burghers, 279
- Lindley, Rev. Daniel, American missionary : in June 1836 with two associates goes to reside with the Matabele in the valley of Mosega, 108 ; in January 1837 leaves that station with the emigrant farmers who have defeated the Matabele, 109 ; in July of the same year arrives in Natal and commences to labour there, 131 ; in May 1838 leaves Natal in consequence of the Zulu disturbances, 145 ; in June 1839 returns to Natal and becomes resident clergyman of the Dutch church at Maritzburg and consul of churches at Weenen, Durban, Winburg, and Potchefstroom, 320
- Lindsay, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin : is in command of Fort Peddie during the Kaffir war of 1846-7, but acts very feebly, 267 ; on the 26th of May 1846 causes a civilian named John Smith to be flogged for disobedience of his orders, 283 ; for which a jury finds him guilty of assault, but the judge inflicts no punishment upon him, 303
- Lise*, the, French ship : on the 9th of March 1840 is wrecked on Cape Agulhas, 236
- Livingstone, Rev. Dr., of the London society : in 1845 establishes a mission with the Bakwena tribe, 515 ; and acquires great influence with the chief Setyeli, 515 ; is regarded with much dislike by the emigrant farmers, 516 ; in 1848 has an interview at Magalisberg with the reverend Messrs. Robertson and Faure, 447 ; in August 1852, while he is absent from the mission, his property at Kolobeng is destroyed, 519 ; note on a book written by, 555
- Lombard, H. S. : in December 1840 commands a burgher force sent from Natal against the Bacas of Ncapayi, 331
- *London missionary society : in 1837 is outlawed by the first constitution of the emigrant farmers, 111
- Longmore, Major George : in January 1839 becomes the first resident magistrate of Wynberg, 220

Lourenço Marques : in 1829 fever rages here so severely that of forty European residents thirty-four die, 126

*Lovedale mission station : is named after Dr. Love, one of the founders of the Glasgow missionary society, 47 ; during the war of 1834-5 is of necessity abandoned, 27 ; after the war is re-established by Mr. John Bennie near the junction of the Gaga and Tyumie rivers, 46 ; on the 21st of July 1841 a school is opened here for the education of sons of missionaries and select Kaffir pupils, which has developed into the present flourishing institution ; in April 1846 the mission premises are occupied by soldiers and converted into a fort, 264 ; but on the conclusion of peace in December 1847 the missionaries return and resume their work, 314

Lowen, Hector : in December 1851 is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Bloemfontein, 479

Ludorf, Rev. Joseph, Wesleyan missionary : in January 1850 goes to reside at Lotlakana with Montsiwa's Barolong, 487 ; in September 1852 gives very pernicious advice to Montsiwa, 522

Lydenburg, village of : in 1846 is founded, 414

MABANDLA, chief of a remnant of the Amabele tribe : in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Kosas, 25 ; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 29 ; on the 2nd of January 1845 he enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252

Mackinnon, Lieutenant-Colonel George Henry : in September 1846 arrives in South Africa as a supernumerary officer, 285 ; in December 1847 is appointed commandant and chief commissioner of British Kaffraria, 312

Maclean, Captain John : in November 1845 succeeds Mr. Theophilus Shepstone as diplomatic agent at Fort Peddie, 253 ; in November 1846 is appointed commissioner with the clans near the sea between the Keiskama and Kei rivers, 291

Madoor, a Bushman : in 1843 becomes nominal chief of a party of refugees from the Cape Colony, 300

Magazines and pamphlets referring to events between 1834 and 1854 : list of the principal, 561

Maitland, Sir Peregrine : is a military officer of distinction, 225 ; on the 19th of December 1843 receives a commission as governor of the Cape Colony, 223 ; on the 18th of March 1844 takes the oaths of office in Capetown, 223 ; in the following September proceeds to the eastern frontier, 248 ; and makes new treaty arrangements with the various chiefs and captains of the Kosa and Tembu tribes, 249 ; on the 7th of October enters into a treaty with the Pondo chief Faku, 367 ; in June 1845 visits the country north of the Orange river, 401 ; holds conferences with various chiefs and captains, and endeavours to settle the disturbances of the country, 401 ; but is able to make positive arrangements with Adam Kok only, 403 ; defers further proceedings until he can obtain a report from a special commissioner whom he sends on a tour of investigation, 404 ; when it is

found no peaceable settlement can be made without violating the Napier treaty with Moshesh, 407 ; on the 1st of April 1846 on account of the hostile attitude of the Kosas again leaves Capetown for the eastern frontier, 261 ; on the 22nd of that month proclaims the colony under martial law and calls out the entire burgher force, 267 ; on the 1st of May assumes the chief command of the army in the field, 268 ; on the 13th of June establishes his head-quarters at Waterloo Bay, 276 ; in September resolves to effect a settlement of the Kaffir territory very similar to that of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 287 ; on the 6th of January 1847 at Butterworth receives a despatch from England announcing his recall, 294 ; and on the 27th of the same month is succeeded by Sir Henry Pottinger, 294 ; on the 23rd of February sails for England, 294 ; and on the 30th of May 1854 dies in London, 294

Makaula, son of Ncapayi : in July 1845 succeeds his father as chief of the Bacas, 368

*Makoma, right-hand son of Gaika : in December 1834 sends his followers to invade and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 6 ; continues the strife until the 17th of September 1835, when he consents to terms of peace and agrees to become a British subject, 40 ; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66 ; on the 2nd of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180 ; on the 21st of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252 ; is leading a very miserable life even for a savage, 256 ; at the beginning of 1846 is indisposed to join the war party in Kaffirland, 256 ; but in April sends his followers into the colony to plunder and destroy, 263 ; in October surrenders, 290 ; and has an outbuilding at Lovedale assigned for his residence, 290 ; is sent by Sir Henry Pottinger to Port Elizabeth, 304 ; where he remains until January, 1848, when he has ground assigned to him in British Kaffraria

*Makwana, chief of the Bataung tribe : early in 1836 sells nearly the whole territory between the Vet and Vaal rivers to the emigrant farmers under Commandant Potgieter, 95

Malmesbury, district of : in January 1839 is created, 220

*von Manger, Rev. J. H. : for many years is president of the bible and school commission, 200 ; on the 2nd of May 1842 dies, 200

Manner of living in the Cape Colony before the middle of the nineteenth century, 242

Mapasa, son of Bawana, Tembu captain : in 1835 is virtually independent of the regent of the tribe, 21 ; during the Kaffir war of that year professes to be friendly, but allows his people to make plundering raids into the colony, 22 ; in October 1835 consents to become a British subject, 48 ; but is released from his allegiance on the 18th of January 1837, and as an independent chief concludes a treaty with Lieutenant-Governor Stockenström, 68 ; on account of the constant robberies committed by his people, in April 1839 a military force is sent against him and exacts compensation, 177 ; on the 28th of January 1841 he agrees to certain modifications of

the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180; on the 25th of March 1845 he enters into a new treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252; in May 1846 joins the Kosas against the Cape Colony, 266; in August is severely punished by the colonial forces, 281; in November is quite ruined for a time by a colonial force and by the chief Umtirara, 288; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, 314; and is allowed to remain where he resided before the war, 314

Maritz, Gerrit: is leader of the third party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 102; in October 1836 reaches Thaba Ntshu, where he learns of the losses sustained by Potgieter's party from the Matabele, 102; on the 2nd of December is elected landdrost of the emigrant farmers, 103; assists Commandant Hendrik Potgieter to punish the Matabele, 106; quarrels with Potgieter, 109; on the 6th of June 1837 is elected president of the second volksraad, 110; after Pieter Retief's death in February 1838 becomes head of the emigrants in Natal, 141; remains in charge of the lagers in Natal while Potgieter and Uys proceed against Dingan, 142; in October 1838 dies, 148

Maritzburg, town of: in March 1839 is founded, 155

Martin, R. Montgomery: note on a book written by, 551

Mary, the, English brig: on the 1st of October 1825 it wrecked while trying to cross the bar at Port Natal, 120

Masisi, successor to the Barolong captain Gontse: in 1871 dies at Taung, and is succeeded by Moshete, 377

Matabele: in August 1836 a band of Matabele soldiers attacks a European hunting party north of the Vaal river, and kills all of its members except four, 99; afterwards attacks a lager of emigrant farmers, but is beaten off with heavy loss, 99; at another encampment commits a dreadful massacre, 100; and then proceeds to Mosega with large herds of the emigrants' cattle and three captive children, 100; in October a strong Matabele army attacks Commandant Potgieter's camp at Vechtkop, 101; it is defeated, but secures all the cattle belonging to the people in the camp, 102; on the 17th of January 1837 the military kraals at Mosega are attacked by the emigrant farmers, 108; and the soldiers there are defeated with considerable loss, 109; in the winter of 1837 the Matabele sustain a defeat from a Zulu army sent against them by Dingan, 113; in November of this year they are attacked on the Marikwa by the emigrant farmers under Potgieter and Uys, and suffer such loss that they flee beyond the Limpopo, 114; see Moselekatse

Matlabe, Barolong captain: in January 1837 acts as guide to the emigrant farmers in an expedition against the Matabele, 106; in November 1837 again renders assistance to the emigrant farmers against the Matabele, 114; in 1841 moves from Thaba Ntshu over the Vaal, 375; and has a tract of land assigned to him by Commandant Potgieter, 375; upon which he lives as a favoured subject of the emigrant farmers, 376; in 1846 assists the farmers against the Bapedi, 414

Matomela, chief of a remnant of the Amareledwane tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against

- the Kosas, 25 ; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 29 ; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252
- *Matrimonial court : in 1839 is abolished, 220
- Matwa, inferior son of Gaika : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 26 ; in 1837 attacks the Fingos along the Gaga and drives them away, 71
- Mawa, a chieftainess of high rank : early in 1843 flees from Zululand into Natal with a great horde of adherents, 355
- M'Carter, Rev. J. : note on a book written by, 556
- Measles : in 1839 destroys many lives in the Cape Colony, 185
- *Menzies, Mr. Justice : on the 22nd of October 1842 at Alleman's drift proclaims an immense tract of land north of the Orange river British territory, 389 ; but his proclamation is repudiated by Sir George Napier, 390
- Methuen, Henry H. : note on a book written by, 552
- Meyer, Gerrit Hendrik : in August 1847 is elected landdrost of Winburg by some emigrant farmers who are well affected towards the British government, 415 ; but in October he is deposed by the opponents of that party, 415
- *Michell, Major, surveyor-general : is the first to conceive the design of massing convict labour upon mountain passes in the Cape Colony, 222
- Mocke, Commandant Jan : is the head of an independent party of emigrant farmers west of the Drakensberg, 358 ; in June 1842 assists in the siege of the English camp at Durban, 344 ; in October 1842 at Alleman's drift on the Orange makes an armed display before Mr. Justice Menzies, 389 ; in July 1843 strives to prevent the volksraad of Natal coming to an arrangement with Commissioner Cloete concerning the government of the country as a British colony, 358 ; but is obliged to return over the Drakensberg disappointed, 359 ; on the 2nd of May 1845 takes part in the skirmish at Zwartkopjes against British troops and Griquas, 399 ; after his defeat flees to Winburg, 400 ; and a little later moves over the Vaal, 406
- *Moffat, Rev. Robert : in 1829 visits Moselekatse at a kraal about a hundred miles east of the present village of Zeerust, and acquires great influence with him, 96 ; note on a book written by, 550
- *Molapo, son of the Basuto chief Moshesh : in 1845 is sent by his father to occupy the country along the Putiatsana, 408
- *Molitsane, captain of a remnant of the Bataung tribe : in 1837 becomes a vassal of Moshesh, and is located at Mekuatleng, 374 ; during the winter of 1849 suffers very severely from an attack by the Batlokua, 455 ; having plundered a mission station, on the 21st of September 1850 he is attacked by Major Warden, which brings on a general war with the Basuto, 467
- Molteno, John C. : in the Kaffir war of 1846-7 is commandant of the Beaufort burghers, 279
- Montagu, John : on the 23rd of April 1843 becomes secretary to the government of the Cape Colony, 191 ; sets himself to the redemption of the public debt, 191 ; is the promoter of a system of constructing roads by means of convict labour, which was adopted in 1843, 222

Montagu Pass : on the 18th of January 1848 the road over this pass is opened for traffic, 237

Montsiwa : at the close of 1849 succeeds his father Tawane as captain of a Barolong clan, 460 ; enters into certain arrangements with the government of the South African Republic, 488 ; under the terms of which in August 1852 he is called upon to render assistance against Setyeli, but does not comply, 517 : for which he is required to give an account in person to Commandant Scholtz, 521 ; instead of doing so, he abandons Lotlakana and retires to the desert, 522 ; after this his people rob the farmers of cattle to such an extent that a military expedition is sent against them, 525 ; matters are arranged, but Montsiwa's clan removes to the territory north of the Molopo, 525

*Moodie, Lieutenant Donald : in 1836 is entrusted with the task of compiling records regarding the intercourse between the colonists and the various tribes of South Africa, 60 ; on the 13th of November 1845 is appointed secretary to the government of Natal, 370

Moodie *versus* Fairbairn : particulars of an action on account of a libellous article in the *Commercial Advertiser*, 76

Moorrees, Rev. H. A. : on the 19th of May 1839 commences duty as first resident clergyman of Riversdale, 210 ; acts for a time as clergyman of Tulbagh during the suspension of the reverend Mr. Shand, 213 ; in August 1843 becomes first clergyman of the Kruisvallei congregation, 213

*Morley mission station : a few months after its formation is destroyed by the Amakwabi, 325 ; but is subsequently rebuilt on the western bank of the Umtata, 326 ; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 it is abandoned, 27 ; but early in 1836 is reoccupied, 47

*Moroko, chief of the Barolong clan at Thaba Ntshu : in 1836 renders important assistance to the emigrant farmers, 102 ; in 1837 makes an agreement of friendship with Pieter Retief, 112 ; complains of the injustice done to him by the treaty of 1843 between Sir George Napier and the Basuto chief Moshesh, 392 ; in June 1845 has a conference with Sir Peregrine Maitland at Touwfontein, 401 ; but as he will not admit the authority of Moshesh no arrangement can be made with him in furtherance of a settlement of the dispute between them, 401 ; in August 1845 offers a tract of land for settlement by Europeans, 406 ; in March 1846 agrees to submit his dispute with Moshesh to the judgment of a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 408 ; in June of the same year assists Major Warden to disperse the adherents of Jan Kock, 409 ; in September 1850 assists the government of the Orange River Sovereignty against the Basuto, and by doing so brings much trouble upon his clan, 468 ; on the 30th of June 1851 loses many men in the battle of Viervoet, 472

*Morosi, captain of the Baphuti clan : during the Kaffir war of 1835 professes to be neutral, but really allows his followers to plunder the Europeans, 374 ; on one occasion his cattle are seized in reprisal, 374 ; but are restored by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 375 ; in 1851 joins the enemies of the Cape Colony, 469

Morrell, Captain : note on a book written by, 551

*Moselekatse, chief of the Matabele tribe : in 1829 is visited by the reverend Robert Moffat, of Kuruman, 96 ; in 1835 is visited by Dr. Andrew Smith, leader of an exploring expedition, 105 ; sends with Dr. Smith a favourite induna named Nombate to Capetown, 106 ; who on the 3rd of March 1836 in his name concludes a treaty of friendship with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 106 ; his soldiers attack parties of emigrant farmers and massacre many of them, 100 ; he takes no notice of an offer of peace made by Pieter Retief, 112 ; in November 1837 he is defeated by the emigrant farmers on the Marikwa, and flees far north of the Limpopo, 114 ; see Matabele tribe

Moselele, captain of the Bakatla clan : having got himself into trouble in the South African Republic in the winter of 1852 flees to the Bakwena chief Setyeli, who gives him protection, 518

*Moshesh, chief of the Basuto tribe : in 1835 during the war between the Cape Colony and the Kosas makes a raid into Kaffirland, but is beaten back by Hintsa, 21 ; in September 1836 destroys a strong robber band under the Kosa captain Jalusa, 103 ; in 1837 makes an agreement of friendship with Pieter Retief, 112 ; is gifted with great power of observation, 372 ; takes advantage of dissensions among the Europeans to increase his strength, 373 ; favours the reverend Dr. Philip's scheme for the formation of great native states, 378 ; on the 30th of May 1842 approves of a letter written by his missionary asking that he may be taken into treaty relationship with the Cape government, 379 ; on the 13th of December 1843 enters into a treaty with the British government, 391 ; which gives rise to numerous complications and quarrels, 392 ; in June 1845 has a conference with Sir Peregrine Maitland at Touwfontein, 401 ; but will not renounce his claim to sovereignty over the petty chiefs along the Caledon, 401 ; nor withdraw his title to any part of the ground allotted to him by the Napier treaty, except a very small area on which he is willing that Europeans should reside, 404 ; during 1845 pushes his outposts far forward, 407 ; in March 1846 agrees to submit his disputes with other chiefs to the judgment of a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 408 ; in the same year offers to assist the British forces against the Kosas and Tembus, but his proposal is civilly declined, 410 ; in 1847 assists Major Warden to attack some Tembus in the Wittebergen, 410 ; benefits greatly by the presence of the French missionaries, 412 ; on the 27th of January 1848 gives his consent to an arrangement proposed by Sir Harry Smith which practically destroys the former treaty, 424 ; in September of the same year has another conference with Sir Harry Smith at Winburg, 444 ; carries on an unceasing petty warfare with the Batlokua under Sikonyela, 450 ; on the 1st of October 1849 very unwillingly signs a document which greatly reduces the limits of the territory to which he lays claim, 456 ; after this opposes the British resident and acts in such a manner that the whole of the neighbouring clans become involved in hostilities, 466 ; in September 1851 allies himself with the republican party in the Orange River Sovereignty, 475 ; after the Sand River convention consents to open

negotiations with the assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen, 491 ; but cannot be brought to do anything practical towards the restoration of peace, 493 ; on the 14th of December 1852 Sir George Cathcart sends him an ultimatum, 499 ; with the terms of which he only partially complies, 500 ; so on the 20th of December a strong British army in three divisions enters his country, 501 ; but is defeated by the Basuto in the battle of Berea, 504 ; that night the chief addresses a most conciliatory letter to the English general, 506 ; with the result that peace is proclaimed and the army returns to the Cape Colony, 507 ; the reputation of Moshesh is thereafter greatly enhanced among the neighbouring tribes, 508 ; in September 1853 he vanquishes Sikonyela and takes possession of his territory, 533 ; and also of the territory of Gert Taaibosch, 533

Moshete : in 1871 succeeds Masisi as chief of the elder clan of the Barolong, 377

Mossel Bay, Dutch reformed church at : in 1844 the first consistory commences duty, 241

Moyakisani, Basuto captain : on the 26th of December 1835 consents to become a British subject, but subsequently transfers his allegiance to Moshesh, 48

Municipalities : in September 1836 an ordinance is passed to allow towns and villages in the Cape Colony to elect municipal councils, 80

Murray, Captain Arthur Stormont, of the rifle brigade : on the 29th of August 1848 is killed in the battle of Boomplaats, 441

*Murray, Rev. A., senior : at the end of 1847 goes on a mission to the emigrants north of the Orange, 445

Murray, Rev. Andrew, junior : in March 1848 is appointed first clergyman of Bloemfontein, 448 ; in 1853 is sent to England by the loyalists in the Orange River Sovereignty to protest against their abandonment, 532

Murray, Rev. John : in May 1849 becomes the first resident clergyman of Burghersdorp, 240

Musgrave, Advocate William : from the 16th of March to the 16th of September 1839 acts as attorney-general of the Cape Colony, 207 ; on the 12th of October 1843 becomes second puisne judge, 207

Mutual life assurance society : in 1845 is established in Capetown, 235

NAPIER, Major-General Sir George Thomas : is a distinguished military officer, 165 ; on the 4th of November 1837 receives a commission as governor of the Cape Colony, 85 ; on the 20th of January 1838 arrives in Table Bay, and on the 22nd takes the oaths of office, 85 ; two months later leaves Capetown for the eastern frontier, 168 ; at this time is in full accord with the border policy of Earl Glenelg, 168 ; but with experience his views become greatly modified, 169 ; on the 19th of June he enters into a supplementary treaty with the Gunukwebe captains, 169 ; attempts unsuccessfully to remove the Fingos to the Zitzikama, 170 ; in October reaches Capetown again, 177 ; in November sends troops to occupy Port Natal, 153 ; but in December 1839 recalls them, 159 : on the 6th of

October 1840 again leaves Capetown to visit the eastern frontier, 179; where he obtains the consent of the Rarabe captains to various modifications of the Stockenstrom treaties, 180; in January 1841 sends a military force to the Umgazi river to protect the Pondo chief Faku, 333; on the 2nd of December 1841 issues a proclamation announcing his intention of reoccupying Port Natal, 335; which he carries into effect by sending on the troops at the Umgazi, 336; on the 12th of May 1843 issues a proclamation that Natal is a British colony, 353; in 1843 concludes treaties of alliance with Adam Kok and Moshesh, 391; which cause great animosity in the territory north of the Orange river, 392; on the 18th of March 1844 is succeeded as governor by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 223; on the 1st of April sails for England, 223; and on the 8th of September 1855 dies at Geneva, 224

Napier, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward H. D. E.: in September 1846 arrives in South Africa as a supernumerary officer, 285; note on a book written by, 553

Napier, village of: in 1838 is founded, 211

Napier, Dutch reformed church at: in February 1848 the first consistory commences duty, 211

*Natal: in 1824 with Tshaka's consent a few Englishmen settle at the port and find that the country has been almost depopulated by the Zulu wars, 119; early in 1838 the territory is occupied by emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony, 134; who establish a republic there, 155; on the 4th of December 1838 the port is occupied by a military force sent from the Cape Colony, 154; but on the 24th of December 1839 the troops are withdrawn, 159; boundaries of the republic, 318; magisterial and ecclesiastical divisions, 319; privileges of burghers, 319; sources of revenue, 319; particulars of the civil list, 319; constitution and power of the volksraad, 320; excessive weakness of the government, 321; relation to the emigrants west of the Drakensberg, 322; the British government declines to acknowledge the independence of the republic, 323; and in 1842 the territory is taken in possession by English troops, 338; the northern boundary is defined on the 1st of October 1843 as the Buffalo and Tugela rivers, 364; the Umzimkulu river is chosen by Sir Peregrine Maitland as its south-western boundary, 366; in May 1844 the imperial authorities decide that the country is to be annexed in a loose manner to the Cape Colony, 368; on the 21st of August 1845 boundaries are defined in a proclamation by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 369; on the 22nd of November an executive council is appointed, 371; and on the 4th of December 1845 a staff of British officials arrives, and a colonial government is established, 371; imports, exports, and shipping statistics in 1845, 371

Ncapayi: with a remnant of the Baca tribe is driven from Natal by the wars of Tshaka, and takes refuge in the valley of the Umzimvubu, where he becomes a freebooter, 326; in November 1836 attacks the Tembus and takes immense herds of cattle from them, 327; early in 1838 in alliance with Faku sweeps the Tembu country of cattle, 327; in April 1840 makes war with Faku, 330; attacks the Hlangwenis under Nombewu, and kills

that chief, 330; in December 1840 is attacked and defeated by a commando of emigrant farmers from Natal, 331; in July 1845 is killed in battle with the Pondos, and is succeeded as chief of the Bacas by his son Makaula, 368

Need's camp: in April 1847 is formed on the western bank of the Buffalo river, but is only occupied a few months, 298

Negroes: after the emancipation on the 1st of December 1838 lead very indolent lives in the Cape Colony, 184; in 1839 suffer very severely from measles, 185; and in 1840 from small-pox, 185

Newman, Rev. W. A.: note on a book written by, 554

Nicholson, George: note on a book written by, 553

Ninetieth regiment: in April 1846 part of this regiment is detained at the Cape when on the way home from Ceylon, 268; and in July the remainder is detained at Port Elizabeth where the transport calls for refreshment, 275

Ninety-first regiment: in 1839 a wing of the first battalion arrives in South Africa, 171; early in 1841 the remainder of the first battalion arrives from St. Helena, 181; in August 1842 the second battalion arrives from England, 181

Ninety-eighth regiment: is in garrison in the Cape peninsula during the sixth Kaffir war, 10; in 1837 returns to England, 168

Noble, John: note on books written by, 557

Nombewu, chief of a remnant of the Hlangweni tribe: sometime between 1818 and 1823 is driven southward by Tshaka, and in his flight falls upon and routs the Bacas where Maritzburg now stands, 330; with his people wanders about Kaffirland, but is at length killed by the Bacas of Ncapayi, 330

Nonesi, daughter of the Pondo chief Faku: is great wife of the Tembu chief Vusani, but has no children, consequently adopts Umtirara, the son of a wife of lower rank, 20

Nongalaza, Zulu induna: is in charge under Dingan of the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, 131; aids Panda against his brother Dingan, 160; on the 30th of January 1840 commands Panda's army in the great battle in which the power of Dingan is destroyed, 163

Nonibe, great widow of Dushane: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony on account of her son Siwani being a minor, 26; but in the war of 1846-7 shows herself hostile, 265

Normanby, marquess of: on the 20th of February 1839 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, 174; on the 3rd of September in the same year is succeeded by Lord John Russell, 176

Northumberland, the: on the 25th of August 1838 is wrecked near Cape Agulhas, 236

OATES, Frank: note on a book of, 558

Oberholster, Michiel: is head of a party of emigrants north of the Orange river favourable to British rule, 388; during 1844 is treated with great disfavour by the republican party, 396

- Ogle, Henry : in 1824 accompanies Mr. Farewell to Natal, 118 ; after Mr. Farewell's death in September 1829 becomes chief of a party of blacks, 125 ; in April 1838 takes part in an attack upon the Zulus, 142 ; in 1841-2 acts as a medium of communication between the English residents at Durban and the military post on the Umgazi, 336 ; in June 1842 with other Englishmen is sent a prisoner to Maritzburg by Commandant-General Pretorius, 344 ; but on the 15th of July is released, 349 ; in October 1843 accompanies Commissioner Cloete to Zululand, 363
- Ohrig, George Gerhard, of the firm of Klyn & Co., of Amsterdam : publishes a pamphlet termed *The Emigrants at Port Natal*, 338 ; sends out a vessel named the *Brazilia* to trade with the emigrant farmers at Natal, 339
- Ohrigstad, village of : in 1845 is founded, 413 ; but the site proves so unhealthy that it is soon abandoned by most of its inhabitants, 413 ; though for some time afterwards it is regarded as the seat of government of the adherents of Chief-Commandant Potgieter, 414
- *Oliphant, Anthony, attorney-general of the Cape Colony : is appointed chief justice of Ceylon, and on the 16th of March 1839 leaves South Africa, 207
- *Orange River : in December 1847 is proclaimed the northern boundary of the Cape Colony from the Kraai tributary to the Atlantic ocean, 310
- Orange River Sovereignty : on the 3rd of February 1848 is created by a proclamation of Sir Harry Smith, 427 ; on the 8th of March a form of government is proclaimed, 428 ; on the 14th of March 1849 regulations for its government are proclaimed, 449 ; after the defeat of Major Warden by the Basuto on the 30th of June 1851 the country is in a condition of utter anarchy, 473 ; on the 23rd of February 1854 ceases to exist, 543
- Owen, Charles Mostyn : in 1847 is appointed superintendent of a division of the Kaffir police, 312 ; is appointed assistant commissioner, and in that capacity on the 27th of November 1851 arrives at Bloemfontein with large powers, 477 ; investigates matters in the Orange River Sovereignty, 478 ; on the 17th of January 1852 concludes the Sand River convention with delegates from the Transvaal emigrants, 485 ; in February opens negotiations with Moshesh, 492 ; but cannot bring that chief to do anything practical towards the restoration of peace, 494 ; ascertains the views of the people of the Sovereignty with regard to their future government, 496
- Owen, Captain W. F. W. : note on a book written by, 549
- Owen, Rev. Mr., of the church missionary society : in June 1837 arrives in Natal, and a little later goes to reside at Umkungunhlovu, 131 ; in November 1837 acts as Dingan's secretary in the arrangement with Pieter Retief, 134 ; at Dingan's request on the 4th of February 1838 draws up a deed of cession of Natal to the emigrant farmers, 135 ; on the 6th witnesses the massacre of Retief's party, 138 ; a few days later leaves Zululand, 139 ; in May 1838 abandons Natal, 145
- PAARL, district of : in January 1839 is created, 220
- Palmer, Deputy-Commissary-General : in October 1846 is placed in charge of the frontier transport service, and speedily puts it on a good footing, 284

Palmer, Rev. Samuel, missionary at Morley : on the outbreak of the sixth Kaffir war takes refuge at Clarkebury, where in April 1835 he is rescued by a military patrol, 27 ; assists in the negotiations by which the war is brought to an end, 38

Panda, one of the younger sons of Senzangakona : in September 1839 conspires against his brother Dingan, 160 ; with a large following crosses the Tugela into Natal and requests protection from Landdrost Roos, 160 ; on the 15th of October has an interview with the volksraad, when a tract of land is assigned to him for temporary use, 160 ; on the 26th of the same month is installed as ' reigning prince of the emigrant Zulus ' by a commission from the volksraad, 160 ; receives assistance from the emigrant farmers to attack his brother, 161 ; in January 1840 with his adherents and a burgher commando marches against Dingan, 161 ; in a great battle his forces are victorious, 163 ; on the 10th of February 1840 he is installed by Commandant-General Pretorius chief of the Zulus, but in vassalage to the volksraad of Natal, 164 ; on the 25th of June 1842 he causes a mission station on the Umhlatusi river to be attacked and the whole inhabitants of three kraals to be massacred, 320 ; declines to assist the English force against the emigrant farmers until the latter are defeated, when he tenders his service, 347 ; early in 1843 puts his brother Koko to death, and commits such atrocities upon people whom he suspects of treasonable intentions that there is a great rush of fugitives into Natal, 355 ; on the 1st of October 1843 gives his consent to the Buffalo and Tugela rivers forming the north-eastern boundary of Natal, 364 ; on the same day cedes St. Lucia Bay to the queen of England, 364 ; and thereafter is treated by the British authorities as an independent chief, 364

*Pato, Gunukwebe captain : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes to be neutral, though many of his followers are in arms against the colony, 14 ; on the 17th of September 1835 agrees to become a British subject, 41 ; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66 ; on the 19th of June 1838 enters into a supplementary treaty with Sir George Napier, 169 ; on the 29th of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications in these treaties, 180 ; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252 ; in May 1846 takes part with the rest of his tribe against the Cape Colony, 265 ; commits horrible cruelties upon some Fingos, 266 ; continues hostilities after all the other chiefs west of the Kei have come to terms, but on the 19th of December 1847 is obliged to surrender to Colonel Somerset, 307 ; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has ground assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314

Pears, Rev. John : on the 2nd of April 1839 becomes the first resident clergyman of the Dutch reformed congregation in Albany, 208

Peddie, Lieutenant-Colonel John : on the outbreak of the sixth Kaffir war proceeds with his regiment from Capetown to the scene of hostilities, 10 ; in March 1835 commands one of the four divisions of the army which enters Kaffirland, 19

- *Philip, Rev. Dr. : in 1826 gives to Adam Kok II. the district of Philippolis, 384 ; in 1834 attempts unsuccessfully to procure the deposition of Cornelis Kok as captain of Campbell, 385 ; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 devotes all his energy to supporting the cause of the Kosas, 34 ; disapproves of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrangements in 1835 with regard to the Kaffirs, 52 ; takes Jan Tshatshu and Andries Stoffels to England as specimens of the result of mission work in South Africa, 52 ; gives evidence at great length before a committee of the house of commons, 53 ; makes a tour through England with Tshatshu and Stoffels, everywhere drawing adherents to his cause, 53 ; during the government of Sir George Napier, possesses very great power in South Africa, 378 ; favours the creation of a belt of native states under missionary influence along the colonial border, 378 ; urges the governor to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Basuto chief Moshesh, 379 ; in May 1846 is completely prostrated by the defection of Jan Tshatshu and the evil result of all his political plans, 274 ; shortly afterwards retires to Hankey, where he spends the remainder of his days in complete abstention from politics, 274
- Philip, Rev. William : on the 1st of July 1845 is drowned at Hankey, 274
- Philippolis, village of : in 1823 is founded as a mission station, 384
- Phoenix*, the, coasting steamer : in December 1842 arrives from England, 219
- Piers, Major Henry : in January 1839 becomes the first resident magistrate of Paarl, 220
- Piketberg, village of : in 1840 is founded, 209
- Piketberg, Dutch reformed church at : about the 17th of October 1833 the first consistory commences duty, 209
- Pirie mission station : in May 1830 is founded, 15 ; is named after the reverend Alexander Pirie, one of the founders of the Glasgow missionary society, 47
- Pniel mission station : in 1849 is founded by the Berlin society for the benefit of the Koranas along the Vaal river, 463
- Pondo tribe : see Faku
- Porter, William : on the 16th of September 1839 becomes attorney-general of the Cape Colony, 207
- *Port Elizabeth : by an order in council in April 1836 is made a free warehousing port, 78
- Port Elizabeth, district of : on the 6th of February 1837 is created, 78
- Port Elizabeth bank : in 1847 is established, 235
- Port Rex : see Buffalo river mouth
- Port St. John's : description of, 244 ; in October 1846 is opened to commerce, 244
- Poshuli, brother of the Basuto chief Moshesh : is a notorious robber captain, 407 ; in 1845 is sent by Moshesh to reside at Vechtkop in the centre of a European settlement, 407 ; where he collects a band of worthless characters about him, 407 ; in 1850 comes in conflict with the government of the Orange River Sovereignty, 466 ; commits barbarous cruelties upon some Tembus, 469

*Posts: from the beginning of January 1846 there are two weekly between Capetown and the eastern frontier, 284

Post Victoria: towards the close of 1844 is built at the head of the Sheshegu streamlet between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, 249; in April 1846 is abandoned, 269

Potchefstroom, town of: in November 1838 is founded by the party of emigrants under Hendrik Potgieter, 146

Potchefstroom, district of: boundaries in 1840, 322

Potgieter, Andries Hendrik: is head of the second large party of emigrants that in 1836 leaves the Cape Colony, 95; purchases from the Bataung chief Makwana all the land between the Vet and Vaal rivers except a small reserve, 95; with eleven others explores the country northward to the Zoutpansberg, 96; in October 1836 is attacked by a Matabele army at Vechtkop, and beats his assailants back, but loses all his cattle, 101; receives assistance which enables him to retire to Thaba Ntshu, 102; with the aid of Commandant Maritz prepares to punish the Matabele, 106; on the 17th of January 1837 attacks them in the valley of Mosega, 108; defeats them and takes a good deal of spoil, 109; with which he returns to Thaba Ntshu, 109; shortly afterwards removes to the Vet river and founds the village of Winburg, 109; quarrels with Maritz, 109; on account of the jealousy that is so rife among the emigrants resolves to set up an independent government, 113; in November 1837 on the Marikwa attacks Moselekatse the second time, 113; and compels him to abandon that part of the country and flee beyond the Limpopo, 114; then proclaims the territory which the Matabele have overrun forfeited to the emigrant farmers, 115; after the massacres in Natal hastens to the aid of his countrymen, 141; but declines to serve under Maritz, 141; in company with a body of men under Pieter Uys proceeds to attack Dingan, 145; on the 11th of April 1838 is defeated in a battle and compelled to retreat, 143; in May leaves Natal, and recrosses the Drakensberg, 145; in November settles on the banks of the Mooi river, and founds the town of Potchefstroom, 146; from this date until September 1840 his party has an independent government, 146; in July 1840 makes an effort to recover some white children whom Moselekatse holds as captives, but cannot find the Matabele, 322; in September 1840 enters into a loose kind of union with the republic of Natal, 322; after this date is styled chief commandant, 322; in May 1842 refuses to assist the republic of Natal against an English invading force, 340; early in 1844 visits Mr. Smellekamp at Delagoa Bay, 366; throughout his life shows gratitude to the Barolong people for services performed by some of them, 375; in December 1844 visits Philippolis, but is unable to induce Adam Kok to refrain from interfering with the emigrant farmers, 396; in 1845 settles at Zoutpansberg, 414; in 1846 reduces the Bapedi tribe to submission, 414; in June 1847 conducts an unsuccessful expedition against the Matabele, 415; in September 1848 is offered by Sir Harry Smith the appointment of landdrost of the district of the Vaal river, but declines to accept it, 443; in January 1851 under a new governmental

arrangement is appointed by the volksraad commandant-general for Zoutpansberg, Rustenburg, and Potchefstroom, 482; is greatly embittered against Mr. A. Pretorius, 482; but on the 16th of March 1852 a reconciliation takes place, 486; in August of this year conducts an expedition against the Bapedi under Sekwati, 513; but before the cessation of hostilities his health fails and he is obliged to resign the command to Stephanus Schoeman, 514; in March 1853 dies, 525

Potgieter, Pieter G.: in 1853 after the death of his father is appointed commandant-general of Zoutpansberg, 526

Pottinger, Sir Henry: has won for himself great distinction in India and China, 294; on the 27th of January 1847 assumes duty as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner, 294; on the 10th of February leaves Capetown for the eastern frontier, 296; where he remains during the whole of his short term of office, 309; on the 1st of December 1847 is succeeded by Sir Harry Smith, 308; leaves for Madras to fill the position of governor there, 309; in 1854 returns to England, and on the 18th of March 1856 dies at Malta, 310

Pottinger, steamship: in 1847 makes the quickest passage then known from Europe to Table Bay, 246

Presbyteries of the Dutch reformed church: constitution of, 214

Pretorius, Andries Willem Jacobus: in November 1838 arrives in Natal, and is immediately elected commandant-general of all the emigrants there, 148; without any delay collects a force and marches against Dingan, 149; on the 16th of December 1838 on the Blood river inflicts a crushing defeat upon the Zulu army, 150; in January 1840 with a commando of four hundred burghers assists Panda against Dingan, 161; causes Tambusa, one of Dingan's great indunas, to be put to death, 162; after the decisive battle in which Dingan's power is destroyed, on the 10th of February instals Panda as chief of the Zulus in vassalage to the volksraad of Natal, 164; on the 14th of February 1840 issues a proclamation taking possession of the territory northward to the Umvolosi river, 164; in December 1840 directs an attack upon the Bacas of Neapayi, 331; on the 17th of May 1842 is instructed by the volksraad to require the English forces that have recently arrived in Natal to leave within two days, and if they do not go to enforce the demand by arms, 341; on the night of the 23rd of May defeats a detachment of the English troops sent out to attack him, 342; on the 26th seizes the military stores landed on the Point, 343; on the 31st invests the British camp, 343; on the 26th of June strong reinforcements reach the British camp and he is obliged to abandon Durban, 346; retires to Maritzburg, 318; where he exerts all his influence in favour of coming to terms with the English commander, 348; in July after the submission of the volksraad to the authority of the queen resigns the office of commandant-general, 350; in September 1847 is sent from Natal to Grahamstown by the farmers to implore relief from Sir Henry Pottinger, as they are being ruined by the constant influx of Bantu refugees who have locations assigned to them, 416; but cannot even obtain an interview with the high commissioner, 416; he then publishes

- his grievances in the newspapers, 416; and when returning to Natal meets with very warm sympathy in all the districts he passes through, 417; on his arrival in Natal finds his family in great distress, fleeing from their home on account of robberies by the blacks, 425; in January 1848 has an interview with Sir Harry Smith at the foot of the Drakensberg, 425; in March removes to Magalisberg, 427; is appointed commandant-general of the burghers along both banks of the Vaal, 430; is invited by the Winburg burghers to assist them to throw off the English government imposed upon them by Sir Harry Smith, 430; on the 12th of July arrives at Winburg, 431; on the 17th obliges Major Warden to capitulate at Bloemfontein, 432; on the 29th of August is defeated by Sir Harry Smith in the battle of Boomplaats, 440; on the 25th of August 1851 is invited by the republicans in the Orange River Sovereignty to take upon himself the office of administrator-general, 474; he announces to the British resident his intention of complying with the request, 475; after this several letters pass between them, the object of Mr. Pretorius being to obtain the recognition by the British government of the independence of the emigrants north of the Vaal, 476; in January 1851 under a new governmental arrangement is appointed by the volksraad commandant-general for Rustenburg and Potchefstroom, 482; with other delegates from the Transvaal emigrants on the 17th of January 1852 concludes the Sand River convention with the assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen, 484; is greatly embittered against Mr. A. H. Potgieter, 482; but on the 16th of March 1852 a reconciliation takes place, 486; he enters into certain arrangements with the Barolong chief Montsiwa, 488; in June 1852 visits Bloemfontein, where he is received by the government with every mark of honour, 497; on the 23rd of July 1853 dies, 525
- Pretorius, Marthinus Wessel: in August 1853 is appointed by the volksraad commandant-general of Rustenburg and Potchefstroom, 526
- Prince Albert, village of: in 1841 is founded, 212
- Prince Albert, Dutch reformed church at: in November 1842 the first consistory is appointed, 212
- Pringle, W. Dodds: in the war of 1846-7 is commandant of the Somerset East burghers, 279
- Prinsloo, Joachim, president of the volksraad of Natal: in July 1842 is exempted from the general amnesty agreed to by Colonel Cloete, 349; a reward of 250*l.* is offered for his apprehension by Sir George Napier, but no one molests him, 350; in January 1844 he dies of fever contracted at Delagoa Bay, 365
- Protecteur fire and life assurance company: in 1838 is founded in Capetown, 218
- Province of Queen Adelaide: on the 10th of May 1835 is created by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 30; nearly the whole of it is allotted to the Kaffirs, 49; on the 5th of December 1836 it is abandoned by the British government, 65
- Purcell, William: on the 13th of July 1834 is murdered in the Galeka country, 28

QUEEN'S fort at Bloemfontein : in October 1848 is built, 445

Queen's road between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort : is made during the government of Sir George Napier, 191

Qeto : see Keto

Quigley, Michael, a deserter from the 45th regiment : in July 1848 sends information to Mr. Biddulph, resident magistrate of Winburg, of Mr. Pretorius's movements, 431; takes part in the battle of Boomplaats against the British forces, is afterwards captured, and is punished with death, 441

RADEMEYER, Commandant Jacobus Ignatius : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 performs good service, 18

Rawstorne, Fleetwood : in 1835 at the close of the sixth Kaffir war is appointed agent with some clans in the province of Queen Adelaide, 46; in February 1837 is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the new district of Colesberg, 79; on the 1st of July 1845 is directed to act as a special magistrate at Philippolis until the appointment of a British resident in the territory between the Orange and Modder rivers, 403

*Read, Rev. James, senior : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is prevented by the government from visiting the Hottentots of the Kat river, 13

van Rensburg, Jan : is leader of a party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 93; in May 1836 reaches the Zoutpansberg, 93; shortly afterwards moves onward and encounters a Bantu tribe by whom all of his party except two children are put to death, 93

Retief, Pieter : early life of, 110; is married to the widow of J. C. Greyling, who in December 1811 was murdered with Landdrost Stockenström by Kaffirs, 33; he is leader of the fourth party of emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony, 109; in April 1837 arrives in the neighbourhood of Thaba Ntshu, 109; on the 6th of June is elected governor and commandant-general of all the emigrant farmers, 110; arranges matters of administration, 112; offers peace to Moselekatse, who takes no notice of the proposal, 112; early in October with a party of emigrants sets out on a preliminary visit to Natal, 133; is warmly welcomed by the English residents at Durban, 133; visits Dingan at Unkungunhlovu, 133; and receives a promise of a grant of land on condition of recovering some cattle that have been stolen from the Zulus by Sikonyela's Batlokua, 134; returns to the Caledon and compels Sikonyela to surrender his spoil, 134; with a large body of emigrants then goes down to Natal, 134; with sixty-five companions and some Hottentot servants proceeds to Dingan's residence with the recovered cattle, 135; and there, on the 6th of February 1838, all are murdered, 137

*Revenue of the Cape Colony : particulars concerning the various taxes levied between 1836 and 1850, 194; average yearly receipts during quinquennial periods from 1836 to 1850, 198

Rex, George : builds a brig at the Knysna, 50

Rex, John : at the close of 1836 and beginning of 1837 lands and ships goods at the mouth of the Buffalo river, 50

- Richardson, Lieutenant-Colonel, of the 7th dragoons: in 1845 is sent in command of a body of troops to assist Adam Kok against the emigrant farmers, 399; on the 30th of April 1846 acts in a very inglorious manner at the Beka, near Fort Peddie, 267
- Richmond, village of: in April 1844 is founded, 238
- Richmond, Dutch reformed church at: in October 1843 the first consistory is appointed, 238
- Riebeek East, village of: in 1840 is founded, 208; in April 1846 is abandoned owing to the Kaffir invasion, but is shortly afterwards reoccupied, 264
- Riebeek East, Dutch reformed church at: on the 9th of March 1830 the civil commissioner of Albany is directed by the governor to nominate the first elders and deacons, 208; who are installed in January 1831, 208; on the 22nd of April 1831 the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet appoints a consulent, 208; on the 28th of November 1838 the governor appoints the reverend John Pears resident clergyman, 208; and on the 2nd of April 1839 he commences duty, 208
- Rifle brigade: in October and November 1846 the first battalion arrives in South Africa from Gibraltar, 285
- van der Riet, Rev. T. J.: in May 1845 becomes the first resident clergyman of Mossel Bay, 241
- *Rivers, Harry: on the 7th of December 1841 becomes treasurer-general of the Cape Colony, 207
- Riversdale, village of: in 1838 is founded, 209
- Riversdale, Dutch reformed church at: in June 1839 the first consistory commences duty, 209
- Road boards: constitution of, 222; in November 1843 are first created in the Cape Colony, 223
- *Robertson, Rev. William: at the end of 1848 goes on a mission to the emigrants north of the Orange, 447
- *Rolland, Rev. Samuel: in 1835 with a horde of refugees from the north founds the mission station Beersheba at Zevenfontein, 104
- *Roman catholic church in the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 216
- Roos, F.: in July 1838 is appointed landdrost of Port Natal, 147
- Roux, Rev. Dr.: on the 10th of January 1842 becomes clergyman of the Dutch reformed congregation in Albany, and in September of the same year gives the church place the name Riebeek East, 208
- Russell, Lord John: on the 3rd of September 1839 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, 176; on the 3rd of September 1841 is succeeded by Lord Stanley, 181
- Russell, Robert: note on a book written by, 561
- Rustenburg, village of: in 1851 is founded, 485
- SABINA, the, Spanish ship: on the 7th of August 1842 is wrecked on Cape Recife, 220
- Salis, Lieutenant, of the Cape corps: on the 29th of August 1848 is badly wounded at Boomplaats, 438

- *Sandile, heir of Gaika in the great line : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is a minor living with his mother Sutu in professed friendship with the Cape Colony, 26; early in 1840 is circumcised, 178; on the 2nd of December 1840 enters into a treaty with Sir George Napier, 180; in June 1843 promises Colonel Hare to aid in punishing the robber captain Tola, but in reality assists Tola to escape, 183; in July 1844 shelters some robbers who have murdered a farmer named De Lange, 248; but pays fifty head of cattle to the murdered man's widow, 249; on the 21st of January in the following year enters into new treaty arrangements with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252; in November 1845 consents to the erection of a fort at Blockdrift, 252; in January 1846 personally assaults and robs a trader in his country, 254; and on being called upon for redress sets the governor at defiance and withdraws his consent to the erection of a fort at Blockdrift, 255; at a meeting with Lieutenant-Governor Hare, however, he tones down his remarks, and the matter is allowed to pass by, 255; immediately after this he tries to induce the Ndlambes and Tembus to join him against the Cape Colony, 257; in March 1846 declines to surrender some criminals, 260; upon which an attempt to occupy his kraal is made by a military force, and the war of the axe commences, 262; on the 18th of November he professes to agree to terms of peace, and has a location assigned to him, 291; in June 1847 only partially complies with a demand for redress of an injury, 301; and when an attempt is made to arrest him his followers resist and fire upon the patrol, 301; the governor then sends him an ultimatum, which he treats with disdain, so on the 27th of August he is proclaimed a rebel, and forces are set in motion to subdue him, 302; on the 19th of October he surrenders, and is sent to Grahamstown a prisoner, 305; in December he is released by Sir Harry Smith, 311; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has land assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314
- Sand River convention : particulars of the, 484; on the 16th of March 1852 is ratified by the volksraad at Rustenburg, 486; and on the 13th of May by Sir George Cathcart for the British government, 487
- Satchell, Rev. W., missionary at Buntingville : at the beginning of the sixth Kaffir war takes refuge at Clarkebury, where in April 1835 he is rescued by a military patrol, 27
- Scheel Kobus, a petty Korana captain : in 1850 is provided with a location along the southern bank of the Vaal river, 463
- Schoeman, Commandant Stephanus : in August 1852 accompanies an expedition against the Bapedi, 513; in which he performs good service, 514; upon the retirement of Mr. Potgieter assumes the chief command, and brings hostilities to a close, 515
- Schoitz, Commandant P. E. : in August 1852 conducts a military expedition against the Bakwena chief Setyeli, 517; in September 1853 defends the emigrant farmers against charges brought before Sir George Clerk, 537
- Scholtz, Dr. J. W. L. : is the first resident clergyman of Piketberg, 209

Scholtz, Rev. Ernest, of the Berlin missionary society : on the 29th of November 1845 is murdered by Kaffirs near Fort Peddie, 253

*Schools : particulars concerning the system of public education in the Cape Colony before 1839 and improvements after that date, 200 ; statistics in 1846, 242

Sekwati, chief of the Bapedi tribe : in 1846 is defeated by the emigrant farmers, 414 ; in 1852 is again involved in war with them, 513 ; and is very severely chastised, 515

Setyeli, chief of the Bakwena tribe : after the flight of Moselekatse from the emigrant farmers collects the remnant of his people together and settles with them in the country occupied by their fathers, 515 ; in the winter of 1852 sets the government of the South African Republic at defiance, 517 ; gives protection to an offender named Moselele who has made his escape from the Marikwa district, 517 ; in consequence of which a military expedition is sent against him, 517 ; he is obliged to abandon his kraal near Kolobeng, 519 ; and otherwise suffers severely in the contest, 521

Seventh dragoon guards : in July 1843 arrive in South Africa from England, 181

Seventh Kaffir war : on the 16th of March 1846 a Kaffir detected in theft at Fort Beaufort is being sent as a prisoner to Grahamstown for trial, when he is rescued on colonial ground by his friends, and a constable is killed, 259 ; the lieutenant-governor demands the rescued man and the murderer of the constable from the chiefs Tola, Botumane, and Sandile, all of whom decline to surrender them, 259 ; he then, 11th of April, sends a military force to occupy Sandile's kraal at Burnshill, 261 ; the force meets with resistance, loses the greater part of its stores, and is obliged to retreat to Blockdrift, 263 ; the Kosas now pour into the colony and lay waste the border districts, 264 ; nearly the whole tribe is united against the Europeans, 265 ; and is aided by the emigrant Tembus under Mapasa, 266 ; on the 30th of April the Kaffirs are greatly elated by the retreat of a military force sent to the Beka to attack them, 269 ; during the following month, however, they are driven out of the colony, 267 ; on the 21st of May a train of forty-three waggons laden with supplies for Fort Peddie is captured by them in the jungle of the Fish river, 270 ; on the 28th of May they make an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of Fort Peddie, 271 ; on the 1st of June much-needed supplies reach that fort, 272 ; on the 8th the warriors of Umhala and Siyolo sustain a crushing defeat at the Gwanga, 273 ; in the third week of July Pato is pursued across the Kei and some cattle are recovered from him, 276 ; at the end of July the Amatola fastnesses are scoured, but the Kaffirs manage to escape, 277 ; an expedition is then sent against Kreli, but it does nothing to chastise him, 278 ; though in returning it inflicts some injury upon the Tembus of Mapasa, 281 ; owing to the long drought and the scarcity of provisions away from the sea the bulk of the regular forces now moves to a camp at Waterloo Bay, and on the 16th of September the burghers are disbanded, 283 ; parties of Kaffir raiders continue to devastate the districts of Albany and Somerset and to murder unprotected people, 286 ; after the fall of rain in September the Gaika and Imidange chiefs, who want to plant

maize and millet, express a desire for peace, 287; and on the 30th of that month a conference takes place between them and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, 287; when they reject without hesitation the terms offered by the governor, 287; shortly after this the emigrant Tembus are reduced to such straits that they are unable to take part again in the war, 288; the clan of Umhala is also severely punished, 290; the Kosas now adopt a system of passive resistance, 290; in October Makoma surrenders, 290; on the 18th of November Sandile professes to agree to terms of peace, 291; after which every Kaffir who chooses to surrender a musket or six assagais is registered as a British subject and permitted to set about cultivating the land, 291; by the beginning of December the only chiefs west of the Kei openly in arms against the colony are Pato, Kobe, and Toyise, but many followers of the others are with these, 292; towards the close of this month a strong force endeavours to surround Pato and his associates between the Gonubie and the Kei, but fails in its object, 293; on the 1st of January 1847 this force proceeds to Butterworth to attack Kreli, 293; and succeeds in capturing a good many cattle, with which it returns to King-Williamstown, 293; on the 13th of January Sir Peregrine Maitland, believing the war to be nearly over, abolishes martial law in the colony, though Pato is still in arms, 294; in April a line of posts is formed along the western bank of the Buffalo river, 298; as soon as his crops are gathered Sandile again assumes a hostile attitude, 299; in June, owing to his conduct, an attempt is made to arrest him, when his followers fire upon the patrol, 301; Governor Sir Henry Pottinger then sends him an ultimatum, which he treats with disdain, so on the 27th of August he is declared a rebel and forces are set in motion to subdue him, 302; on the 19th of September three strong patrols enter the Amatola fastnesses and keep constantly moving from place to place to prevent the hostile Kaffirs from settling anywhere, 304; so that on the 19th of October Sandile and Anta surrender, 305; the troops then move to the Kei to attack Kreli and Pato, 306; with the result that on the 19th of December Pato is compelled to surrender, 307; on the 23rd of December Governor Sir Harry Smith proclaims the country between the colonial boundary and the Kei a British province, 311; which, with the exception of small areas round forts and mission stations, is to be preserved for the exclusive use of Bantu, 313; on the 7th of January 1848 the Rarabe and emigrant Tembu chiefs take the oath of allegiance to the queen of England, Kreli and Buku agree to the terms offered to them, and peace is proclaimed, 314

Seventy-fifth regiment: in 1834 is stationed on the eastern colonial frontier, 3; in July 1843 the skeleton leaves for England, more than half the men having taken their discharge in South Africa, 181

Seventy-second regiment: on the outbreak of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is sent from Capetown to the scene of hostilities, 10; in April 1840 returns to England, 179

Seventy-third regiment: on the 11th of August 1846 arrives in South Africa from Monte Video, 285

- Shand, Rev. Robert : in November 1835 becomes clergyman of Tulbagh, 212 ; is the cause of a division of the congregation, 212
- Shepstone, Theophilus : shortly after the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 guides a party of volunteers to Wesleyville to rescue the white people who have taken refuge there, 15 ; after serving as an interpreter during the war is appointed clerk to the agent-general, 45 ; in December 1836 acts as interpreter for Lieutenant-Governor Stockenström when concluding treaties with the Kaffir and Fingo chiefs, 68 ; in November 1838 accompanies a military force to Port Natal as Kaffir interpreter, 153 ; in February 1839 succeeds Mr. J. M. Bowker as diplomatic agent with the Fingos and Gunukwebes, 183 ; in June 1843 assists in an unsuccessful expedition against the robber captain Tola, 183 ; in October and November 1844 proceeds to Butterworth to obtain Krel's mark to a treaty, 250 ; and to Pondoland to obtain Faku's mark to another, 367 ; in November 1845 is appointed agent for natives in Natal, 370
- Shepstone, Rev. William, Wesleyan missionary : assists in the negotiations by which the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is brought to an end, 38 ; after the conclusion of peace reoccupies the mission station Wesleyville, 47
- *Shiloh : after the abandonment of Clarkebury in April 1835 is the only mission station left in any part of Kaffirland, 27
- Shooter, Rev. J. : note on a book written by, 554
- *Sikonyela, chief of the Batlokua tribe : makes an agreement of friendship with Pieter Retief, 112 ; in December 1837 is compelled by Pieter Retief to surrender some cattle which his people have stolen from Dingan, 134 ; in March 1846 agrees to submit his dispute with Moshesh to the judgment of a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 408 ; in 1847 renews hostilities with Moshesh, 410 ; with whose people he afterwards carries on an unceasing petty warfare, 450 ; in September 1850 comes in conflict with the government of the Orange River Sovereignty, 467 ; but makes his peace with Major Warden, and joins his forces with those of the British resident against the Basuto, 467 ; in September 1853 is conquered by Moshesh and loses the whole of his territory, 533 ; retires to Bloemfontein and subsequently to the present district of Herschel, where in 1856 he dies in obscurity, 533
- Sitamba, a Kosa : at the commencement of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 performs an act of great humanity, 7
- *Siwani, great son of Dushane : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is a minor living with his mother Nonibe in professed friendship with the Cape Colony, 26 ; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 251 ; in May 1846 takes part with the rest of the Kosa tribe against the Cape Colony, 265 ; in November surrenders, 292 ; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a location assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314
- Sixth Kaffir war : in the evening of the 21st of December 1834 a great horde of Kaffirs begins to cross the boundary and lay waste the frontier colonial districts, 6 ; in ten or twelve days the whole of the open country as far west as the village of Uitenhage is ravaged, 7 ; twenty-two white men are

murdered, 7; four hundred and fifty-six houses are burned, and an immense number of horses, horned cattle, sheep, and goats are driven off, 7; fortunately most of the colonists receive warning in time to take refuge in the towns and villages, 8; all the trading stations in Kaffirland are pillaged, and ten of the traders are murdered, 8; the three military posts farthest in advance are of necessity abandoned, 8; Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and all the troops that can be spared from the Cape peninsula are sent to the scene of hostilities as rapidly as possible, 10; the burgher forces of the colony are called out and a number of Hottentots are levied, 11; on the 10th of January 1835 a patrol under Major Cox leaves Grahamstown and commences operations against the Kosas, 12; on the 20th of January Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrives in Grahamstown and takes command of the assembled forces, 13; the missionaries and surviving traders in Kaffirland are brought out by patrols sent to rescue them, 15; early in February the Kaffirs are driven out of the colony, 16; but take possession of the thickets along the Fish river, 16; where they are attacked on the 12th of February, and on the 15th are obliged to retire, 17; on the 19th of February they make a sudden raid into the Kat river settlement, but are beaten back, 17; they manage, however, to recover the fastnesses of the Fish river, from which it is with difficulty that they are again expelled, 18; they then retire to the forests along the Amatola mountains, 18; on the 31st of March the colonial forces cross the Keiskama to attack them there, 22; between the 2nd and the 10th of April a good many cattle are recovered and the Kosas are driven out of the fastnesses of the Amatola, 23; on the 15th of April a division of the army under Sir Benjamin D'Urban crosses the Kei into the territory of Hintsa, paramount chief of the tribe, who has been aiding the Rarabe clans in the war, 24; on the 17th this force encamps at Butterworth, 25; where certain Fingo captains apply to the governor for protection, 25; whereupon Sir Benjamin D'Urban adopts a plan of settlement which involves the removal of them and their people to the territory between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 26; as Hintsa does not give satisfaction for his hostile conduct, on the 24th of April war is declared against him, 27; the forces then commence to scour the Galeka country, and succeed in capturing some cattle, 28; which causes Hintsa to come to the camp on the 29th of April to ask for peace, 28; on the following day terms are agreed upon, 28; on the 2nd of May the troops begin to move towards the colony, 28; on the 4th of May terms of peace are offered to the Rarabe chiefs, which they refuse to accept, 29; Hintsa does not fulfil his agreement, and is killed while attempting to escape from a patrol sent out by his desire to collect cattle, 31; on the 19th of May peace is concluded with his son Kreli, 32; the Rarabes are encouraged to continue the war by the language of their European sympathisers, 33; on the 23rd of May the farmers are disbanded that they may get seed grain in the ground, 35; and the Hottentots who are kept under arms have pay assigned to them, 35; the forces in the field continue to harass the Rarabes as much as possible, 36; as soon as the seed is in the ground the

farmers are called to arms again, 38 ; but negotiations are now opened with the Rarabe chiefs through the medium of some Wesleyan missionaries, 38 ; and on the 15th of August a suspension of hostilities is arranged, 39 ; on the 11th of September Sir Benjamin D'Urban has a conference at Fort Willshire with the Rarabe chiefs, 40 ; and on the 17th peace is finally concluded by the chiefs consenting to become British subjects and to have locations assigned to them in the province of Queen Adelaide, 40

Sixth regiment : in October and November 1846 arrives in South Africa from Cork, 286

Sixty-second regiment : in 1847 a wing of this regiment when returning home from India is detained for some months in Capetown, 298

*Siyolo, right-hand son of Dushane : in December 1834 sends his followers to invade and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 7 ; continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to become a British subject, 41 ; on the 5th of March 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66 ; in August 1837 attacks the Fingos at Fort Peddie and plunders them, 71 ; on the 31st of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180 ; from May to November 1846 takes an active part in the war against the Cape Colony, 265 ; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a tract of land assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314

*Small-pox : in 1840 causes great loss of life in the Cape Colony, 185

Smellekamp, Johan Arnaud : on the 24th of March 1842 arrives at Port Natal as supercargo of the Dutch trading brig *Brazilia*, 339 ; is sent back to Holland by the volksraad of Natal to negotiate a treaty placing the republic under the protection of the king of the Netherlands and to procure clergymen and schoolmasters, 339 ; when passing through the Cape Colony with this object is arrested and confined for being without a pass, but is soon released and allowed to embark for Europe, 340 ; receives no countenance from the government of Holland, 353 ; returns to South Africa as director of a trading company, but on arriving at Natal on the 8th of May 1843 is not permitted by the English authorities to land his goods or to communicate with the farmers, 354 ; proceeds to Delagoa Bay, where he remains for some time, 355 ; in December 1843 is visited at Lourenço Marques by some emigrant farmers through whom he sends advice to the great body of the emigrants to move to the north-east and open communication with the outer world through Delagoa Bay, 365 ; afterwards gives the same advice to Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, who acts upon it, 366 ; then proceeds to Holland, but after a few years returns to South Africa, 366

Smit, Erasmus, an old missionary teacher : in 1837 is engaged to conduct public worship for the emigrant farmers, 112

*Smith, Dr. Andrew : in 1834 visits the Zulu chief Dingan, 125 ; in 1835 explores the territory along the upper Limpopo, 96 ; and has very friendly interviews with various chiefs and captains north of the Orange river, 105 ; note on a book written by, 549

Smith, Sir Harry : as a lieutenant-colonel in the army in March 1829 becomes deputy-quartermaster-general at the Cape, 10 ; on the 1st of January 1835 leaves Capetown, and in less than six days rides on horseback to Grahamstown to organise measures of defence against Kaffir invaders of the colony, 10 ; levies large numbers of Hottentots to aid the soldiers and burghers, 11 ; on the 11th of February at the head of a division of the army crosses the Fish river to attack the Kaffirs, 17 ; after the arrival of Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the frontier is second in command of the forces, 19 ; in May is in command of a patrol when the paramount chief Hintsa is killed, 30 ; from the 11th of June to the conclusion of peace in September has direct command of the forces in the field, 36 ; is left in King-Williamstown with military control over the province of Queen Adelaide, 44 ; on the 13th of September 1836 lays down his charge in the province, 64 ; in January 1837 attains the rank of colonel in the army, 85 ; in June 1840 leaves South Africa to take up the appointment of adjutant-general of the army in India, 308 ; on the 28th of January 1846 wins the victory of Aliwal against the Sikhs, 308 ; shortly afterwards returns to England, and is then appointed governor of the Cape Colony, high commissioner, and commander-in-chief of the forces, 308 ; on the 1st of December 1847 arrives at Capetown and takes the oaths of office, 308 ; eleven days later leaves for the frontier, 309 ; on the 17th of December issues a proclamation greatly extending the boundary of the Cape Colony, 310 ; on the 23rd of December proclaims the territory between the new colonial boundary and the river Kei a British province under the title of British Kaffraria, 311 ; on the 23rd of December receives the submission of the lately hostile chiefs, 311 ; on the 7th of January 1848 holds a great meeting with the Kosa and Tembu chiefs at King-Williamstown, and announces the arrangements for the government of the province, 314 ; in January 1848 visits the country north of the Orange river, 419 ; on the 25th of this month obtains the signature of Adam Kok to a document which destroys the old treaties, 421 ; and on the 27th induces Moshesh to attach his mark to a document of the same tendency, 424 ; then proceeds to Natal, and at the foot of the Drakensberg has an interview with a body of emigrant farmers, 425 ; on the 3rd of February from their camp proclaims the queen's sovereignty over the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers, 426 ; on the 29th of March publishes a manifesto against agitators in that country, 429 ; on the 22nd of July learns that Major Warden has been expelled from the Orange River Sovereignty by Commandant-General Pretorius, 433 ; at once sends forward all the troops available, and follows to take command in person, 433 ; on the 26th of August musters his forces on the northern bank of the Orange, 434 ; on the 29th defeats the emigrant farmers at Boomplaats, 440 ; on the 2nd of September issues a proclamation confiscating the property of all who have been in arms against the queen's authority, 442 ; on the 7th at Winburg makes arrangements for the temporary government of the Sovereignty, 443 ; then returns to Capetown, 445 ; on the 14th of March 1849 proclaims regulations for the permanent government of the Orange

River Sovereignty, 449; on the 31st of March 1852 is succeeded as governor and high commissioner by Sir George Cathcart, 487

Smith, Captain Thomas Charlton, of the 27th regiment: in January 1841 is sent in command of a military force to form a camp on the Umgazi river for the protection of the Pondo chief Faku, 333; in December of the same year is instructed by Sir George Napier to move on and occupy Port Natal, 336; on the 1st of April 1842 leaves the Umgazi for that purpose, 337; and on the 4th of May forms a camp close to Durban, 338; on the night of the 23rd of May marches from his camp to attack the farmers assembled at Kongela, but is beaten back with heavy loss, 341; on the 31st of May his camp is invested by the farmers under Commandant-General Pretorius, 343; he holds out until the 26th of June, when a relieving force under Colonel Cloete arrives from Capetown, 346; upon Colonel Cloete's departure in July he is again left in command of the troops in Natal with the rank of major, 350; on the 31st of August 1843 occupies Maritzburg with troops, 361; in August 1845 is succeeded in command in Natal by Lieutenant-Colonel E. F. Boys, 370; is offered the situation of British resident in Adam Kok's country, but declines it, 403; in December of this year is appointed agent-general and frontier commissioner, and is stationed at Fort Beaufort, 255; after the outbreak of war in 1846 his office is abolished, 291

Smithfield, village of: in November 1849 is founded, 444

Snyman, Jacobus Theodorus: in 1844 is head of a party of emigrant farmers in the valley of the Caledon river who are favourable to British rule, 396; and who profess to hold their lands from Moshesh, 400; in August 1848 he assists the British forces under Sir Harry Smith against the emigrant farmers under Commandant-General Pretorius, 435; in September of this year is appointed a member of the war tribute commission, 444; and in June 1849 becomes a member of the legislative council of the Orange River Sovereignty, 450

Soga, Rev. Tiyo: as a boy in 1846 goes to Scotland on the outbreak of the seventh Kaffir war, 265

*Somerset East, district of: in July 1837 is again separated from Albany, to which in 1834 it had been attached for fiscal—not for judicial—purposes, 80

*Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry: in December 1834 demands and obtains redress from the chief Eno for an act of violence, 4; after the outbreak of the sixth Kaffir war drives the invaders out of the colony, 16; on the 11th of February 1835 attacks the Kaffirs in the thickets of the Fish river, 17; in March commands one of the four divisions of the army which enters Kaffirland, 19; in June 1839 takes command of the Cape mounted riflemen, 171; in April 1846 is sent with a military force to occupy Sandile's kraal at Burnshill, 262; but loses the greater part of his waggon train and is obliged to retreat, 263; in May with the Cape corps drives the Kaffirs out of the colony, 269; on the 1st of June succeeds in provisioning Fort Peddie, 272; on the 8th of June at the Gwanga inflicts a very severe blow upon the clans of Umhala and Siyolo, 273; in July and

- August commands the second division of the army of operations, 276 ; in September scours the country between the Keiskama and Gonubie rivers, 289 ; on the 7th of January 1847 is left by Sir Peregrine Maitland in command of all the forces in the field, 294 ; upon the arrival of Sir George Berkeley transfers the chief command to him, but serves with distinction till the close of the war
- Sonto, son of Eno : in May 1846 takes part in an invasion of the Cape Colony, 265 ; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has ground assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314
- South African bank : in 1838 is founded in Capetown, 218
- *South African college : particulars concerning the progress of the, 202
- South African Dutch colonists : are of mixed European blood, 88 ; speak a dialect different in some respects from the language of Holland at the present day, 88
- South African Republic : on the 17th of January 1852 its independence is acknowledged by Great Britain, 484 ; number of districts in 1853, 527 ; form of government at this time, 527
- Southey, Richard : in 1835 at the close of the sixth Kaffir war is appointed agent with some clans in the province of Queen Adelaide, 45 ; in December 1836 retires from the service, 69 ; on the 20th of December 1847 becomes private secretary to Sir Harry Smith, 444 ; in September 1848 is entrusted with confidential duty of an important nature in the Orange River Sovereignty, 444 ; attempts in vain to define a satisfactory boundary between the white people and the Basuto, 451
- Sparks, Ensign Robert Manners, of the Cape mounted rifles : in December 1834 with a small patrol is sent to obtain compensation for stolen horses from the Kosa chief Eno, 3 ; seizes forty head of cattle, with which he sets out to return to Fort Willshire, 4 ; is attacked on the way, but is rescued by the chief Stokwe, 4 ; before reaching the fort receives a severe wound from a Kaffir who springs suddenly upon him, 4
- Stanger, Dr. William : on the 2nd of January 1845 is appointed surveyor-general of Natal, 370
- Stanley, Lord : on the 3rd of September 1841 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, 181 ; on the 25th of May 1844 announces the decision of the imperial authorities concerning the form of government of Natal as a British possession, 368
- Steele, Ensign, of the Cape corps : on the 29th of August 1848 is mortally wounded in the battle of Boomplaats, 441
- *Stockenstrom, Sir Andries : in 1835 is a pensioner living in Europe, 54 ; gives most damaging evidence against the colonists before a committee of the house of commons, 54 ; is sent out as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts of the Cape Colony with instructions to restore the province of Queen Adelaide to the Kaffirs, 59 ; on the 25th of July 1836 takes the oaths of office in Capetown, 60 ; on arriving in Grahamstown is challenged by a mass meeting to prove his assertions before the committee of the commons, 63 ; on the 18th of September has a conference with the Rarabe chiefs at King-Williamstown, 64 ; forms a new line of

defence along the Fish and Kat rivers, 64 ; on the 5th of December renounces British authority over the province of Queen Adelaide and over the territory east of the Stormberg spruit, 65 ; restores to Krelî the land ceded by him, 65 ; and concludes treaties with the Rarabe chiefs as independent rulers, 66 ; five days later enters into a similar treaty with the principal Fingo captains at Fort Peddie, 68 ; on the 18th of January 1837 concludes a similar treaty with the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa, 68 ; is unable to protect the Fingos from the Kosas, 72 ; makes an abortive attempt to form Hottentot locations along the Fish river, 73 ; finds himself in altogether a false position, 74 ; brings an action for libel against Captain Campbell, civil commissioner of Albany, 77 ; and loses the case, 77 ; which causes great rejoicing throughout the eastern province, 77 ; urges the occupation of Port Natal upon Earl Glenelg as a means of forcing the emigrant farmers to return to the Cape Colony, 152 ; by order of Earl Glenelg a serious charge against him is investigated by a commission consisting of Sir George Napier, Major Charters, and Captain Dundas, 172 ; who find that he shot a Kaffir, but that it was a lawful military act, 172 ; he then obtains leave of absence, and on the 9th of August 1838 embarks for England, 173 ; where he tenders his resignation to the secretary of state, but afterwards withdraws it, 174 ; on the 31st of August 1839 is deprived of office by Lord Normanby, 175 ; but receives from Lord John Russell a baronetcy and a pension of 700*l.* a year, 176 ; on the 31st of May 1840 reaches South Africa again, 176 ; on the 2nd of May 1846 is appointed commandant-general of the burgher forces of the eastern districts, 268 ; in July and August when clearing the Amatola fastnesses behaves with great energy and courage, 277 ; in the middle of August commands a division of the force sent against Krelî, 278 ; on the 21st of August has a conference with Krelî and makes provisional terms of peace, 279 ; which Sir P. Maitland refuses to ratify, 283 ; after the return of the expedition quarrels with several military officers, 281 ; on the 25th of November tenders his resignation, which the governor immediately accepts, 282 ; note on a book written by, 553 ; note on the autobiography of, 559

Stockenstrom : on the 15th of August 1844 the Hottentot settlement at the Kat river has this name given to it, 261

Stockenstrom *versus* Campbell : particulars of an action for libel, 77

Stoffels, Andries, a Gona Hottentot : in 1835-6 visits England with the reverend Dr. Philip, 52 ; gives evidence before a committee of the house of commons, 53 ; makes a tour through England, 53 ; contracts consumption, and dies at Capetown when returning to his home, 54

Stokwe, great son of the Kosa chief Eno : in December 1834 prevents the destruction of a military patrol, 4 ; on the first of April 1846 succeeds his father as chief of the Amambala clan, 265 ; six weeks later takes part in an invasion of the Cape Colony, 265 ; on the 21st of August 1846 surrenders to Colonel Somerset, 287 ; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a location assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314

- St. Lucia Bay : on the 1st of October 1843 is ceded to the queen of England by the Zulu chief Panda, 364
- St. Mungo*, the : on the 20th of September 1844 is wrecked on Cape Agulhas, 236
- Stretch, Captain Charles Lennox : at the close of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is appointed agent with the Gaika, Imidange, and Amambala clans, 45 ; is stationed at Fort Cox, 45 ; in December 1836 is removed from Fort Cox to Blockdrift, and is directed to act as consular agent, 69 ; after the outbreak of war in 1846 his office is abolished, 291
- Stuart, C. U. : in March 1849 is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Bloemfontein, 449 ; in December 1851 is dismissed, 479
- Stuart, J. : note on a book written by, 554
- Sutherland, Lieutenant-Colonel : note on a book written by, 552
- Sutton, Lieutenant William, of the 75th regiment : on the 10th of December 1834 is sent with a small patrol from Fort Beaufort to expel some intruding Kaffirs from colonial ground and to obtain compensation from them for stolen horses, 5 ; finds the intruders defiant, but manages to burn their huts and to seize some oxen, 5 ; when returning to Fort Beaufort is attacked, and with great difficulty and some loss reaches the fort, 5 ; subsequently is raised to the rank of captain and is transferred to the Cape mounted rifles ; in December 1845 becomes British resident in Adam Kok's territory, but in January 1846 resigns, 403
- Sutu, great widow of Gaika : at the beginning of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 gives protection to several missionaries and traders, 15 ; throughout the war professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 26 ; upon the death of Tyali on the 1st of May 1842 is accused by a witchfinder of having killed that chief, 182 ; but is protected from maltreatment by the diplomatic agent Stretch and the missionaries of the Glasgow society, 182
- *Synod of the Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony : constitution of, 214
- *TAAIBOSCH, Gert : complains of the injustice done to him by the treaty of 1843 between Sir George Napier and the Basuto chief Moshesh, 392 ; in June 1845 has a conference with Sir Peregrine Maitland at Touwfontein, 401 ; but as he will not admit the authority of Moshesh no arrangement can be made with him in furtherance of a settlement of the dispute between them, 401 ; in August 1845 offers a tract of land for settlement by Europeans, 406 ; in March 1846 agrees to submit his dispute with Moshesh to the judgment of a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 408 ; in June of the same year assists Major Warden to disperse the adherents of Jan Kock, 409 ; in September 1853 is killed in battle with the Basuto, 533
- Tambusa, Zulu induna : in May 1835 on behalf of Dingan enters into a treaty with Captain Gardiner, 130 ; in January 1840 is sent by Dingan to negotiate with the emigrant farmers, and is put to death by them, 161
- Tancred, Dr. : note on a book written by, 552

- *Tawane, Barolong captain : in 1841 moves from Thaba Ntshu over the Vaal, 375 ; and has a tract of land assigned to him by Commandant Potgieter, 375 ; upon which he lives as a favoured subject of the emigrant farmers, 376 ; in 1848 moves to Lotlakana, 459 ; where his power rapidly increases, 460 ; dies at the end of 1849, and is succeeded by his son Montsiwa, 460
- *Tembu tribe : in 1835 is governed by the regent Vadana, as the chief Umtirara is a minor, 20 ; has then little strength for warlike purposes, 21 ; in 1835 is attacked by the Bacas under Ncapayi and sustains much loss, 21 ; in 1834 and 1835 sends various offshoots into the territory along the Zwart Kei river, 23 ; in November 1836 is again attacked and plundered by Ncapayi, 327 ; in 1838 is reduced to such misery by attacks of the Pondos and Bacas that it flees to the territory along the upper branches of the Kei, 327 ; see Mapasa, Nonesi, Umtirara, and Vadana
- Tente, inferior son of Gaika : during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 26
- Thaba Bosigo mission station : in 1837 is founded by agents of the Paris evangelical society, 411
- Theal, G. M. : notes on books written by, 556
- *Thom, Rev. Dr. George : on the 24th of August 1825 is appointed clergyman of the Dutch reformed church at Tulbagh, 212 ; a few years later becomes insane, and in 1835 is removed to an asylum, 212
- Thunderbolt*, the first steam ship-of-war on the station : on the 3rd of February 1847 strikes on Cape Recife and becomes a wreck, 299
- Tinde clan : since the middle of the eighteenth century has been gradually becoming weaker, 14 ; see Tshatshu
- du Toit, Rev. A. F. : in June 1840 becomes the first resident clergyman of Wellington, 211
- du Toit, Andries : in the war of 1846-7 is commandant of the Worcester burghers, 279
- Tola, Imidange captain : is head of the most expert robber clan on the border of the Cape Colony, 183 ; in June 1843 is attacked by a military force, but as he is assisted by the Gaikas he makes his escape, 183 ; on the 16th of March 1846 causes one of his followers to be released by force when a prisoner in the colony, 259 ; declines to surrender the rescued man when called upon to do so, 259 ; from April to November 1846 carries on war with the Cape Colony, 264 ; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has ground assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314
- Toyise, son of Gasela : in March 1845 succeeds his father as captain of a Rarabe clan, 257 ; in 1846 and 1847 carries on war against the Cape Colony, 264 ; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has ground assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314
- *Treaties : concluded by Captain Gardiner in May 1835 with the Zulu chief Dingana, 130 ; concluded by Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the 3rd of March 1836 with the Matabele chief Moselekatse, 106 ; concluded by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenström on the 5th of December 1836 with the Rarabe

chiefs, 66 ; concluded by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom on the 10th of December 1836 with the Fingo captains Umhlambiso and Jokweni, 68 ; concluded by Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom on the 18th of January 1837 with the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa, 68 ; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 19th of June 1838 with the Gunukwebe captains, 169 ; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 2nd of December 1840 with the Gaika chiefs, 180 ; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 29th of December 1840 with the Fingo captains at Fort Peddie, 180 ; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 31st of December 1840 with the Ndlambe captains, 180 ; concluded by Sir George Napier on the 28th of January 1841 with the emigrant Tembu chief Mapasa, 180 ; concluded by Sir George Napier in November and December 1843 with Adam Kok, Griqua captain of Philippolis, and Moshesh, chief of the Basuto tribe, 391 ; concluded by Sir Peregrine Maitland on the 7th of October 1844 with the Pondo chief Faku, 367 ; concluded by Sir Peregrine Maitland in November 1844 with the chief Kreli, 250 ; concluded by Sir Peregrine Maitland in January 1845 with the Rarabe and Fingo captains, 251 ; concluded by Sir Peregrine Maitland in February 1846 with the Griqua captain Adam Kok, 403

Treaties, agreements subversive of : concluded by Sir Harry Smith on the 25th of January 1848 with the Griqua captain Adam Kok, 422 ; concluded by Sir Harry Smith on the 27th of January 1848 with the Basuto chief Moshesh, 424

Triechard, Louis : is leader of the pioneer party in the great emigration from the Cape Colony, 93 ; in May 1836 reaches the Zoutpansberg, 93 ; a few months later attempts to explore the country to Delagoa Bay, 93 ; meets with many disasters, but in April 1838 reaches the bay, 94 ; where all of his party perish of fever except twenty-six individuals who in July 1839 are rescued and conveyed by sea to Natal, 94

*Tshaka, Zulu chief : in July 1824 is first visited by Europeans, 119 ; is badly wounded by a man who attempts to assassinate him, 119 ; but rapidly recovers under the skilful treatment of Henry Fynn, 119 ; owing to which circumstance he becomes a friend of the Englishmen living at Port Natal, 119 ; on the 7th of August 1824 grants a large tract of land round the port to Mr. Farewell, 119 ; permits the Europeans at Port Natal to collect the blacks together and to rule them as chiefs, 121 ; allows no trade with his Zulu subjects, 121 ; grants to Henry Fynn a large tract of land, 121 ; in April 1828 sends an embassy to the Cape government, 122 ; which is not acknowledged by the colonial authorities, though the indunas are well treated, 122 ; he next sends John Cane with a friendly greeting to the governor, 122 ; on the 23rd of September 1828 is assassinated by his brother Dingan and two others, 123

Tshatshu, captain of the Tinde clan : during the Kafir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 26

Tshatshu, Jan, son of the Tinde captain : in 1835 and 1836 visits England with the reverend Dr. Philip, 52 ; appears there as a powerful Kafir chief, 53 ; gives evidence before a committee of the house of commons,

53; makes a tour through England, 53; becomes so conceited and fond of wine that he is utterly ruined, 54; in the war of 1846-7 joins the Gaikars against the Europeans, and on the 28th of May 1846 takes part in the attack upon Fort Peddie, 271; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, 314

Tulu, Bataung chief, son and successor of Makwana: in 1845 is visited by the special commissioner Gideon Joubert, 405; in April 1853 is utterly despoiled by Gert Taaibosch and Sikonyela, 511; so that he is obliged to abandon his location and take refuge with his kinsman Molitsane at Mekuatling, 511

Twelfth regiment: early in 1843 the reserve battalion on its way to the Mauritius is detained for three months at the Cape, 181

Twenty-fifth regiment: in 1839 arrives in South Africa, 171; in August 1842 is sent to India, 181

Twenty-seventh regiment: in August 1835 arrives in the Cape Colony from Cork, 39

*Tyali, left-hand son of Gaika: during the year 1834 gives great annoyance to the frontier colonists, 2; attempts to entrap Colonel Somerset, 6; on the 21st of December 1834 sends his followers to invade and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 6; after securing an immense booty proposes peace on condition of matters remaining as they are, 11; but his offer is rejected by Colonel Somerset, 11; he continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to become a British subject, 40; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66; on the 2nd of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180; on the 1st of May 1842 dies of a chest complaint in the Tyumie valley, 182

UMBOPA, servant of Tshaka: in September 1828 assists in putting his master to death, 123

*Umhala, son of Ndlambe: in December 1834 sends his followers to invade and lay waste the frontier districts of the Cape Colony, 6; continues the conflict until the 17th of September 1835, when he agrees to become a British subject, 41; on the 5th of December 1836 is released from his allegiance and enters into a treaty with the British government, 66; on the 31st of December 1840 agrees to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180; on the 2nd of January 1845 enters into a new treaty framed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, 251; in April 1846 joins in the seventh Kaffir war against the Cape Colony, 265; on the 8th of June 1846 loses many of his best warriors in the battle of the Gwanga, 273; in November surrenders to a British commissioner, 292; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a tract of land assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 314

Umhlabiso, chief of a remnant of the Hlubi tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Kosas, 25; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him

between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 29; in December 1836 as an independent chief enters into a treaty with the British government, 68; in August 1837 is badly wounded in an attack by Kaffirs upon his people, 72; on the 29th of December 1840 consents to certain modifications of the treaty proposed by Sir George Napier, 180

*Umkayi, son of Ndlambe: during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 professes friendship to the Cape Colony, 26; in 1838 is in league with some mutineers of the Cape corps, 168; early in 1846 asks for leave to move into the Cape Colony, as he is sure there will shortly be war, 257; during the war of 1846-7 resides in Grahamstown, 266

Umpande: see Panda

Umsutu, chief of a remnant of the Abasekunene tribe: in April 1835 at Butterworth solicits Sir Benjamin D'Urban to give him protection against the Kosas, 25; his request is complied with, and he has land assigned to him between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, 29

Umtlangana: in September 1828 assists his brother Dingan to assassinate Tshaka, 123; and is afterwards murdered by Dingan, 124

Umtshlela, Zulu induna: in May 1835 on behalf of Dingan enters into a treaty with Captain Gardiner, 130; on the 30th of January 1840 commands Dingan's army in the great battle with the rebel Zulus under Nongalaza, 163; and is killed in the hottest part of the field, 163

Umtirara, son and heir of Vusani, paramount chief of the Tembu tribe: at the time of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 is a minor, 20; is only paramount chief in name, as the emigrant Tembu clans are quite independent of his authority, 266; in 1838 goes to live on the Zwart Kei, being driven from his own country by the Pondos and Bacas, 266; on the 25th of March 1845 enters into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, 252; is at feud with Kreli, which prevents their union against the Cape Colony, 266; in 1846-7 professes to be neutral in the war between the Kosas and the Cape Colony, 266; his conduct, however, towards the colonists is exceedingly suspicious, 288; in August 1846 nearly the whole of his people are driven over the Indwe by the tribes with which he is at enmity, 288; sends to the governor to request that he may be declared a British subject, and the land from the colonial border to the Indwe be declared British territory, 288; on the 3rd of December he has an interview with Sir Peregrine Maitland at Blockdrift, and renews his request for British protection, 289; which the governor recommends to the secretary of state, 289; in January 1848 is promised protection by Sir Harry Smith if he chooses to live west of the Indwe, 316

Union bank: in 1847 is established in Capetown, 235

Uys, Dirk Cornelis: on the 11th of April 1838 while behaving in a most gallant manner is killed in battle, 143

Uys, Jacobus: in 1837 is leader of a party of emigrants from the Cape Colony, 112; is presented with a large bible by the people of Grahamstown as a mark of their regard, 112; on account of the jealousy that is so rife among the emigrants resolves to set up a government independent of the others somewhere in Natal, 113

Uys, Pieter Lavras: in 1834 with a party of farmers from the Cape Colony inspects the territory of Natal, 128; in 1837 leaves the Cape Colony with a party under the leadership of his father, 112; in November of this year assists Commandant Potgieter to drive the Matabele from the Marikwa, 113; after the massacres in Natal hastens to the aid of his countrymen, 141; but declines to serve under Maritz, 141; in company with a body of men under Hendrik Potgieter proceeds to attack Dingan, 142; and on the 11th of April 1838 is killed in battle, 143

VADANA: is regent of the Tembu tribe during the minority of Umtirara, heir of Vusani, 20; during the Kaffir war of 1834-5 offers protection to white people who can escape from the Kosa country, 21; in April 1835 assists a patrol under Captain Warden to capture cattle from one of Hintsas's kraals, 28; in November 1836 is plundered by Ncapayi, and in vain seeks aid from Lieutenant-Governor Stockenström, 327

van Velden, Rev. D.: in January 1850 is appointed first resident clergyman of Winburg, 462

Venable, Rev. Mr., American missionary: in June 1836 with two associates goes to reside with the Matabele in the valley of Mosega, 108; in January 1837 retires with the emigrant farmers, 109; in July 1837 arrives in Natal and commences to labour there, 131; visits Dingan a few hours after the massacre of Pieter Retief and his party, 139; gives notice to his colleagues at the different stations, when they all retire to the port, 139; in April 1838 leaves Natal, and does not return, 145

Victoria West, village of: in 1844 is founded, 240

Victoria West, Dutch reformed church at: in April 1844 the first consistory commences its duty, 240

Viervoet, battle of: on the 30th of June 1851 is fought between the Basuto of Moshesh and forces collected by Major Warden in the Orange River Sovereignty, 472

Views of the colonists and missionaries regarding Sir Benjamin D'Urban's settlement of the province of Queen Adelaide, 51

de Villiers, John George: in February 1837 is appointed resident magistrate of the new district of Port Elizabeth, 79

Visagie, J. H.: is secretary to the Transvaal delegates when concluding the Sand River convention, 484

Volksraad: on the 2nd of December 1836 the first is elected by the emigrant farmers, 103; on the 6th of June 1837 the second is elected, 110

Volksraad of Natal: constitution and powers of, 155 and 320; in 1840 tries to induce the British government to acknowledge the independence of the republic, 323; but while correspondence on the subject is being carried on, sends a commando to punish the Baca chief Ncapayi for theft of cattle, 331; upon being apprised that Sir George Napier is sending troops to protect Faku, writes in justification of the attack upon Ncapayi, but fails to convince the governor, 333; in August 1841 resolves to locate all the Bantu refugees in Natal in the territory between the

Umzimvubu and Umtamvuna rivers, 334 ; on the 11th of October 1841 writes to Sir George Napier asserting its independence and refusing to consent to a proposal made by him to station a body of troops at Durban, 334 ; on being informed that British troops are being sent to occupy Durban, on the 21st of February 1842 announces a determination to resist, 337 ; in April 1842 sends Mr. J. A. Smellekamp to Holland to negotiate a treaty placing Natal under the protection of the king of the Netherlands, 339 ; on the 17th of May requires the English force to leave Natal within two days, and instructs Commandant-General Pretorius to enforce the demand, 341 ; after the defeat of the emigrant farmers and the loss of Durban, on the 15th of July submits to the authority of the queen, 349 ; but continues its functions as before, 350 ; on the 8th of August 1843 consents to the conditions for the settlement of the country imposed by the secretary of state for the colonies, 360 ; on the 4th of September gives expression to its views concerning the future government of Natal, 361 ; in the last sessions, at the close of 1844 and beginning of 1845, shows itself very inimical to British authority, 369

Volksraad of Potchefstroom : constitution of, 323 ; powers of, 323

Vowe, Thomas Whalley : in September 1848 succeeds Mr. O'Reilly as civil commissioner and resident magistrate at Smithfield, 443

WARD, Harriet : notes on books written by, 552

Warden, Captain Henry Douglas, of the Cape mounted rifles : in April 1835, during the sixth Kaffir war, is sent with a patrol to rescue the missionaries and traders who have taken shelter at Clarkebury, 27 ; a few days later with the assistance of the Tembu chief Vadana takes four thousand head of cattle from one of Hintsa's kraals, 28 ; assists in the conferences by which the war is brought to an end, 39 ; in January 1841 accompanies a military force sent to form a camp on the Umgazi river for the protection of the Pondo chief Faku, 333 ; in 1845 accompanies a military force sent from the Cape Colony to assist the Griquas of Adam Kok against the emigrant farmers, 399 ; in July is left at Philippolis in command of a small garrison, 403 ; in January 1846 becomes British resident in Adam Kok's territory, 403 ; in March holds a conference with the chiefs and captains in the country between the Orange and Vaal rivers, and induces them to consent to refer their disputes to a commission to be appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony, 408 ; in June with the assistance of some blacks and half-breeds disperses Jan Kock's adherents at Winburg, 409 ; is promoted to the rank of major, 409 ; on the 17th of July 1848 is obliged to capitulate at Bloemfontein to Commandant-General Pretorius, 432 ; retires with his adherents to the left bank of the Orange near Colesberg, 433 ; after the defeat of the emigrant farmers at Boomplaats returns to Bloemfontein as British resident, 444 ; endeavours in vain to promote peace between the Basuto and the Batlokua, 450 ; in October 1849 lays down a boundary for the territory to which the Basuto of Moshesh are restricted, 456 ; towards the close of this year defines reserves

for all the Bantu clans in the Sovereignty, 458; on the 21st of September 1850 punishes Molitsane for plundering a mission station, and by doing so brings on a war with the Basuto tribe, 467; collects all the force at his disposal for the purpose of punishing the Basuto, 471; on the 30th of June 1851 is defeated in the battle of Viervoet, 472; carries on a correspondence with Mr. A. J. Pretorius which leads to the Sand River convention, 477; on the 23rd of July 1852 is succeeded as British resident in the Orange River Sovereignty by Mr. Henry Green, 495

*Waterboer, Andries: in February 1837 through the efforts of the missionaries enters into close alliance with Abraham Kok, 385; but from September of the same year until the beginning of 1841 assists Adam Kok III. in war against his brother Abraham, 386; in November 1833 enters into a treaty with Adam Kok III., in which they divide on paper an immense region between them, 386; in 1848 assists the British forces under Sir Harry Smith against the emigrant farmers in the Orange River Sovereignty, 435; in 1850 claims the territory between the Modder and Orange rivers westward to Adam Kok's reserve, but his right is not recognised by Major Warden, 464; on the 13th of December 1852 dies, 465

Waterboer, Nicholas: on the 23rd of December 1852 is elected captain of Griquatown, 465; is recognised as such by the British government, but the treaty with his father is declared to have been a personal one and therefore no longer in force, 465

Waterloo, the, convict ship: on the 28th of August 1842 is wrecked in Table Bay, 211

Waterloo Bay: in July 1846 is first used as a convenient place for landing stores for the troops in the field, 276

Weenen, village of: in 1840 is founded, 319

Weir, James, missionary at the Tyumie: in December 1834 is required by the chief Tyali to act as his messenger to Colonel Somerset, 11; on the 20th of January 1835 is rescued by a military patrol, 15; at the close of the war returns to his station at the Tyumie, 46

Wellington, village of: in 1838 is founded, 211

Wellington, Dutch reformed church at: in July 1840 the first consistory commences duty, 211

West, Martin: on the 21st of August 1838 becomes civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Albany, 174; on the 13th of November 1845 is appointed lieutenant-governor of Natal, 370

Western Province bank: in 1847 is established at Paarl, 235

*White, Lieutenant Thomas: in May 1835 is killed near the Bashee river, 32

Whittle, a trader: in 1832 explores the country along the upper Limpopo, 96

Williams, Jane: is living with the family of the reverend Mr. Owen at Umkungunhlovu, and on the 6th of February 1838 witnesses the massacre of Pieter Retief and his party, of which she afterwards publishes an account, 138

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Wilson, Dr., American missionary: in June 1836 with two associates goes to reside with the Matabele in the valley of Mosega, 108; in January

- 1837 retires with the emigrant farmers, 109 ; in July 1837 arrives in Natal and commences to labour there, 131 ; in April 1838 leaves Natal, and does not return, 145
- Winburg, village of : in 1837 is founded by the emigrant farmers under Commandant Potgieter, 109
- Winburg, district of : boundaries in 1840, 322
- *Wine : after the emancipation of the slaves is exported in much smaller quantities than before, 185
- Witsi, Bantu chief : history of, 511
- Wood, William : in August 1831 arrives in Natal, 127 ; resides for several months at Umkungunhlovu as interpreter to Dingan, 138 ; on the 6th of February 1836 witnesses the massacre of Pieter Retief and his party, 138 ; a few days later leaves Zululand, 139
- Woods, Samuel : on the 21st of November 1843 is appointed first collector of customs in the colony of Natal, 365
- *Wool : after the emancipation of the slaves is produced in rapidly increasing quantities, 185
- van Wyk, Commandant Stephanus : in February and again in March 1835 by the governor's orders calls upon Hintsa to cease assisting the enemies of the Cape Colony, 19 ; commands one of the four divisions of the army which in March 1835 enters Kaffirland, 19
- Wynberg : in January 1839 is created a magisterial district, 220
- XOLO tribe : see Kolo tribe
- Xosa tribe : see Kosa tribe
- Xoxo : see Koko
- YOUNG, Sir Henry Edward Fox : on the 9th of April 1847 arrives in South Africa as lieutenant-governor of the eastern province, 234 ; collects a mass of opinions upon the question of a separate government for that province, 234 ; makes regulations for locations of coloured people within the boundaries of municipalities, 234 ; is appointed lieutenant-governor of South Australia, and on the 4th of November 1847 leaves Grahamstown, 235
- ZULU tribe : see Dingan, Mawa, Nongalaza, Panda, Tambusa, Tshaka, Umbopa, Umthlangana, and Umthlela
- Zwartkopjes : account of the skirmish on the 2nd of May 1845 between British troops and emigrant farmers, 399

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